LIFE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

COPYRIGHT BY FRANZ HANFSTAENGL, MUNICH.

TYPOGRAVURE BOUSSOD, VALADON & CO., PARIS.

NAPOLEON LEAVING THE FRENCH ARMY AT SMORGONI.

LIFE OF
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

BY

WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE,

PH. D., L. H. D.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

VOLUME IV

NEW YORK
The Century Co.
1906

Copyright, 1896, 1897,
By The Century Co.

The De Vinne Press.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

CHAPTER I. THE RETREAT FROM RUSSIA

State of Napoleon's Mind — Destruction Imminent — The Affair at Wiazma — Kutusoff's Timidity — Napoleon's Despair — Arrival at Smolensk — The Army Reorganized — Napoleon's Daring at Krasnoi — Ney's Great Feat — Sufferings of the Army — The Russian Plan — Tchitchagoff's Capture of Borrissoff . . . 1

CHAPTER II. THE HORRORS OF THE BERESINA

Napoleon at Bay — The Enemy at Fault — The Crossing of the Beresina — The Carnage — End of the Tragedy — Napoleon's Departure — The Remnants of the Army at Vilna — The Russian Generals — Napoleon's Journey — Malet's Conspiracy — The Emperor's Anxiety — The State of France — Affairs in Spain . . 9

CHAPTER III. THE PRODIGAL'S RETURN

War between Great Britain and the United States — Napoleon Renews his Strength — His Administrative Measures — Social Forces and Political Results — Ideas of Peace — The Military Situation — The Czar's Resolutions — The Convention of Tauroggen — Defection of Prussia — Supreme Exertions of France in Napoleon's Cause — Napoleon as a Wonder-Worker 16

CHAPTER IV. THE REVOLT OF THE NATIONS

Napoleon as a Financier — Failure to Secure Aid from the Aristocracy — The Fontainebleau Concordat — Napoleon Defiant — His Project for the Coming Campaign — State of the Minor German Powers — Metternich's Policy — Its Effect in Prussia — Prussia and her King — The New Nation — The Treaty of Kalish — The Sixth Coalition 24

CHAPTER V. THE FIRST CAMPAIGN IN SAXONY

Napoleon Over Hasty — Weakness of his Army — The Low Condition of the Allies — Napoleon's Plan Thwarted — The First Meeting a Surprise — The Battle of Lützen — An Ordinary Victory — The Mediation of Austria — Napoleon's Effort to Approach Russia — The Battle of Bautzen — Death of Duroc — Napoleon's Greatest Blunder 33

CHAPTER VI. THE NATIONS IN GRAND ARRAY PAGE

Condition of Affairs after Bautzen — The Armistice of Poischwitz — Austria's New Terms — Napoleon's Reliance on his Dynastic Influence — Intervention of British Agents — Napoleon's Interview with Metternich — The Emperor's Wrath — Metternich's Determination — Wellington's Victories — Napoleon at Mainz — The Coalition Completed — Diplomatic Fencing — Renewal of Hostilities — The Responsibility 42

CHAPTER VII. THE LAST IMPERIAL VICTORY

Napoleon's Prospects — The Preparations and Plans of the Coalition — Cross Purposes of the Combatants — Condition of Napoleon's Mind — Strength and Weakness of the Allies — Renewal of Hostilities — The Feint in Silesia — Napoleon at Dresden — First Day's Fighting — The Victory Won on the Second Day 51

CHAPTER VIII. POLITICS AND STRATEGY

Napoleon's Conduct after Dresden — Military Considerations Overruled by Political Schemes — Probable Explanation of Napoleon's Failure — Prussian Victories at Grossbeeren and on the Katzbach — Vandamme Overwhelmed at Kulm — Napoleon's Responsibility — Political Considerations again Ascendant — The System of "Hither and Thither" — The Battle of Dennewitz — Its Disastrous Consequences — Napoleon's Vacillation — Strategy Thwarted by Diplomacy 58

CHAPTER IX. THE END OF THE GRAND ARMY

Plans for Conducting the Retreat — Napoleon's Health — Blücher's Brilliant Idea — Napoleon under Compulsion — His Skilful Concentration — The Battlefield around Leipsic — The Attack — Results of the First Day's Fighting — Attempt to Negotiate — Napoleon's Apathy — The Positions of the Third Day — The Grand Army Defeated — The Disaster at the Elster Bridge — Dissolution of the Grand Army 67

CHAPTER X. THE FRANKFORT PROPOSALS

Importance of the Battle of Leipsic — Decline of Napoleon's Powers — His Gentler Side — Disintegration of Napoleon's Empire — The Coalition and the Sentiment of Nationality — Reasons for the Parley at Frankfort — Insincerity of the Proposals — Napoleon and France — The Revolution and the Empire — Hollow Diplomacy 77

CHAPTER XI. THE INVASION OF FRANCE

Amazing Schemes of Napoleon for New Levies — Attitude of the People toward the Empire — The Disaffected Elements — Napoleon's Armament — Activity of the Imperialists — Release of Ferdinand and the Pope — Napoleon's Farewell to Paris — His Strategic Plan — France against Europe — The Conduct of Bernadotte — Murat's Defection — Conflicting Interests of the Allies — Positions of the Opponents at the Outbreak of Hostilities 84

CHAPTER XII. NAPOLEON'S SUPREME EFFORT PAGE

The Fertility of Genius—The Battles of Brienne and La Rothière—The French Retreat—Victory at Champaubert—Victory at Montmirail—Victory at Vauchamps—Success Engenders Delusion—Insincerity of the Allies—Their Clashing Interests—The Congress of Châtillon—Napoleon's Procrastination—French Victory and French Diplomacy 93

CHAPTER XIII. THE GREAT CAPTAIN AT BAY

Victor's Failure at Montereau—Schwarzenberg's Ruse—The French Advance and the Austrian Retreat—Napoleon's Effort to Divide the Coalition—Vain Negotiations—The Treaty of Chaumont—Blücher's Narrow Escape—The Prussians Defeated at Craonne—Napoleon's Determination to Fight—His Misfortunes at Laon—Dissensions at Blücher's Headquarters—Napoleon at Soissons—Rheims Recaptured—Another Phase in Napoleon's Eclipse 102

CHAPTER XIV. THE STRUGGLES OF EXHAUSTION

The Allies Demoralized—Napoleon's Desperate Choice—The Battle at Arcis—The Correspondence of Caulaincourt and Napoleon—Panic at Schwarzenberg's Headquarters—Cross-purposes of the Allies—Napoleon's Determination Confirmed—His Over-confidence—The Resolution to Abandon Paris—The French Brought to a Stand—Their Masked Retreat—Inefficiency of Marmont and Augereau—Napoleon's March toward St. Dizier—His Terrible Disenchantment—How the Allies had Discovered Napoleon's Plans—Their Determination to Pursue—The Czar's Resolution to March on Paris—Successful Return of the Invaders 112

CHAPTER XV. THE BEGINNING OF THE END

Napoleon's Problem—The Military Situation—A Council of War and State—The Return to Paris—Prostrating News—The Empress-Regent and her Advisers—Traitors Within—Talleyrand—The Defenders of the Capital—The Flight of the Court—The Allies before the City 124

CHAPTER XVI. THE FALL OF PARIS

The Battle before Paris—The Armistice—The Position of Marmont—Legitimacy and the Bourbons—The Provisional Government—Napoleon's Fury—Suggestions of Abdication—Napoleon's New Policy Foreshadowed—His Troops and Officers—The Treason of Marmont—The Marshals at Fontainebleau—Napoleon's Despair 132

CHAPTER XVII. NAPOLEON'S FIRST ABDICATION

The Meaning of Napoleon's Abdication—The Paper and its Bearers—Progress of Marmont's Conspiracy—Alexander Influenced by Napoleon's Embassy—Marmont's Soldiers Betrayed—Marmont's Reputation and Fate—Napoleon's Scheme for a Last Stroke—Revolt of the Marshals—Napoleon's First Attempt at Suicide—Unconditional Abdication—Restoration of the Bourbons—Napoleon's New Realm—Flight of the Napoleons—Good-by to France, but not Farewell 141

CHAPTER XVIII. THE EMPEROR OF ELBA PAGE

Napoleon and the Popular Frenzy — Serious Dangers Incurred — The Exile under the British Flag — The Voyage to Elba — The Napoleonic Court at Porto Ferrajo — Mysterious Visitors — Estrangement of Maria Louisa — Napoleon's "Isle of Repose" — The Congress of Vienna — Its Violation of Treaty Agreement — Discontent in France — Revival of Imperialism — Bitterness of the Army — Intrigues against the Bourbons — Napoleon's Behavior — His Fears of Assassination 151

CHAPTER XIX. NAPOLEON THE LIBERATOR

Napoleon Ready to Reappear — Reasons for his Determination — The Return to France — The Northward March — Grenoble Opens its Gates — The Lyons Proclamations — The Emperor in the Tuileries — The Emperor of the French — The Additional Act — Effects of the Return in France and Elsewhere — The Congress of Vienna Denounces Napoleon 161

CHAPTER XX. THE DYNASTIES IMPLACABLE

The Vienna Coalition — Its Purpose — Napoleon as a Liberal — The Fiasco — France on the Defensive — Napoleon's Health — War Preparations of the Combatants — Their Respective Forces — Qualities and Achievements of the French — The Armies of Blücher and Wellington — The French Strategy — Napoleon's First Misfortune 170

CHAPTER XXI. LIGNY AND QUATRE BRAS

Napoleon's Orders — Ney's Failure to Seize Quatre Bras — Wellington Surprised — Napoleon's Fine Strategy — The Meeting at Ligny — Blücher's Defeat — The Hostile Forces at Quatre Bras — Wellington Withdraws — Napoleon's Over-confidence — His Instructions to Grouchy — His Advance from Quatre Bras 178

CHAPTER XXII. THE EVE OF WATERLOO

Wellington's Choice of Position — State of the Two Armies — The Orders of Napoleon to Grouchy — Grouchy's Interpretation of them — Napoleon Surprised by the Prussian Movements — His Inactivity — The Battle-field — Wellington's Position — Napoleon's Battle Array — His Personal Health — His Plan 187

CHAPTER XXIII. WATERLOO

Hougomont — La Haye Sainte — d'Erlon Repulsed — Ney's Cavalry Attack — Napoleon's One Chance Lost — Plancenoit — Union of Wellington and Blücher — Napoleon's Convulsive Effort — Charge of the Guard — The Rout — Napoleon's Flight 195

CHAPTER XXIV. THE SURRENDER

Nature of Napoleon's Defeat — Its Political Consequences — Napoleon's Fatal Resolution — The State of Paris — Napoleon at the Élysée — His Departure for Rochefort — Thoughts of Return — Procrastination — Wild Schemes of Flight — A Refuge in England — His Only Resource — The White Terror and the Allies 204

PAGE

Chapter XXV. St. Helena

Embarrassment of the English Ministry — A Strange Embassy — Napoleon's Attitude — The Transportation — The Prison — And its Governor — Occupations of the Prisoner — Napoleon's Historical Writings — Failing Health and Preparations for Death — His Last Will and Testament — The End 212

Chapter XXVI. Soldier, Statesman, Despot

Questionings — The Industrious Burgher — The Industrious Sovereign — End of the Marvelous — Public Virtue and Private Weakness — The Man and the Age — Latin and German — First Struggles — Usurpation of Power — Political Theories — The Napoleonic System — Its Foundation — Stimulus to Despotism — The Surrender of France — The Master Soldier 220

Chapter XXVII. Napoleon's Place in History

Exhaustion — The Change in Napoleon's Views — Intermitting Powers — Their Extinction — Common Sense and Idealism — The Man and the World — The Philosophy of Expediency — A Mediating Work — French Institutions — Transformation of France — Napoleon and English Policy — His Work in Germany — French Influence in Italy and Eastern Europe — Napoleon and the Western World 236

Historical Sources 249

Index 263

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

✠

Volume IV

Napoleon Leaving the French Army at Smorgoni . . . . . *Frontispiece*

FACING PAGE

Russian Peasants Attacking French Stragglers 1

Marbot's Soldiers Foraging on the Retreat 5

Marshal Laurent Gouvion-Saint-Cyr 8

The Passage of the Beresina 12

Napoleon and his Staff Surprised by Cossacks 16

Cossacks Awaiting a French Cavalry Charge 21

Marshal Ney Sustaining the Rear-guard of the Grand Army 25

Napoleon and Pius VII at Fontainebleau 29

Eugène De Beauharnais (Prince Eugène) Duke of Leuchtenberg, Prince of Eichstädt 32

Gérard-Christophe-Michel Duroc, Duke of Friuli 36

Marshal Jean-Baptiste Bessières, Duke of Istria 41

Baron Henri Jomini 44

Marshal Claude-Victor Perrin, Duke of Belluno 48

Jacques-Alexandre-Bernard Law, Marquis of Lauriston 53

Napoleon in 1813 56

Marshal Édouard-Adolphe-Casimir-Joseph Mortier, Duke of Treviso . . . 60

Marshal Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, Charles XIV of Sweden 65

Marshal Nicolas-Charles Oudinot, Duke of Reggio 69

Marshal Jozef Anton, Prince Poniatowski 73

The French Army Leaving Leipsic 75

Napoleon and his Staff 76

The Battle of Hanau, October 30, 1813 80

Marie-Annunciade-Caroline Bonaparte, wife of Joachim Murat; Queen of Naples, Countess Lipona; and her Children, Achille, Laetitia, Lucien, and Louise 85

Napoleon-François-Charles-Joseph, Prince Imperial; King of Rome; Duke of Reichstadt 88

Marshal Charles-Pierre-François Augereau, Duke of Castiglione 92

The Guard — Campaign of France 94

Staff-officer Reconnoitering 101

"1814" — Campaign of France 105

Prince Clemens Wenzel Nepomuk Lothar Von Metternich-Winneburg . . 108

FACING PAGE

Friedrich Wilhelm Von Bülow 113
"Captive" 116
Henri-Jacques-Guillaume Clarke, Count D'Hunebourg, Duke of Feltre (Marshal of France under Louis XVIII) 120
Marshal Étienne-Jacques-Joseph-Alexandre Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum 125
Map of the Field of Operations in 1814 126
Marshal August-Frédéric-Louis Viesse De Marmont, Duke of Ragusa . . . 129
The Barrière De Clichy, or the Defense of Paris in 1814 133
Marshal Michel Ney, Duke of Elchingen, Prince of the Moskwa 136
Charles-Maurice-Élie, Duke of Talleyrand-Perigord, Prince of Benevento 141
Napoleon's Farewell to the Imperial Guard at Fontainebleau, April 20, 1814 145
The Abdication, Fontainebleau, April 6, 1814 148
Marshal François-Christophe Kellermann, Duke of Valmy 152
Josephine at Malmaison 156
The "Field of May" 161
Joseph Fouché, Duke of Otranto 169
Field-Marshal Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington 172
Count Maximilien-Sébastien Foy 176
Officer of the Mounted Chasseurs Charging (Imperial Guard) 180
Gebhard Leberecht Von Blücher, Prince of Wahlstadt 185
Marshal Emmanuel, Marquis De Grouchy 188
Map of Campaign of 1815, June 15th to 19th 192
Napoleon and the Old Guard before Waterloo 193
"Waterloo" 194
Sir Thomas Picton 197
The Ravine at Waterloo 201
"It is He!" 203
Marshal Guillaume-Marie-Anne, Count De Brune 204
An Episode of the "White Terror," 1815 207
The Last Days of Napoleon 209
Napoleon on Board H. M. S. "Bellerophon," July, 1815 213
Sir Hudson Lowe 216
Count Emmanuel-Augustin Dieudonné De Las Cases 218
Las Cases and his Son Writing the History of Napoleon under his Dictation 220
"Longwood," Napoleon's Residence at St. Helena 223
Cardinal Joseph Fesch 225
Marie-Laetitia Ramolino Bonaparte — "Madame Mère" — Mother of Napoleon I 229
Marie-Pauline Bonaparte, Madame Leclerc, Princess Borghese 232
Napoleon at St. Helena 234
Death of Napoleon I 236
Henri-Gratien, Count Bertrand 241
The Funeral Cortège of Napoleon in the Place de la Concorde, December 15, 1840 244
Napoleon I 248

AQUARELLE MADE FOR THE CENTURY CO.

RUSSIAN PEASANTS ATTACKING FRENCH STRAGGLERS

FROM THE AQUARELLE BY MAURICE ORANGE

LIFE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

CHAPTER I

THE RETREAT FROM RUSSIA

STATE OF NAPOLEON'S MIND—DESTRUCTION IMMINENT—THE AFFAIR AT WIAZMA—KUTUSOFF'S TIMIDITY—NAPOLEON'S DESPAIR—ARRIVAL AT SMOLENSK—THE ARMY REORGANIZED—NAPOLEON'S DARING AT KRASNOI—NEY'S GREAT FEAT—SUFFERINGS OF THE ARMY—THE RUSSIAN PLAN—TCHITCHAGOFF'S CAPTURE OF BORRISSOFF.

FOR nine days the retreat went steadily on. Mortier came in on October twenty-seventh; Davout was assigned to keep the rear. Napoleon was no longer seen on horseback; sometimes he drove, but generally he trudged among the men, to all outward appearance as spiritless as any one. To Junot he wrote that he had taken his decision in consequence of the cold and in order to provide for his wounded from the depot at Mozhaisk. There was as yet no severe cold, and there was a far shorter road to Smolensk. The writer's mind was chaotic, confusing what he knew soon would be with present realities. His maps were worthless, and clinging to experience, he showed none of his accustomed venturesomeness. The well-worn summer uniforms of his men were no protection even against the coolness of autumn nights. What a prospect when winter's cold should come! It was enough to stun even a Napoleon.

CHAP. I
1812

But the present was bad enough, and momentarily grew worse. The road was lined with charred ruins and devastated fields, and the waysides were dotted with groups of listless, desperate soldiers who fell out and sank on the ground as the straggling ranks of their comrades tramped on. Skirting the battle-field of Borodino, the marching battalions looked askance on the ghastly heaps of unburied corpses; but the wounded survivors were dragged from field hospitals and other cavernous shelters to be carried onward with the departing army. They were a sight which in some cases turned melancholy into madness. In order to transport them the wagons were lightened by throwing the spoils of Moscow into the pond at Semlino. On the thirtieth despatches of grave import reached the Emperor, informing him that Schwarzenberg had retreated behind the Bug, leaving an open road from Brest for Tchitchagoff's veterans to attack the right flank of the columns flying from Moscow. Victor, learning of Napoleon's straits, had left fifteen thousand men in Smolensk, and was advancing to join Saint-Cyr on the Dwina in order to assure the safety of the main army from that side. To him came the dismal news that Wittgenstein had resumed the offensive against Saint-Cyr, and that the line of attack on the French left was as open from the north as was that on the other side from the south. Davout's rear-guard was steadily disintegrating under hardships and before the harassing attacks of the Russian riders under Platoff. Partizan warfare was assuming alarming dimensions. In a single swoop two thousand French recruits under Baraguey d'Hilliers had been made prisoners, and similar events were growing all too frequent. In consequence of these crushing discouragements the whole army was rearrayed. "We must march as we did in Egypt," ran the order: "the baggage in the middle, as densely surrounded as the road will permit with a half battalion in front, a half battalion behind, battalions right and left, so that when we face we can fire in every direction." Ney's corps was then assigned to the place of danger in the rear—a place he kept with desperate gallantry until he earned the title "bravest of the brave."

The early promise of substantially reinforcing Kutusoff's army had not been fulfilled. The fanatic zeal at first displayed soon effervesced, the new levies were untrustworthy, and the long marches of the Russians told almost as terribly upon them as the retreat did upon their enemies. Kutusoff's army therefore, though available for defense, was

a poor weapon for attack, especially when the object was a French army under the dreaded Napoleon. The Russian commander was only half-hearted in his pursuit; and when, having taken the short cut which was unknown to his enemy, his van came in contact with the French line at Wiazma on November third, the Russian soldiers had little heart to fight. The circumstances offered every chance for a powerful if not a decisive blow on the flying column from flank and rear; but the onset was feeble, the commander-in-chief held back his main force in anxious timidity, and a second time the opportunity was lost for annihilating the retreating foe, now reduced in number to about sixty thousand. Napoleon was far away on the front when Kutusoff attacked, and the battle was conducted on the French side by the marshals in consultation with Eugène and Poniatowski. The rear-guard was momentarily severed from the line, but these two generals wheeled and fiercely attacked the advancing Russians, engaging all within reach until Davout was able to evade the mêlée and rejoin the main army.

The French lost about four thousand, the Russians about half as many. Neither of the two armies had any courage to renew the struggle next morning, and each kept its way as best it could, both of them exhausted, both shrinking hourly in vigor and numbers. Kutusoff's conduct both at Malojaroslavetz and at Wiazma has been explained by his fixed resolution to leave the destruction of the invaders to his gaunt allies, want and winter. If, however, as was possible at either place, he had annihilated the retreating army, this might have been the last Napoleonic war, since it was not for a new army that the Emperor of the French appealed to his people, but for something quite different, namely, men to recruit the old one. As it was Napoleon first learned of the conflict at Wiazma on the fourth, and contemplated a movement which might lead his pursuers into an ambush. But he found the three columns which had been engaged so pitifully disintegrated that he gave up in despair — a feeling heightened when, for the first time, snowflakes came ominously fluttering through the frosty air.

The weary march was therefore resumed, and there was some semblance of order in it, although Ney wrote Berthier that already on the fourth there were without exaggeration four thousand men of the grand army who refused to march in rank. The number was increasing daily. On the sixth Napoleon was informed that Victor, having effected a junction with Saint-Cyr, had checked Wittgenstein in a series of gallant

CHAP. I
1812

struggles, but that step by step the two divisions had been driven back until now they were only thirty miles distant, having abandoned the line of the Dwina, including the depot of Vitebsk. "Seize the offensive; the safety of the army depends on it," was Napoleon's desperate reply. Terrible as this news was to the general, it was eclipsed in horror for the Emperor by the accounts he received at the same time from Paris describing Malet's conspiracy, a movement to overthrow the Empire based on the false rumor of his own death. "And Napoleon II., did no one think of him?" he cried in anguish. Grand army, reputation, personal prestige — all these he might lose and survive; but to lose France, that were ruin indeed.

That night a heavy frost fell; then, and no sooner, did the relentless severity of the Russian winter begin. This is proved by Napoleon's famous twenty-ninth bulletin, and by the journal of Castellane, the aide-de-camp who made the final copy of it; in spite of assertions put forth later to sustain the legend of an army conquered by the elements, the autumn had dallied far beyond its time. Next day the weary march began again; scarcely a word escaped the Emperor. He was pale, but his countenance gave no sign of panic; there was merely a grim, persistent silence. The enemy hung on flank and rear, harassing the demoralized column until it was more like a horde than an army. With numbed limbs and in the gnawing misery of bitter cold, the French straggled on. Men and horses died by the score; the survivors cut strips of carrion wherewith to sustain life, and desperately pressed forward, for all who left the highway fell into the enemy's hands. In some bivouacs three hundred died overnight; there are statements in the papers of officials which seem to indicate that in the struggle for life the weaker often perished at the hands of their own comrades. The half-crazed, frost-bitten, disorderly soldiers of the French van reached Smolensk on the ninth, and on the thirteenth the remnants of the rear, with many stragglers, came up and encamped. The heroes of the hour were Eugène and Ney. Ney's division had well-nigh vanished in their glory. Fighting without fear, and dying undaunted, they had saved the moiety of the grand army which reached Smolensk; the other half had perished by the way. Eugène had taken a long circuit, but his division had lost fewer and was less demoralized than those of his colleagues. Murat's recklessness in fighting the Cossacks had resulted in the loss of nearly all his horses; his men arrived on foot.

AQUARELLE MADE FOR THE CENTURY CO.

TYPOGRAVURE BOUSSOD, VALADON & CO., PARIS.

MARBOT'S SOLDIERS FORAGING ON THE RETREAT.

The scenes in Smolensk were shameful. At first the garrison shut the gates in the very faces of the human wolves who clamored for food and shelter. Discipline having been restored, the guard was admitted. The stores were ample for a fortnight's rations to all survivors; but the ravening mob could not be restrained, and the distribution was so irregular that precious supplies were tumbled into the streets; in the end it was found that the guard had secured sustenance for a fortnight, while the line had scarcely sufficient for a week. However, the sick and wounded were housed and made fairly comfortable. These sickening tumults over, the Emperor seemed to regain much of his bodily vigor, and with it returned his skill and ingenuity: stragglers were reincorporated into regiments; supply-wagons were destroyed in large numbers and the horses assigned to the artillery, many of the guns being abandoned so that the service of the remainder might be more efficient; the army was rearrayed in four divisions, under the Emperor, Eugène, Davout, and Ney respectively; and the French made ready to leave Smolensk with a bold front. Napoleon's contempt for his enemy was matched only by their palpitating fear of him. Most men would have abandoned hope in such a crisis. Napoleon was fertile not merely in strategic expedients, but in devices for realizing his plans. Accordingly he arranged that the four columns should move on parallel lines toward Lithuania, a day's march distant from each other, he with six thousand of the guard in the van; Ney, taking the other four thousand to strengthen his own line, was to keep the rear. The movement began on the twelfth, that is, before the last stragglers had come in; on the fourteenth Napoleon took his departure; and three days later, on the seventeenth, the towers of the ramparts having been blown up, the last of the newly ordered ranks marched out. The sick and wounded had found shelter in houses adjacent to the walls; many were killed by the explosions, the rest were abandoned to the foe and found humane treatment. Disorderly and mutinous French soldiers remained in considerable numbers to plunder; these were for the most part caught by the entering Russians, and inhumanly done to death. In all these days the cold had not abated, and at times the thermometer marked fifteen degrees below zero.

The further line of retreat was through Krasnoi, Borrissoff, and Minsk, the Emperor expecting Schwarzenberg, reinforced by fourteen thousand German recruits, to cover the crossing of the Beresina at

CHAP. I
1812

Borrissoff. The Russians followed doggedly on their parallel line of pursuit, harassing the French rear and flanks. On the fifteenth their van came in touch with Napoleon's division near Krasnoi almost as he himself passed, and their artillery opened fire. The balls yelled as they sped by, and there was great excitement. Lebrun called attention to the fact as if it were remarkable. "Bah!" said Napoleon, as he pressed forward; "bullets have been flying about our legs these twenty years." He well knew that his anxious foe would not seriously attack him and his guard; but, justly considering that the case would be different in regard to his rear, he halted to await their arrival. Early on the morning of the seventeenth he sent out a reconnoitering party, as if about to wheel and give battle; Kutusoff, who for the moment was considerably inferior in numbers, fell instantly into the snare, and drawing back his van, as Napoleon had foreseen and desired, made ready for battle.

Eugène and Davout were within reach, but Ney's position was terrible: he was only then leaving Smolensk. Was he to be left to his fate? Around and behind his six thousand troops were swarming almost as many stragglers; and on the eighteenth the Russians, in spite of their momentary halt, threw forward their van with the hope of cutting off his hampered and sore-pressed division. But the short delay had been precious: Ney rose to the occasion, and on the nineteenth crossed the Dnieper over the ice, hoping to follow the right bank westward and rejoin the main army at Orcha. This was one of his most daring feats, perhaps his most brilliant deed of arms. Summoned by a flag of truce to surrender, he replied: "A marshal of the Empire has never surrendered!" Platoff and the Cossacks were hard on his heels; but fighting and marching throughout the weary, bitter day, at night the undaunted marshal found himself in touch with Eugène, who had turned out on the highway from Vitebsk to Orcha to meet him. When, on the twentieth, they effected a junction, Ney had only eight hundred men in the ranks with him; perhaps two thousand more were trudging behind in disorder.

On the eighteenth a thaw had set in; it had begun to rain, the crust broke under the men's feet, and the roads were lines of icy clods. The soldiers had no foot-gear but rags; every step was an agony, and thousands who had so far endured now gave up, and flung away their guns and equipments. There were not more than twenty-five thousand

regularly marching. Already on the previous day the guard had shown signs of demoralization. The Emperor alone seemed impassive. For days he had shared the common hardships; clad in a long Polish coat of marten fur, a stout birch staff in his hand, without a sign of either physical or nervous exhaustion he had marched silently for long distances among his suffering men. If we picture him standing at Krasnoi, weighing how long he dared to brave an enemy which if consolidated and hurled upon his lines would have annihilated them, we must feel that collapse was prevented then only by his nerve and by the terror of his name. Once more he threw the influence of his presence into the scale, and, stepping before the guard on this dreadful day, he said simply: "You see the disorganization of my army. In unhappy infatuation most of the soldiers have thrown away their guns. If you follow this dangerous example no hope remains." The state of the men was, if possible, worse than ever; in fact, it was indescribable. Night after night they had bivouacked in the snow. What with the wet, the dazzling glitter, and the insufficient food,—for at best they had only a broth of horse-flesh thickened with flour,—some were attacked with blindness, some with acute mania, and some with a prostrating insensibility. Those who now remained in the ranks were clad in rags and scarcely recognizable as soldiers. It seemed, therefore, as if such an appeal could only awaken an echo in an empty vault; but such was the French character that, desperate as were the circumstances, the cry was heard. The response was grim and sullen, but the call was not in vain; and reaching Orcha on the nineteenth, there was still an army. As yet, however, there was no news of Ney.

The sky seemed dark and the prospect blank when it was learned that both Victor and Schwarzenberg had been steadily thrown back. The Russian plan was for Wittgenstein and Tchitchagoff to drive in the extreme left and right divisions respectively of Napoleon's attenuated line, and then to concentrate at Borrissoff and attack the main French army retreating before Kutusoff. So far the various parts of this scheme had been successfully executed. Borrissoff and its bridge were still in possession of a Polish regiment; but the garrison was very small, and could not repulse the attack of the converging Russian columns or of any portion of them. It behooved Napoleon, therefore, to move swiftly if his few remaining troops were to cross the Beresina in safety. It was in this frightful dilemma that Ney at last appeared.

CHAP. I
1812

Said Napoleon, when the news was brought to him: "If an hour ago I had been asked for the three millions I have in the Tuileries vaults as the price of this event, I would have handed them over." The marshal's presence was in itself a splendid encouragement.

Purchasing such stores as Jewish contractors offered, abandoning the heavy pontoons, and hitching the horses to a few field-pieces found in park, the undaunted Emperor sent orders to both Victor and Oudinot, enjoining them to make forced marches and meet him at Borrissoff. On the twenty-first, amid the slush, mud, and broken cakes of crust, he started his own army on a swift despairing rush for that crucial point. It was too late; that very day Tchitchagoff's van, after a stubborn and bloody struggle, occupied the town and captured the all-important bridge. The thaw had opened the river, and its overflowing stream, more than sixty yards in width, was full of floating ice. To the Russians it seemed as if Napoleon were already taken in their snare, and Tchitchagoff issued a general order that all captives below medium stature should be brought to him. "He is short, stout, pale; has a short, thick neck, and black hair," ran his description of the "author of Europe's miseries." By a special decree of the Czar, all the French prisoners of war were kindly treated, each being furnished with warm clothing at an expense of about twenty dollars.

IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES

MARSHAL LAURENT GOUVION-SAINT-CYR

FROM THE PAINTING BY HORACE VERNET

CHAPTER II

THE HORRORS OF THE BERESINA

NAPOLEON AT BAY — THE ENEMY AT FAULT — THE CROSSING OF THE BERESINA — THE CARNAGE — END OF THE TRAGEDY — NAPOLEON'S DEPARTURE — THE REMNANTS OF THE ARMY AT VILNA — THE RUSSIAN GENERALS — NAPOLEON'S JOURNEY — MALET'S CONSPIRACY — THE EMPEROR'S ANXIETY — THE STATE OF FRANCE — AFFAIRS IN SPAIN.

THE situation of the French was desperate indeed. With a relentless foe behind, on each side, and now in front protected by the rampart of a swollen river, which was overflowing its banks and was bordered on both sides by dense forests, the army seemed doomed. A single overmastering thought began to take possession of Napoleon's mind — that of his personal safety. He appeared to take a momentous decision — the determination to sacrifice his army bit by bit that he might save its head. This resolution once formed, he became strong and courageous, his head was clear, and his invention active. Oudinot was summoned, with his eight thousand men, to drive out Tchitchagoff; and orders were sent to Victor, commanding him to take the eleven thousand which he had, and at any hazard cut off Wittgenstein from the Beresina. Schwarzenberg had been temporarily checked by a division of Russians under Sacken, and was no longer a factor in the problem. Oudinot accomplished his task, but the Russians fired the bridge as they fled.

Napoleon was scarcely consoled by news that his cavalry had found a ford at Studjenka. Early on the twenty-third the French bridge-builders, with all available assistants and material, were on their way up the river. The remnants of the army were reorganized, and the baggage-train was reduced to the smallest possible dimensions. Unfortunately, Victor had not received his orders in time, and, ignorant of the Emperor's

CHAP. II
1812

plans, had changed his line of march to one more southerly, thus leaving the road to Studjenka open for Wittgenstein, who abandoned the pursuit and marched direct to that spot. The latter's advance was, however, slow; Tchitchagoff was completely deceived, as many of the French believe, by a feint of Oudinot's, but, as he himself declared, both by false information concerning the movements of Schwarzenberg, and by misrepresentations concerning Napoleon's march as communicated through both Kutusoff and Wittgenstein. Be this as it may, the veterans from the Danube marched a whole day down the stream to guard against an imaginary danger. The French therefore worked at Studjenka without disturbance, and, as the frost set in once more, the swampy shores were hardened enough to make easy the approach to their works. By the twenty-sixth two bridges were completed—a light one for infantry early in the morning, and late in the afternoon another considered strong enough for artillery and wagons. At one o'clock Oudinot's foot-soldiers began to cross, and a body of cavalry successfully swam their horses over the stream, which owing to the freshet was now in places five feet deep instead of three and a half as when the ford was first discovered; a few hours later artillery followed, and the opposite shore was cleared of the enemy sufficiently to open the bridgehead entirely, and control the direct road to Vilna, which leaves Minsk to the south. This great success was due partly to unparalleled good fortune, but chiefly to the gallant fellows who worked for hours without a murmur in the freezing water, amid cakes of grinding ice.

With two short interruptions, of three and four hours respectively, due to the breaking of the heavier bridge, the crossing went forward irregularly, at times almost intermitting, until the morning of the twenty-eighth. About noon on the twenty-seventh the Emperor passed; having superintended certain repairs to the bridge, he started next morning for Zembin. The same afternoon, Victor's van reached Borrissoff somewhat in advance of Wittgenstein, who came up a few hours later, and attacking the former's rear, captured two thousand men. Tchitchagoff, having finally learned the truth, appeared that night opposite Borrissoff; communication with the opposite shore was quickly established, and after a conference the two belated Russian generals agreed to march up-stream, on the right and left banks respectively. At eight next morning Tchitchagoff attacked Oudinot and Ney—twenty-six thousand men against seventeen thousand; two hours later Wittgenstein, with

twenty-five thousand fell upon Victor, who now had about seven thousand. Yet the French kept the bridges.

Throughout the day a bloody fight went on; it was rendered uncertain and disorderly by the thousands of stragglers present, and by the intensity of the steadily increasing cold. Behind the two heroic combats scenes were occurring which beggar description. Incredible numbers of stragglers cumbered the roadways and approaches; the vast mob of camp-followers held stubbornly to their possessions, and, with loud imprecations, lashed their tired horses while they put their own shoulders to the wagon wheels. Hundreds were trampled under foot; families were torn asunder amid wails and shrieks that filled the air; the weak were pushed from the bridges into the dark flood now thickening under the fierce cold. Toward midday a cutting wind began to blow, and by three it was a hurricane. At that instant the heavier bridge gave way, and all upon it were engulfed. An onlooker declared that above storm and battle a yell of mortal agony rose which rang in his ears for weeks.

The mob on the river-bank was momentarily sobered, and for a time there was order in crossing the remaining bridge; but as dusk fell both wind and battle raged more fiercely, and groups began to surge out on right and left to pass those in front. Many dashed headlong into the angry river; others, finding no opening, seated themselves in dumb despair to wait the event. At nine the remnant of Victor's ranks began to cross, and the Russians commenced cannonading the bridge. Soon the beams were covered with corpses, laid like the transverse logs on a corduroy road; but the frightful transit went on until all the soldiers had passed. The heavy bridge was temporarily repaired, but at last neither was safe; little knots gathered from the rabble at intervals and rushed recklessly over the toppling structures, until at eight next morning the French, not daring to wait longer, set fire to both, leaving seven thousand of their followers in Studjenka. They burned also the wooden track they had constructed through the swamps. The Russian accounts of what was seen in the morning light portray scenes unparalleled in history: a thousand or more charred corpses were frozen fast on the surface of the river, many of the ghastly heads being those of women and children; the huts of the town were packed with the dead. Twenty-four thousand bodies were burned in one holocaust, and it is solemnly stated that in the spring thaws twelve thousand more were

CHAP. II
1812

brought to light. Ten years afterward there were still islets in the shallows of the stream covered with forget-me-nots which decked the moldering bones of those who had perished during that awful night of November twenty-eighth, 1812.

Next day the Emperor wrote to Maret confessing the truth. "The army is numerous, but shockingly disorganized," he declared. "A fortnight would be necessary to bring it once more under the standards; and how can we find a fortnight? Cold and privation have disorganized it. We may reach Vilna—can we maintain ourselves there? If we only could! even for the first eight days. But suppose we were attacked within that time, it is doubtful if we should be able to remain. Food! food! food!—without that there are no atrocities which this unruly throng would not commit against the town. In this situation I may regard my presence in Paris as essential for France, for the Empire—yes, even for the army." He also composed on the same day a bulletin, since famous, which was dated December third. It speciously declared that until November sixth the Emperor had been everywhere successful; thereafter the elements had done their fell work. The only complete truth it contained was the closing sentence: "The health of his Majesty was never better." As the sorry remnants of the grand army moved toward Vilna, they grew scantier and scantier. Many were delirious from hunger and cold, many were in the agonies of typhus fever. On December third there were still nine thousand in the ranks; on the fifth the marshals were assembled to hear Napoleon explain his determination to leave at once for Paris, and immediately afterward he took his departure.

It was not a very "grand army" which was left behind under Murat's command, with orders to form behind the Niemen. On the eighth the thermometer marked twenty-five degrees below zero, and a few unarmed wretches, perhaps five hundred in all, trailed after their leader into Vilna. Their ears and throats, their legs and feet, were swathed in rags; their bodies were wrapped in the threadbare garments of their dead comrades, or in such cast-off woman's apparel as they had been able to secure by the way. They were followed by Ney with four hundred, Wrede with two thousand, and finally by two or three thousand stragglers. After a few half-hearted and ineffectual efforts to organize this mob into the semblance of an army, Murat abandoned the attempt and posted away to his kingdom of Naples—a course severely censured

AQUARELLE MADE FOR THE CENTURY CO.

TYPOGRAVURE BOUSSOD, VALADON & CO., PARIS.

THE PASSAGE OF THE BERESINA.

by the Emperor. This was the closing scene of Napoleon's great drama of invasion. His men and horses had succumbed to summer heats as rapidly and extensively as to winter frosts; he had brought ruin to his enterprise by miscalculating the proportions of inanimate nature and human strategy, and by fatal indecision at critical moments when the statesman's delay was the soldier's ruin. Russia, like Spain, had the strength of low organisms; her vigor was not centralized in one member, the destruction of which would be the destruction of the whole; Moscow was not the Russian empire, as Berlin was the Prussian kingdom.

Yet justice requires the consideration of certain undoubted facts. Making all due allowance, it is true that the elements were Napoleon's worst foe when once his retreat was fairly under way, and it was not the least of Napoleon's magnificent achievements that after the crossing of the Beresina there was still the framework of an army which within a few months was again that marvelous instrument with which the campaigns of 1813 and 1814 were fought. This miracle was due to the shortsightedness and timidity of the Russian generals. Tchitchagoff is inexcusable both for the indifference he displayed regarding the various points at which the Beresina might be crossed, and for the ignorance which made him the easy dupe of feints and misleading reports. As to Wittgenstein, the caution which he exercised because operating alone was near in its character to cowardice; his snail-like movements prevented any efficient coöperation in the general plan, and he failed in grasping a situation of affairs which left open but a single line of retreat for Napoleon. Neither of these two had any adequate conception of the losses suffered by the French, and they permitted the last opportunity for annihilating the invaders to escape. As to Kutusoff, who was fully informed concerning the utter disintegration of the "grand army," his conduct in holding back the main Russian force at the crucial moment is utterly indefensible; he saved thousands of his troops, perhaps, but he has passed into history as the man who is indirectly responsible for the rivers of blood which were still to drench the continent of Europe. Both he and Wittgenstein unloaded all the blame on Admiral Tchitchagoff, and contemporary opinion sustained them. "Had it not been for the admiral," said the commander-in-chief, replying to a toast proposed to the conqueror of Napoleon, "the plain gentleman of Pskoff (namely, himself) could have said: Europe breathes

CHAP. II
1812

free again." This opinion is one which history must reject as utterly false.

When the soldiers heard that their Emperor had departed there was an almost universal outburst of frenzied wrath. "He flies," they shrieked, "as in Egypt! He abandons us after he has sacrificed us!" As has been remarked, this despair was natural, but the accusation was unjust. Napoleon's abandonment of the grand army at Smorgoni was not a desertion like the secret flight from Egypt; for now he was chief and not subordinate, his own judgment was the court of final appeal. Moreover it was necessary for the very existence of the army that its general should once more be emperor, the head of the state. Traveling incognito, he passed through Vilna, Warsaw, and Dresden. Maret was left in charge of matters in Lithuania, De Pradt was carefully instructed how to treat the Poles, and on December fourteenth, at Dresden, despatches were written to both Francis and Frederick William in order to assure their continued adhesion. The King of Saxony was firmly bound in the fetters of a personal fascination never entirely dispelled. Twice on the long, swift journey efforts were made by disenchanted German officers to assassinate Napoleon, but he escaped by the secrecy of his flight. Such conspiracies were the presage of what was soon to happen in Germany. They were trivial, however, when compared with the state of public opinion in Paris as displayed by the Malet conspiracy. In spite of all that he had done to establish a settled society, France was not yet cured of its revolutionary habits; it was only too clear that the constitution, codes, and admirable administrative system were operative not from political habit but by personal impulsion. This was the real sore; the conspiracy itself was a grotesque affair, the work of a brain-sick enthusiast, lightly formed and easily crushed.

Malet was a fiery nobleman who, having run the gamut between royalist and radical, had turned conspirator, having, in 1800, plotted to seize the First Consul on his way to Marengo, and again, in 1807, having been imprisoned in the penitentiary of La Force for attempting to overthrow the Empire. Feigning madness, he succeeded in being transferred to an asylum, where he successfully reknit his conspiracies, and finally escaped. On October twenty-third, 1812, he presented himself to the commander of the Paris guard, announcing Napoleon's death on the seventh; by the use of a forged decree of the senate purporting

to establish a provisional republican government, and by the display of an amazing effrontery he secured the adhesion of both men and officers. Marching at their head, he liberated his accomplices, Lahorie and Guidal, from La Force, seized both Savary and Pasquier, minister and prefect of police respectively, and wounded Hulin, commandant of the city, in a similar attempt. But Doucet, Hulin's assistant, seized and overpowered the daring conspirator, Savary and Pasquier were at once released, and almost before the facts were known throughout the city the accomplices of the plot were all arrested. Malet and twelve of his associates were tried and executed.

The Paris wits declared that the police had made a great "tour de force," and as far as the city was concerned the affair appeared to have ended in a laugh. But Napoleon was dismayed, for he saw deeper. "It is a massacre," he exclaimed, on hearing of the number shot.

If the Russian campaign had been successful, it would have put the capstone on imperial splendor. But already its failure was known among the French masses, and ghastly rumors were rife; the Emperor himself was far distant; the Empress was not beloved; the little heir was scarcely a personage; the imperial administration was much criticized; the "system" was raising prices, depressing industry, and increasing the privations of every household. Pius VII. was now living in comfort at Fontainebleau, but he was a prisoner, and earnest Catholics were troubled; perhaps heaven was visiting France with retribution. Worst of all, ever since the nations at both extremities of Europe had risen in arms against Napoleon's tyranny French youth had perished under the imperial eagles in appalling numbers, and throughout the districts of France which were at heart royalist there was a rising tide of bitter vindictiveness.

What had occurred in Spain did not allay the general uneasiness. Marmont, having outmanœuvered Wellington until July twenty-second, had on that fatal day extended his left too far at Salamanca, and had suffered overwhelming defeat; southern Spain was lost to France. Suchet, having taken and held Tarragona, concentrated to the eastward, so that by his holding Aragon and Catalonia for Napoleon, Joseph could set up a government temporarily at Valencia. Wellington, hampered by the distracted condition of English politics, had felt bound, in spite of victory, to withdraw to the Portugal frontier.

CHAPTER III

THE PRODIGAL'S RETURN

War between Great Britain and the United States — Napoleon Renews his Strength — His Administrative Measures — Social Forces and Political Results — Ideas of Peace — The Military Situation — The Czar's Resolutions — The Convention of Tauroggen — Defection of Prussia — Supreme Exertions of France in Napoleon's Cause — Napoleon as a Wonder-Worker.

Chap. III
1813

BY stringently enforcing the orders in council Canning had seriously injured Great Britain. It was in some sense the outcome of general exasperation that early in May, 1812, Perceval, the Tory premier, was assassinated in the lobby of the House of Commons by Bellingham, a bankrupt of disordered mind. In the consequent reconstruction of the cabinet Castlereagh had succeeded the Marquis of Wellesley. On May thirteenth the disastrous orders were repealed, but the United States had already declared war. By land the Americans failed dismally at the outset; but at sea they were five times victorious in as many different engagements, two English frigates striking their flags to what was then considered as fairly equal force. This was a moral victory of immense importance. It was disproportionate of course to the actual English loss, which was easily reparable, but it was an appalling novelty to the British, who unwillingly realized that the sons had shown a seamanship of the highest quality and were not unworthy of their sires. The anxiety of Wellington and the maritime successes of the Americans were not unwelcome lights in the otherwise dark picture of European affairs upon which Napoleon was forced to look after his return from Moscow.

The prodigal Emperor was undismayed; as he had recuperated his physical powers under incredible hardships, so he sharpened those of

AQUARELLE MADE FOR THE CENTURY CO.

TYPOGRAVURE BOUSSOD, VALADON & CO., PARIS.

NAPOLEON AND HIS STAFF SURPRISED BY COSSACKS.

his mind amid the greatest difficulties. His first care was to make sure of France. To a deputation of the servile senate he roundly denounced all faint-hearted civil officials as menacing the authority of law. "Timid and cowardly soldiers," he said, "may cost a nation its independence; faint-hearted officials, however, destroy the authority of the laws. The finest death would be that of the soldier on the field of honor, were not that of the official who dies to defend his monarch, the throne, and the laws still more glorious." To the council of state he scored all such as had continued to attribute to the people a sovereignty which it was incapable of exercising; who derived authority, not from the principles of justice nor from the nature of things nor from civil rights, but from the caprice of persons who understood neither legislation nor administration. The meaning of such language was clear, and the words of the master sufficed to bring the entire machine into perfect order. The great officers of state were not slow in their response — from the police, from the university, from the courts came protestation after protestation of loyalty; the vocabulary of the French language was ransacked for terms to express the most fulsome adulation. Napoleon's firm front was in itself an inspiration, and such unanimity of devotion in high quarters confirmed the people in their changed tendency. Soon not merely the French nation but the whole Empire was once again under the magician's spell. Deputations began to arrive, not only from all parts of France itself, but from the great cities of central and western Europe, from Rome, Florence, Turin, and Milan, from Hamburg, Mainz, and Amsterdam, and the expressions of devotion uttered by the deputies were limited only by the possibilities of expression. Scoffing wits recalled the famous scene from Molière, in which the infatuated *Orgon* displays indifference to his faithful wife and shows interest only in *Tartufe*.

But in spite of this trenchant joke, Napoleonic government stood firm in France, and soon, this all-important point having been gained, there was not a little infectious enthusiasm, which grew in proportion as the Emperor deployed with every day and hour his marvelous faculties of administration. Reduced as the appropriations were, the public works in Paris went on; the naval station of Brest was completed; the veterans received their Emperor's minutest care; the destitute families of soldiers who had perished for France were relieved: the imperial pair were everywhere conspicuous when a good work was

CHAP. III
1813

to be done. Finally, when a plan of regency for Maria Louisa was divulged, the praiseworthy, genuine sentiment which underlay these public activities was found to have reinforced their dramatic effect sufficiently to make the scheme acceptable. This plan, while giving to the Empress all the splendors of imperial sovereignty throughout both the Empire and the vassal states, was carefully constructed with wholesome checks. What she could not do was, however, less evident and less important than what she could do. In the hands of an able, devoted wife the regency might have been a tower of strength to an absent husband battling for the existence of his Empire; worked by a vain, flabby, and perhaps already disloyal nature, it had, with all its strength and display, but little value as a safeguard against the complots of the Talleyrand set, who desired the crash of the Empire that, amid the ruins, they might further pillage on their own account.

That the schemers were not sooner successful than they were is due to a combination of small things — each perhaps trivial in itself but the whole most efficacious in perpetuating Napoleon's hold on the French. During his presence in Paris all the old inquisitiveness and boundless concern for detail seemed to return without diminution of force. Before his last departure he had won the popular heart by the model family life of the Tuileries, which, though never ostentatiously displayed, was yet seen and widely discussed. In the thick of Russian horrors he had found time to correspond with his infant's governess concerning the difficulties and dangers of teething; it was felt that while the emperor and general was warring on the steppes of Muscovy, the husband and father was present in spirit on the banks of the Seine. On his return it was generally remarked that his reception into the bosom of his family was tender and affectionate, and that parental pride in a thriving child was paramount to the ruler's ambition for an established dynasty. The imperial pair were seen in company alike on the thronged thoroughfares, and on the outer boulevards of Paris. They were always greeted with enthusiasm, sometimes there was a display of passionate loyalty. When the Emperor visited his invalid veterans, he tasted their food and would have the Empress taste it too; she graciously assented and there was universal delight. In short the domestic bliss of the Tuileries radiated happiness into the plain homes of the nation, and made the common people not merely tolerant but fond of such a paternal despotism.

Napoleon returned from Russia sincerely protesting that what he most desired was peace. Yes, peace; but of what kind? The answer was inclusive of the whole European question. It was easy to believe that Spain was nearly exhausted, that if the process of devastation could be continued three years longer, her shattered society would finally accept the gentle Joseph as its regenerator. It was not unnatural for the Emperor to regard his Confederation of the Rhine as safe and loyal; yet, just as in the Moscow campaign his superlative strategy far outran the remainder of his system, so he had failed, embodiment of the new social order as he believed himself to be, in fully estimating the creative force of the revolution in middle and south Germany. Some inkling of the national movement he must have had, for Schwarzenberg's lukewarmness had awakened suspicions of Austria, and Prussia's new strength could not be entirely concealed. Soon after reaching Paris he learned with dismay that his Prussian auxiliaries had made terms with the Czar. This was done in defiance of their king; but it indicated the national temper, which, seeing the hand of God in the disasters of the monster who after humiliating Prussia had dared to invade Russia, made it impossible for Prussian troops to serve again in the ranks of a French army. The bolts of divine wrath had fallen on the French and the French dependants, the Prussian and the Austrian contingents had escaped unscathed; both German armies must surely have been spared for a special purpose.

In his interview at Warsaw with De Pradt Napoleon had predicted that he would speedily have another army of three hundred thousand men afoot. In this rough calculation he had included both Prussians and Austrians. With a spirit of bravado, he there referred to the narrow escapes of his life: defeated at Marengo until six, next morning he had been master of Italy; at Essling, the rise of the Danube by sixteen feet in one night had alone prevented the annihilation of Austria; having defeated the Russians in every battle, he had expected peace; was it possible, he asked, for him to have foreseen the Russian character, or have foretold their heroic sacrifice of Moscow, for which doubtless he himself would catch the blame? So now, if his allies stood firm, he would have another great army, and still conquer. All this was not bluster, for his figures were in the main correct. Moreover, Russia's strength was steadily diminishing, a fact of which he was dimly aware. Of Kutusoff's two hundred thousand men only

CHAP. III 1813

forty thousand remained when he entered Vilna after the Napoleonic forces had left it; Wittgenstein's army had suffered proportionately, and the troops from the Danube still worse. Kutusoff wanted peace quite as much as did Napoleon, and the ineffective Russian pursuit was intrusted to Yermoloff, an untried officer, to Wittgenstein, and to the incapable Tchitchagoff. The bickerings and insubordination of the French marshals had now become notorious, but they were fully offset by the discord and inefficiency of the Russian generals.

Alexander, however, was not for peace. Out of the rude experiences he had been undergoing there had been formed two fixed ideas; that Napoleon could not, even if he would, surrender his preponderance in Europe, and that he, himself, might hope to appear as the liberator of European nationality. For a moment it appeared possible for the Czar to establish himself as king of Poland by the aid of the Jesuits and of Czartorysky's friends. But the Jesuit leader knew that Napoleon's strength was far from exhausted, and fled to Spain. Czartorysky entertained the idea that in case of Napoleon's overthrow he might unite Poland under his own leadership and demand a truly liberal constitution, such as could not be worked by a Russian autocrat with three hundred thousand Russian soldiers at his back. Should the virtual independence of Poland be wrung from Alexander, and not secured by the French alliance, then the only available constitutional ruler would, he thought, be a member of his own princely family and not one of the rival Poniatowskis. The autocrat did not clearly understand the drift of his boyhood friend, but he saw enough to render the notion of reconstructing Poland in any form distasteful, and finally abandoned it. He then took the sensible resolution to recruit his strength, not by emptying his own lean purse, but by securing the coöperation with his forces of the strong armies built up by Prussia and Austria. It was therefore with a fairly definite purpose that, on December eighteenth, he left St. Petersburg for Vilna. He had in mind first to secure the fruits of victory by energetic pursuit, then to sound the temper of Prussia and Austria.

Murat had led the remnant of the grand army over the Niemen on December fourteenth; on the nineteenth he entered Königsberg. The day before Macdonald had learned by a despatch from Berthier of the final disasters to the Russian expedition, and on the twenty-eighth his van reached Tilsit. The Prussian auxiliaries were in the rear under

AQUARELLE MADE FOR THE CENTURY CO.

COSSACKS AWAITING A FRENCH CAVALRY CHARGE

FROM THE AQUARELLE BY JAN V. CHELMINSKI

York, who had been for nearly two months in regular communication with the Czar, and knew the details of Napoleon's rout, as Macdonald did not. Wittgenstein had been despatched to cut off Macdonald's retreat. But with the dilatoriness which characterized all the Russian movements he came too late, a single detachment under Diebitsch falling in with the Prussians on their own territory. The Prussian general was in a quandary; he was quite strong enough to have beaten Diebitsch, but his soldiers were friendly to Russia and embittered against Napoleon. His own sympathies being identical with those of his men, and considering that he might in extremity plead his isolation, he therefore, on December thirtieth, concluded the convention of Tauroggen, in which he agreed to neutralize the district of Prussia which he occupied, and await orders from Berlin. Six days later an envoy arrived from Frederick William, nominally to degrade York, in reality to conclude a treaty of alliance with Russia.

By the assistance of Stein, who had been called from Vienna to counsel the Czar, such a document was finally composed and signed at Kalish on February twenty-eighth, 1813. Prussia and Germany were thus born again under the auspices of Russia. It was by the Czar's authorization that Stein began the reorganization of the provinces held by the Prussian troops. These circumstances left Murat's positions at Dantzic and on the Vistula untenable. Throughout the campaign he had been vastly more concerned for his personal prestige than for Napoleon's cause, and he was only too ready to leave a sinking ship. On January fifteenth, as has already been told, after surrendering his command to Eugène at Posen he left for Naples. He was in haste, for on the twelfth the Russians had entered the grand duchy of Warsaw on their way to its capital. Schwarzenberg, with his own and the remnants of two other corps, — those of Reynier and Poniatowski,— could easily have checked the foe; but the convention of Tauroggen had quickened the Austrian memory of Russia's friendly lukewarmness in 1809, Francis was in no humor to bolster the falling cause of his terrible son-in-law, and after some show of negotiation a temporary neutrality was arranged. When a few Cossacks appeared before Warsaw, on February sixth, the Austrian general evacuated the city as if yielding to superior force, and withdrew across the Vistula toward the frontier.

These blows seemed to fall lightly on the armor of Napoleon's intrepidity. So far from feeling any dismay the Emperor did not contem-

CHAP. III 1813

plate curtailing his ambition. Perhaps he was not entirely deceived; quite possibly, by the slightest exhibition of diminished activity, he might have weakened his influence in the great land which formed the heart of his dominions. As one piece of bad news after another reached Paris, each in turn seemed only a goad to new exertion for Emperor and people. France was by that time not merely enthusiastic; she was fascinated and adoring. The ordinary conscription of 1813 yielded a hundred and forty thousand recruits; four regiments were formed for artillery service from the idle sailors, three thousand men were taken from the gendarmerie, some even from the national guard. On January thirteenth the senate decreed a further draft of a hundred thousand from the lists of 1813, and ordered that the conscription for 1814 should be forestalled in order that the hundred and fifty thousand boys thus collected might be hardened by a year's camp life, and rendered available for immediate use when their time arrived. There is truth in the charge that Napoleon robbed the cradle and the grave. In order to officer this mighty host, which included about a third of the able-bodied men of France between seventeen and forty-five, such commanders as could be spared were called home from Spain, and the rabble of non-commissioned and commissioned officers which began to straggle in from Russia was drawn back into the service. These survivors were treated like conquerors, being praised and promoted until the nation became bewildered, and thought of the Russian campaign as a series of victories. Foreign visitors wrote that the Emperor had but to stamp his foot and armed men sprang up on every side like Æetes' corps of Colchian warriors on the field of Mars.

The comparison halted—Napoleon was Æetes and Jason combined; he yoked the bulls that snorted fire and trod the fields with brazen hoofs, he held the plow and harrowed the field, he sowed the teeth and reaped the harvest. We have abundant proof that literally every department of administration felt the impulse of his will, while to the organization of the army, to the arrangement of uniforms, to the designing of gun-carriages, to questions concerning straps, buckles, and commissary stores, to the temper of the common soldier, to the opinion of the nation, to each and all these matters he gave such attention as left nothing for others to do. By this exhibition of giant strength there was created a true national impulse. With this behind them, the senate in April called out another body of a hundred and eighty thou-

sand men, partly from the national guard and partly from those not ordinarily taken as recruits. By this time the farmsteads of France and western Germany had yielded up all their available horses, a number sufficient to make a brave show of both cavalry and artillery. Allowing for sickness, desertion, and malingering,— and of all three there was much,— France and her wizard Emperor had ready on May first a fairly effective force of nearly half a million armed men. This was exclusive of the Spanish contingent, and there were a hundred thousand more if the levies of Bavaria, Saxony, and the Rhenish confederation be reckoned. At the time men said a miracle had been wrought: it was the miracle of an iron will, a majestic capacity, and a restless persistence such as have been combined in few if any other men besides Napoleon Bonaparte. All that he could do was done,— equipment, drill, organization,— but even he could not supply the one thing lacking to make soldiers of his boys — two years of age and experience.

CHAPTER IV

THE REVOLT OF THE NATIONS

NAPOLEON AS A FINANCIER — FAILURE TO SECURE AID FROM THE ARISTOCRACY — THE FONTAINEBLEAU CONCORDAT — NAPOLEON DEFIANT — HIS PROJECT FOR THE COMING CAMPAIGN — STATE OF THE MINOR GERMAN POWERS — METTERNICH'S POLICY — ITS EFFECT IN PRUSSIA — PRUSSIA AND HER KING — THE NEW NATION — THE TREATY OF KALISH — THE SIXTH COALITION.

CHAP. IV
1813

THIS magic was wrought, moreover, without any assistance from the precious army lists which Napoleon delighted to call his library, for those volumes had either been lost, destroyed, or left behind in distant headquarters: it was not merely by recalling his old powers, but by a supreme effort of memory so comprehensive that not even superlatives can describe it, that the great captain brought order into his military estate. No wonder that under such a strain the other tasks which demanded consideration were not so perfectly performed. The financial situation, the social uncertainty, the religious problem, none of these could be overlooked, and each in turn was clamorous for attention. In the methods employed to meet these emergencies the revolutionary training of the Emperor comes to light. To cover the enormous expense of his new army, contributions were "invited" from the rich corporations and financiers, and it was announced that any private person who was disposed to maintain a horse and rider for the imperial service would earn the Emperor's special gratitude. To any increase of the direct taxes the despot would not listen; "Credit," he said, "is but a dispensation from paying cash." In spite of Mollien's protest, however, a new issue of paper money was ordered, but for this there was collateral security. It was found in certain plots of land or domains belonging respectively to each of many thousand communes,

IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES

ENGRAVED BY HENRY WOLF

MARSHAL NEY SUSTAINING THE REAR-GUARD OF THE GRAND ARMY

FROM THE PAINTING BY ADOLPHE YVON

by the rentals of which they severally diminished their direct local taxes. Worth three hundred and seventy million francs, these properties yielded only nine millions, although their prospective returns would be far larger. With government five per cents. selling at seventy-five, an investment of a hundred and thirty-five millions would yield the interest actually received. This step was taken, the lands were seized, and the government cleared two hundred and thirty-five millions; a hundred and forty millions of the five per cents. were set aside to cover the income charges, and used simultaneously as collateral for notes to pay current expenses until the lands could be sold. These last were kept at a fair price by taking seventy-one millions of treasure from the Tuileries vaults for their purchase. Throughout the previous year the moribund legislature had been left inert, the budget being decreed without its consent, and the Emperor told Metternich at Dresden that he contemplated its abolition. In a crisis like this latest one, however, its aid was not to be despised; it was now galvanized, and made to stamp these puerile measures with the "popular" approval.

There has always been "a mystery in the soul of state." When men ceased to invest government with a supernatural character, they did not for all that dispel the mystery. Modern statesmen by the score have chosen to believe the occult doctrine that the state's promise to pay is payment, and Napoleon was one of these. He was equally childish in regard to the knotty social question which confronted him, apparently believing that his personal volition, as the expression of political power, was or ought to be equivalent to popular spontaneity. The mixture of the old and new aristocracies had, in spite of all efforts, been mechanical rather than chemical, except so far as that the former was rather the preponderating influence giving color to the compound. In order to make the blending real, the Emperor proposed a "spontaneous" rising of those high-born youth who had somehow escaped the conscription. They were to be formed into four regiments, and designated "guards of honor." The measure was found to be so utterly unpopular that it was for the moment abandoned; the young men had no stomach even for fancy campaigning, and their relatives no mind to deliver them up as hostages. The guard, moreover, displayed a violent jealousy.

There remained the ecclesiastical question, that, namely, of canonical institution. Pius VII. had lost much of his obstinacy since his removal to Fontainebleau, for the Austrian alliance was now the sheet-

CHAP. IV
1813

anchor of France; the French ecclesiastics had threatened to depose the Pope; but the Roman Catholics of Bavaria, Italy, and Austria were loyal, and they were important factors in Napoleon's problem. After an exchange of New Year's compliments, negotiations between the temporal and the spiritual powers were reopened. At first the Emperor was exacting, and the Pope unyielding. Finally, on January eighteenth, Napoleon appeared in person at Fontainebleau, accompanied by Maria Louisa, and unannounced they entered the prisoner's apartment. The Pope started up in pleased surprise. "My father," cried his visitor. "My son," came the response. The Emperor caught the old man to his arms and kissed him. Next morning began a series of personal conferences lasting five days. What happened or what was said was never divulged by either participant, but on January twenty-third the terms of a new concordat were settled. Pius VII. was to reside at Avignon with his cardinals in the enjoyment of an ample revenue, and institute in due form the bishops selected by the council. There was to be amnesty for all prelates in disgrace, the sees of the Roman bishops were to be reëstablished, and the Pope was to have the nominations for ten bishopries either in France or in Italy at his choice; his sequestered Roman domains were likewise to be restored. The document was not to be published without the consent of the cardinals, and Napoleon was actively to promote the innumerable interests of the Church. The Emperor and the Pope had scarcely separated before the former began to profess chagrin that he had gained so little, and the latter became a victim to real remorse. The cardinals were no sooner informed of the new treaty than they displayed bitter resentment, and Napoleon, foreseeing trouble, violated his promise, publishing the text of the Fontainebleau Concordat on February fourteenth as an imperial decree. On March twenty-fourth the Pope retracted even his qualified assent. The Emperor had gained a temporary advantage, and had asserted a sound position in antagonism to the temporal sovereignty of the Pope; but he had won no permanent support either from France or from the Roman see, with which he had dealt either too severely or too leniently.

In the previous July a treaty between the Czar and the Spanish nation, as represented by the Cortes, had been negotiated through the intermediation of Great Britain. The recent conduct of York was sufficient indication of how the Prussian people felt. Napoleon therefore

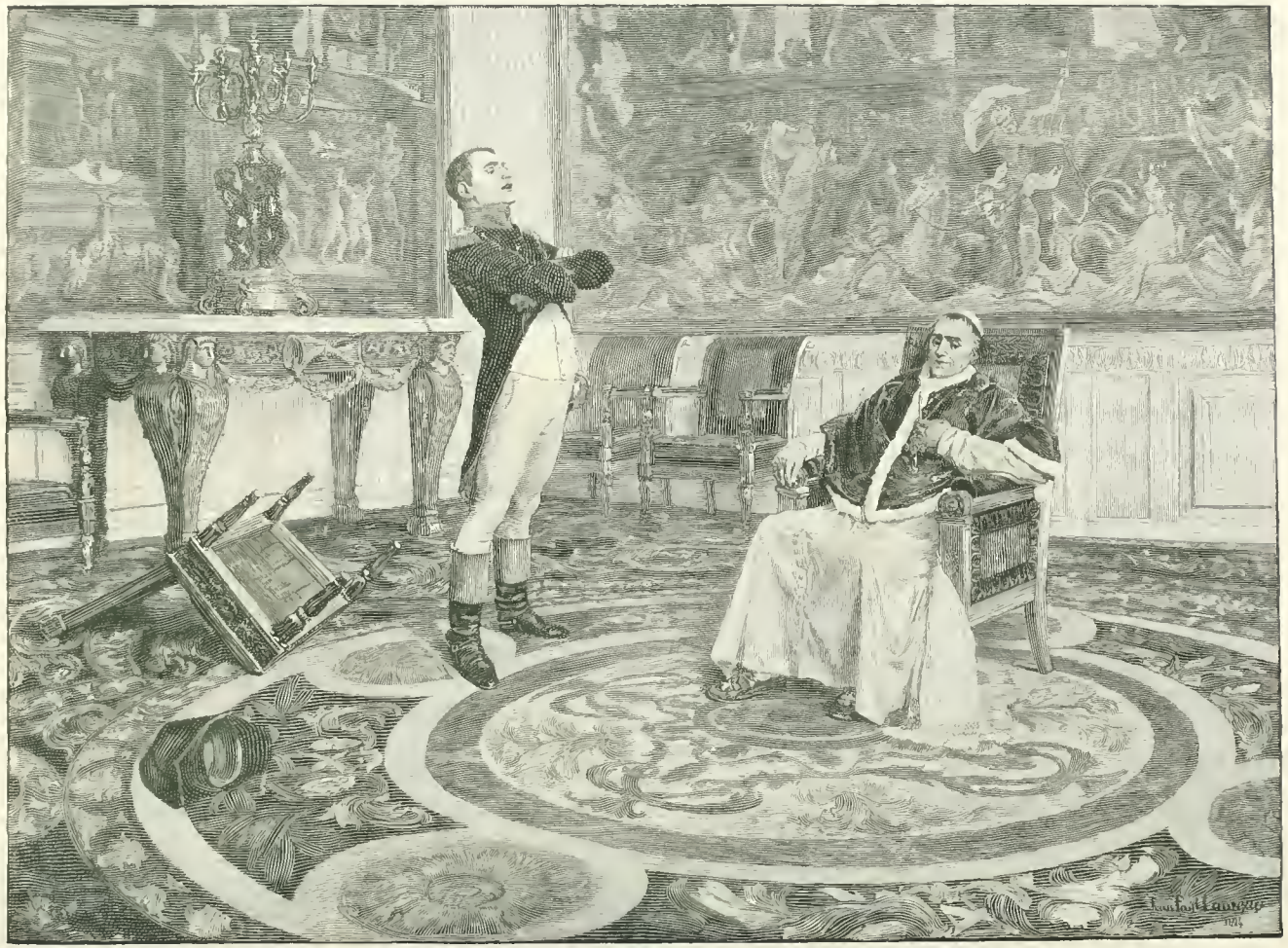
knew that he was face to face with a virtual coalition, comprising Great Britain, Russia, Sweden, Turkey, Spain, and Prussia. Since his return from Russia he had displayed in private life the utmost good sense. But in public life he seemed incapable of accepting the situation in which he must have known himself to be, holding the loftiest and most pretentious language both to the French nation and to the world. In his address on the opening of the legislature he dwelt on Wellington's reverses in the peninsula, and offered peace to Great Britain on the old terms of "uti possidetis" in Spain. In a less public way he had it thoroughly understood throughout Europe that he would take no steps toward peace with Russia; that he would not yield an inch with reference to the grand-duchy of Warsaw, or regarding the annexed lands of Italy, Holland, and the Hanseatic league. It was as if the whole world must see that ordinary human concessions could not be expected from one who had been conquered only by act of Providence, and was, now as ever, invincible so far as men were concerned. He did, however, allow the hint to escape him that Prussia, which was still bound by her treaty, might hope for some territorial increase, and that Austria might expect Illyria. Such ideas, expressed in grandiloquent phrase, could not be regarded as indicating a pacific feeling. Every social class in France had a grievance; yet amid the din of arms, and in the dazzling splendors of military preparation, even the retraction of the Concordat attracted little attention, and a few riots in Dutch cities, which were the only open manifestation of discontent throughout the whole Empire, aroused no interest at all. The report of Napoleon's conciliatory attitude had gone abroad, there was money in the treasury, a vast armament was prepared, the peace so ardently desired was evidently to be such as is made by the lion with his prey. On April fifteenth the still haughty Emperor of the West started for the seat of war.

Around the skeleton abandoned by Murat at Posen Eugène built up out of the stragglers an army of fourteen thousand men, which he hoped would enable him to make a stand; but with York deserting at one end of the line, and Schwarzenberg seeking shelter in Cracow at the other, he was compelled to withdraw to Berlin. Finding his reception too chilly for endurance, and being again menaced by the Russian advance, he fell back thence beyond the Elbe, and early in March had established his headquarters at Leipsic. By that time new forces had arrived from France and the various garrison towns, so that on the

CHAP. IV
1813

curving line from Bremen by Magdeburg, Bernburg, Wittenberg, Meissen, and Dresden, there stood a force of about seventy-five thousand men in six divisions, under Vandamme, Lauriston, Victor, Grenier, Davout, and Reynier. Napoleon charged Eugène to take a position before Magdeburg, whence he could protect Holland and keep Dresden. The Emperor's general plan was to assemble an Army of the Elbe on the line of Magdeburg, Havelberg, Wittenberg, and an Army of the Main on the line of Würzburg, Erfurt, Leipsic; then, despatching the former through Havelberg toward Stettin, to hurry the latter on its heels, relieve Dantzic, and seize the lower Vistula.

This would have been a plan worthy of Napoleon's genius but for one fact. "In war," he had written four years earlier, "the moral element and public opinion are half the battle." If he had understood these factors in 1813, and if a sound judgment had developed his ideas, the projected campaign would have become famous for the boldness of its conception and for its careful estimate of natural advantages. But human nature as the conquering Napoleon had known it—at least Prussian human nature—had changed, and of this change the defeated Napoleon took no account. He was no longer fighting absolute monarchs with hireling armies, but uprisen nations which were themselves armies instinct with capacity and energy. On March twenty-first Eugène began to carry out his stepfather's directions. But for the new feeling in Prussia they might have been fully executed. The vassal princes of the Rhine Confederacy had received the imperial behests concerning new levies. The Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, aware of the German national movement and furthest removed from French influence, refused to obey. King Jerome of Westphalia pleaded poverty, and procrastinated until he dared do so no longer. Bavaria dreamed for an instant of asserting her neutrality, but the menace of French armaments wrung an unwilling compliance from her. Wurtemberg and Frankfurt were too near France to hesitate at all. Saxony was in a position far different from that of any other state in the confederation, the predicament of Frederick Augustus her king being peculiar and exceptional. After his interview with Napoleon on the latter's flight through Dresden he felt how precarious was the future. Warsaw, the gem of his crown, was gone, and the Prussian people were in revolt against the Emperor of the French; he turned perforce toward Austria. But Austria also was uneasy; the people were again hostile to Napoleon, and Francis, in



PUBLICATION AUTHORIZED BY THE ARTIST

ENGRAVED BY PETER AITKEN

NAPOLEON AND PIUS VII AT FONTAINEBLEAU

FROM THE PAINTING BY JEAN PAUL LAURENS

an agony of uncertainty, could only temporize. With Saxony in this attitude, Metternich gave full course to his ingenuity.

For a year past that minister had been playing a double game. Seeking through his envoy at Stockholm to embroil Bernadotte with the Czar, he told Hardenberg almost simultaneously that it was all up with Russia, that England was worn out, and that Austria was about to assume the rôle of mediator. It was with this purpose that, on the other hand, he promised to treat Russia as Russia had treated Austria in 1809. When, in his despair, Napoleon wrote to Francis from Dresden demanding an increase of the Austrian contingent to check Kutusoff's advance through Poland, Metternich suffered his master to give no answer, but sent a special peace embassy to London, and despatched Bubna, a favorite with Napoleon, to seek the same end at Paris. The Emperor of the French laid down his old ultimatum, but offered a subsidy to Austria if she would double the number of her auxiliaries. Thereupon Metternich prepared to desert Napoleon, refused to furnish the auxiliaries, ordered Schwarzenburg "to save his troops for the next campaign," and secretly advised Prussia to join her cause with that of Russia. Careful not to formulate any definite terms for the peace he so clamorously invoked, he refused to intervene with Russia for the restoration of Prussian Poland, thus avoiding an open rupture with France, assuring that the seat of war would be in Saxony, and gaining time to secure Austria's dignity as a mediator by the preparations of armaments strong enough to enforce her suggestions.

This attitude compelled Prussia to make a decision. Frederick William could no longer wage a sham warfare nor cover hostile intentions by a pretense of disinterestedness. A decision must be taken, and the conduct of General York had indicated what the painful conclusion must be. The convention of Tauroggen had been duly disavowed; but an envoy was at Russian headquarters, and Alexander had entered Prussian territory in his advance against Eugène; Napoleon was demanding an increased auxiliary force. The temporizer could temporize no longer. He firmly believed that nothing short of a coalition between Austria, Russia, and Prussia could annihilate France, and Austria had virtually refused to enter such a combination. Russia, moreover, was under no engagement in regard to Prussian Poland. What was to be done? The king's first instinct led him to seek refuge with Napoleon, and he despatched an envoy, offering his continued al-

CHAP. IV 1813

liance for either an increase of territory, or for ninety million francs in payment of the commissary supplies furnished during 1812. With every day, however, the Prussian people grew more Russian in feeling, and on January twenty-second, 1813, before the return of the ambassador the court was forced by popular opinion to withdraw from Berlin to Breslau, out of the sphere of French influence. Napoleon's answer soon arrived; there was no word of payment, and no binding engagement as to territory — merely a repetition of vague promises. Frederick William was disappointed, and reluctantly consented to the mobilization of his now regenerated and splendid army. He cherished the hope of keeping Alexander behind the Vistula, and forcing Napoleon to an armistice before he could cross the Elbe.

But Hardenberg, Stein, and Scharnhorst were all convinced that there could be no peace in Europe without restoring the ancient balance of power and annihilating Napoleon's preponderance, especially since, from every class in the nation, came addresses and petitions expressing detestation of French rule. Moreover, the long, difficult process of German unification was, in a sense, complete. "I have but one fatherland, and that is Germany," wrote Stein, in December, 1812; "the dynasties are indifferent to me in this moment of mighty development." A born and consistent liberal, he abhorred alike the tyranny of Napoleon, of Francis, of Alexander, and of his own king. But the Czar loved him, since a united Germany would be indifferent to those Polish provinces about which Prussia cared so much. Certain, therefore, of the Russian monarch, the great statesman determined to join Frederick William at Breslau, and urge on the work of mobilizing troops. Already, by Alexander's authority, he had induced the estates of eastern Prussia to sanction York's action, and to provide for arming the militia and reserves. Their ready compliance was the more significant because the German patriot had to some extent been out of touch with the general movement, having consistently and from principle refused to work through the popular League of Virtue, or any secret association whatsoever, and having become in his long exile a virtual stranger among the Prussians.

It is scarcely possible within moderate limits to give the faintest conception of Prussia at the opening of 1813. The popular hatred of Napoleon was defiant; the death of Queen Louisa had made the King sullen There was a splendid army of a hundred and fifty thousand

men, and the statesmen had managed so well that there were arms for every able-bodied male between seventeen and twenty-four. Of these scarcely any shirked; most volunteered, numbers paid, many did both. The women sold their hair and their gold ornaments, wearing iron trinkets as a stimulus to patriotism. In some cases the stout German maidens served the guns of their artillery, and one of them, disguised in a uniform, fought in the ranks until seriously wounded. The peasantry saw their homesteads destroyed with equanimity when told that it would weaken France. Körner sang and fought; Arndt sounded the trumpet of German unity; Lützow gathered his famous "black troop," and the universities were so fervid that Professor Steffens of Breslau issued the first call for war against Napoleon, a summons which swept the students of that university, as well as those of Berlin, Königsberg, Halle, Jena, and Göttingen into the ranks. Wherever the Russians appeared they were hailed as deliverers, not merely in the Prussian army, but among the citizens. CHAP. IV 1813

This was the impelling power which Frederick William could not resist. Step by step he went forward, postponing his plans for getting back his Polish provinces and accepting instead contingent promises. By the treaty of Kalish, already mentioned in another connection, Old Prussia was definitely guaranteed to him, and he was to have a strip connecting it with Silesia, but the territorial aggrandizement of the kingdom was to await the conquest of North Germany, all of which except Hanover might under certain circumstances be incorporated under his crown. Both parties agreed to use their best endeavors to win Austria for the coalition, Russia promising likewise to seek a subsidy from Great Britain for her impoverished ally. Another stipulation was fulfilled when on March seventeenth Frederick William called out all the successive services of the national army and, summoning his people to emancipate their country from a foreign yoke, declared war. Two days later a ringing proclamation was issued which summoned to arms not merely Prussians but even the Germans of the Rhine Confederation. Hesitating princes were threatened with loss of their domains, and—what was a very pointed hint—Stein was made head of an administrative committee to erect new governments in all occupied lands. Kutusoff's last public act was to issue a manifesto declaring that those German princes who were untrue to the German cause were ripe for destruction by the power of public opinion and the might of righteous arms.

CHAP. IV
1813

Such a situation was terrible for the King of Saxony. Russia already had his grand duchy, Prussia coveted his kingdom; in fact the Czar was currently and correctly reported to have said that Saxony was better suited than Poland to round out Frederick William's dominions. Dresden welcomed the Russian and Prussian sovereigns because the citizens were smarting under the trials of military occupation. But when the King turned to Austria, and marching with his cavalry to Ratisbon virtually put his army at Metternich's disposal, the Saxons in general supported him. On April twentieth was signed a secret agreement between Saxony and Austria whereby the former in return for thirty thousand troops secured the integrity of her dominions. This was a triumph for the Austrian minister, but not the only one, because European diplomacy in general soon joined hands with the national uprisings. Napoleon, determining too late on the dismemberment of Prussia, made a last attempt to win back his old comrade in arms, and in February offered Bernadotte not merely Pomerania, but the lands between the Elbe and the Weser. But the crafty Gascon had studied the Prussian movement, and, putting aside the rather indefinite promises of Napoleon, preferred to join the coalition for the safer, easier prize of Norway. Great Britain abandoned her scheme for a Hanover expanded to stretch from the Scheldt to the Elbe, and, subsidizing both Sweden and Prussia, cemented the new coalition. This was a return to Pitt's policy of restoring the old balance of power in the old Europe. Bernadotte, promising thirty thousand men, transported twelve thousand across to Germany, and joined Bülow to cover Berlin. This force soon became the Russian right. Kutusoff died in April, and Barclay was ultimately restored to the chief command, having Blücher and a second Prussian army as part of the Russian center. Metternich saw that the coalition did not intend to conclude such a peace as would leave Napoleon the preponderance in Europe; to secure any peace at all he would be compelled, as Talleyrand said, to become king of France. Accordingly a new turn was quickly given to Austrian diplomacy, and the French emperor's definite offer of Silesia for a hundred thousand men was rejected. With the thirty thousand which Saxony had put at his disposal, and with such an army as Austria herself could raise, the minister felt sure that at some critical moment she would be able, as a well-armed mediator, to command a peace in terms restoring to his country the prestige of immemorial empire.

IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES

ENGRAVED BY C. A. POWELL

EUGÈNE DE BEAUHARNAIS (PRINCE EUGÈNE)

DUKE OF LEUCHTENBERG, PRINCE OF EICHSTÄDT

FROM THE PAINTING BY HENRI SCHEFFER

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN IN SAXONY

NAPOLEON OVER HASTY — WEAKNESS OF HIS ARMY — THE LOW CONDITION OF THE ALLIES — NAPOLEON'S PLAN THWARTED — THE FIRST MEETING A SURPRISE — THE BATTLE OF LÜTZEN — AN ORDINARY VICTORY — THE MEDIATION OF AUSTRIA — NAPOLEON'S EFFORT TO APPROACH RUSSIA — THE BATTLE OF BAUTZEN — DEATH OF DUROC — NAPOLEON'S GREATEST BLUNDER.

THE grim determination of Napoleon to rule or ruin can be read in a line of conduct which might almost be called foolhardy, inasmuch as when he arrived at Mainz, on April seventeenth, he knew little or nothing of the enemy's position, force, or plans. Desirous of preventing his foe in opening the campaign he spent a week of fruitless endeavor at that place, and then started for Erfurt to obtain a nearer view. The general aspect of his soldiers was not reassuring, for the young recruits were still raw and the immaturity of his preparations was evident in a lack of trained horses and riders. He had stolen three weeks from the enemy, but he had robbed himself of all that his indefatigable energy might have accomplished in that time. His recklessness in diplomacy, his refusal of all concessions, and his exaggerated cleverness in anticipating his opponents were to prove his undoing from the military point of view. The other elements of his failure were the political factors already mentioned.

At the first appearance of Tettenborn's Cossacks, Hamburg rose and drove out the French, remaining in possession of the allies until the end of May; but the trusty French garrisons in Dantzic, Stettin, Küstrin, Glogau, Modlin, and Zamosc, having been reinforced by Eugène, held their respective strongholds, and were left to do so. The absence of these much-needed veterans was the first element of weakness

CHAP. V
1813

in Napoleon's army. A second was the insufficiency of real cavalry, brave as had been the parade of horses in France. It was the great captain's firm conviction, repeatedly and emphatically expressed, that without active cavalry, armed with long-range guns, offensive warfare was not possible. This defect he had hoped to remedy in the last three weeks before opening the campaign. The third element in a fatal triad was the temper of his generals, which was restless and insubordinate almost from the outset. They were his mightiest men: Berthier as chief of staff; Mortier commanding the guard; Davout, Ney, Bertrand, Lauriston, Marmont, Reynier, Macdonald, and Oudinot, each in readiness with a corps, Victor coming up with another; Augereau preparing to lead the Bavarians, Rapp at Dantzic, Poniatowski in Galicia —twelve corps in all.

The French soldiers formed a great army: two hundred and thirty-five thousand men on paper, actually two hundred thousand, of whom a hundred and thirty-five thousand were mobile and in readiness when the Emperor took command. Eugène had forty-seven thousand more. Consequently when Napoleon, troubled by the exaggerated reports of his enemy being stronger and more forward in preparation than he had believed possible, set out for Saxony three weeks earlier than the day originally fixed by him for the beginning of hostilities, he was already a victim of his own nervous apprehensions. In colder phlegm he would have foreseen the truth. Russia had become apathetic as soon as the seat of war was transferred beyond her borders; strenuous as were the efforts of Prussia, Scharnhorst's means were slender, and he could not work miracles. All told, the allies had at the moment only seventy thousand men ready for the field. Wittgenstein was for the moment commander-in-chief. The monarchs, utterly uncongenial, were struggling to act in harmony, but double weakness is not strength. They had only a single advantage — excellent horses in abundance for both cavalry and artillery. "The worse the troops, the greater the need of artillery"; "Great battles are won with artillery"; these were two of Napoleon's aphorisms. The great strategist had lost his reconnoitering arm in Russia and Poland, the artillery specialist must have scorned the antiquated guns which now replaced the splendid field-pieces that rested on the bottom of ponds and rivers whither he had flung them on his disastrous retreat. With his high officers sullen, his ranks untried, his cavalry feeble, his artillery hastily collected from arsenal

stores, his staff incomplete, and his prestige waning, the Emperor might well abdicate temporarily and exclaim, as he did, "I shall conduct this war as General Bonaparte." This resolution was sacredly kept.

The premature opening of the campaign was certain to make Austria pivotal in European politics once again. Her preparations were not well advanced, but her strength was growing daily, while that of her rivals was sure to diminish until in the end the coalition would be powerless without her. This Napoleon saw, and he arranged his strategy to checkmate what he now felt to be a hostile neutrality. Believing that the enemy would meet him half way his first plan showed all the marks of greatness which characterized the similar one he had so successfully executed at Jena. Its central idea was a mass formation with Eugène to break through the enemy's line, then by a wheel toward the south to annihilate their left, and finally to present himself victorious before Austria. If successful he might dictate his own terms. But the enemy did not advance; it was perhaps well for the Emperor of the French that they did not. An eye-witness declared that on what was supposed to be the very eve of battle there was little real discipline outside the sphere of the commander's personal observation, that the officers had no confidence in their men and the men but little in their officers, that the superiors were absorbed in securing some measure of physical comfort, that the inferiors were listless and disobedient. The forward movement was successful, and the union with Eugène was effected on April twenty-eighth. Two whole days elapsed, however, before the enemy was found, and it was May first when the French van drove in the Russian outposts from Lützen, ever famous as the scene of Wallenstein's overthrow by Gustavus Adolphus a hundred and eighty-one years earlier. The Russian center was concentrated between the Elster and the Pleisse; Napoleon's line was more extended, overlapping his enemy's both right and left. In a preliminary skirmish at the pass of Rippach, Bessières, rashly exposing himself at the head of the cavalry of the guard, was killed. His loss in such a crisis was like the ruin of a great cohort on the eve of a close battle. Marmont, forgiven for his failure in Spain, was near; but close to Napoleon as he was, even he could not replace the gallant, trusted cavalry leader who for nearly seventeen years had scarcely quitted his Emperor's side.

Owing probably to the inadequate scouting force of Napoleon, the

CHAP. V
1813

battle of Lützen was in the nature of a surprise. Wittgenstein had detached five thousand men as if to cover Leipsic, toward which the French line was advancing; then, concentrating the mass of his center and left, he crossed the Elster early on May second in order to attack Ney's corps on the Emperor's right. About nine Lauriston's corps, with which Napoleon was, came upon the enemy, and was fiercely engaged — so hotly, indeed, that it seemed as if it must be the Russian right wing which barred the way. A messenger was immediately despatched to bring in Ney, who arrived about eleven. The marshal and his emperor at once advanced to reconnoiter, and were just remarking that there was only a small force between them and the city, which through their field-glasses they could dimly discern in the background, its roofs crowded with curious onlookers, when behind, on the right, was heard the sound of heavy cannonading. General Bonaparte was himself at once. No movement is considered more difficult than that by which an army marching in columns wheels when attacked on its flank, so as in turn to outflank the assailants. In a flash, and apparently without a thought, the Emperor issued minute orders for this intricate manœuver, and his generals accomplished it with a masterly dexterity. Napoleon then galloped forward toward Lützen to carry the guard behind the center as a reserve, and Ney dashed into the thickest of the fight to take command of his boy conscripts, who were beginning to yield.

The conflict raged all day, with varying results, along the line from Great and Little Görschen to Starsiedel, the latter hamlet being the scene of terrific fighting. At five the Prussians withdrew from Kaja, and began to yield along the whole line as far as the Görschens, which they had so far held. Napoleon had from the outset been reckless, cheering his boys by presence and example until they fought like veterans. As the Prussians gave signs of weakness, he brought in his artillery, poor as it was, with the old grand style, and ordered the young guard into the gap he felt sure of making. A Russian reserve arrived, however, at the crucial instant, and stayed his onset until seven. At that hour Macdonald bore down his opponents at Eisdorf, and attacked the Russo-Prussian line on the flank; the second column was then hurled against its center, and the battle was ended. The Russian reserve was strong enough to prevent the retreat from becoming a rout, but since Lauriston had occupied Leipsic

IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES

GÉRARD-CHRISTOPHE-MICHEL DUROC

DUKE OF FRIULI

FROM THE PAINTING BY AN UNKNOWN ARTIST

as early as two in the afternoon there was but one course open for the allies: to withdraw behind the Elbe. Napoleon gathered his army into three columns and followed; but slowly and circumspectly, because without cavalry he could not harass them. When, on May eighth, the French reached Dresden, they found that their enemy had blown up the bridges, and were entrenched in the Neustadt on the right, or north, shore. Thus the victory of Lützen was, after all, indecisive.

And yet the utmost skill and bravery had been shown by the combatants on both sides. The field was strewn with the corpses, not of such rude and stalwart peasants as had hitherto filled the ranks of opposing armies, but of gentle youth from French lyceums and Prussian universities. There were forty thousand in all, an equal number from each army, who remained dead or wounded on the hard-contested field. They had fallen to little purpose. The victor captured neither prisoners nor guns in important numbers, and to him it was slight compensation for the loss of Bessières that Scharnhorst was killed. The allies, though beaten, were undismayed; long experience had sharpened their wits and toughened their purpose; there was already much strategical ability at their headquarters, and there was about to be more, since Moreau, summoned from America, was soon to take service with his splendid powers against his country. Great as the battle was, it must therefore be reckoned as an ordinary victory; it served to prolong existing conditions, but it did not decide an issue. It was, however, something that it gave the French a self-confidence bordering on enthusiasm, and it was more that after Napoleon had commenced to rebuild the Dresden bridges, Frederick Augustus, the King of Saxony declared himself favorable to the French. Abandoning Austria, he summoned his forces from Torgau, and the allies retreated eastward behind the Spree. The lower Elbe was also recovered. The King of Denmark had despatched an auxiliary force to Hamburg. Their commander, believing Napoleon's fortunes submerged already, at first assisted the Russians: but after Lützen he turned his arms to Vandamme's assistance. The city was retaken, three thousand of Bernadotte's force marched out, and on May thirtieth Davout, with fifteen thousand of his own men and three thousand Danes, marched in.

Napoleon's chief purpose, however, was unfulfilled, for Austria was neither panic-stricken nor dismayed. On the contrary she still stood forth as a mediator, and now with armaments to enforce her demands.

CHAP. V
1813

Immediately after Lützen, Stadion, sometime Austrian minister of war, was sent to the camp of the allies. He stated that the minimum terms of peace would be the dismemberment of Warsaw, the restoration of Prussia, the surrender by France of Holland, Oldenburg, and the Hanseatic lands, the abandonment of the protectorate over the Confederation of the Rhine by Napoleon, and the surrender to Austria of Illyria and Dalmatia, with a rectification of her western frontier. Almost simultaneously Bubna appeared at Napoleon's headquarters with suggestions for a general armistice, during which peace negotiations should be carried on as rapidly as possible by a congress of the powers. Dwelling on the necessity of territorial concessions by France for the sake of a general pacification of the Continent, the envoy declared that if this were accomplished, Great Britain, finding herself isolated, must yield, and grant to Napoleon a substantial indemnification from her vast colonial system. The propositions of Austria were received by the allies with open eagerness, by the Emperor of the French with apparent hesitancy. Next to the establishment of his Continental empire, the humiliation of Great Britain was Napoleon's highest ambition. Compromise with her meant defeat. With a mixture of proud determination and anxiety, he therefore replied to Francis that he desired a pacification as ardently as any one; that he was ready for such a congress as was suggested; that he would even go further, and admit to it delegates from the insurgent Spaniards; that he would still further consent to a truce during its sessions: but that he would rather die at the head of his high-spirited Frenchmen than make himself ridiculous before England. Never was the writer's statecraft unfolded to greater daring. Long consultations were held with the King of Saxony, a man of gentleness and refinement, who was completely won by Napoleon's almost filial attentions, and Bubna was often kept at the council-table until after midnight. Eugène, however, was instantly despatched to raise a new army in Italy, with orders not to conceal his movements from Austria.

But Napoleon's chief efforts were put forth in the direction of Russia. The adroit Caulaincourt was chosen as a fitting envoy, and instructed not merely to reknit his personal relations with the Czar, but also to surrender every point which had been contested in the previous negotiations. He was to offer first the surrender of the Continental system as far as Russia was concerned, and second such a reconstruction

of the map of eastern Europe as would put an end to the grand duchy of Warsaw forever. This mushroom state, with the domain of Dantzic, was to be divided between the Duke of Oldenburg, Alexander's near kinsman, and the King of Prussia; Prussia itself was to be a border state under Russian influence, with a capital at either Königsburg, Dantzic, or Warsaw. Brandenburg, with Berlin, would fall to Jerome, and Saxony would doubtless get the territory around Krossen. No surrender could have been more complete. "Your chief concern," ran the final instruction, written on May seventeenth, "will be to secure a conversation with the Emperor Alexander. My intention is to build a golden bridge to save him from the intrigues of Metternich." Alas for such vain hopes! A new diplomatic star had risen at the Russian court in the person of the young Count Nesselrode, and the personal interview so earnestly desired by Caulaincourt was steadily refused; Napoleon's proposals, the envoy was informed, must be made through the Austrian cabinet, or not at all.

During the parleyings of Austria Napoleon won a second great victory, which was utterly ineffectual because he had no cavalry force wherewith to pursue. For some days after the occupation of Dresden, for the same reason, he had been ignorant of his enemy's whereabouts. Learning at last that the allies had not been separated, as he had hoped, but were standing at Bautzen in a strong defensive position behind the Spree, he left Dresden at noon on the eighteenth of May, determined to strike a decisive blow. His enemy, having been reinforced by Barclay with sixteen thousand Russians, and by Kleist with eleven thousand Prussians, was about ninety thousand strong. On the nineteenth both Barclay and York advanced from Bautzen; the former was defeated by Bertrand in a sharp struggle, the latter by Lauriston in a protracted fight; and at nightfall the French were before the place. In front was the unimportant stream, and beyond it were the allies in a double line, their front on the bank, their rear on the heights behind. About midday of the twentieth the French attacked. Macdonald stormed the bridge, Marmont and Bertrand crossed by pontoons; at three their footing was won, and the assault of the place began. For three hours the fighting was terrific, but at six a portion of the defenders withdrew behind the town to the second line; at eight the rest did likewise. Next morning at five, Napoleon, after a sleepless night, issued his orders; at eight the conflict opened all along the line. Then first,

CHAP. V
1813

the Mameluke body-servant having spread a couch of skins, the Emperor sought repose; he slept to the lullaby of cannon and musketry for several hours, calmly assured of his combinations working perfectly. By one Ney had rolled up the Russian right under Barclay, and Napoleon, waking, sent Marmont and Bertrand around the right of the enemy's center. By four the allied armies were in full retreat. Then would have been the moment for artillery to crash and cavalry to pursue; but neither was efficient, and while the French army did what men could do, at best they could only follow at equal speed with the foe, and could not throw his ranks into disorder. "What! no results from such carnage?" said Napoleon. "Not a gun? not a prisoner?"

There was worse to come. From time to time the flying columns wheeled and poured a heavy artillery fire into their pursuers. Near Reichenbach, Bruyères was killed by a ball; then Kirchener by another, which, ricochetting from a tree, mortally wounded Duroc, the commander's faithful aid, his second self. Such a blow was stupefying indeed, for it was the loss of his closest confidant, of one who through every vicissitude had been a near, true friend, almost the only companion of a man reduced to solitude by his great elevation. Napoleon was stricken to the heart, and, halting, gave way until nightfall to his despair. "Poor man!" said the troopers one to another, "he has lost his children." "Everything to-morrow," was the sorrowing ruler's one reply to all suggestions. From time to time he betook himself to the bedside of the dying man; at last Duroc himself could no longer endure his Emperor's prostration, and besought him to rejoin the soldiers. The friends parted in a long embrace. Thereupon the pursuit was continued, but without ardor and without success.

The nature of Napoleon's victory at Bautzen was his undoing. Had it been a second Friedland, Caulaincourt no doubt would have met Alexander; but, as it was, the allies had saved their army, and Austria's accession to the coalition would still insure their success. Nesselrode was convinced that Metternich would assent, and, dark as was the hour, persisted in refusing to communicate with France except by way of Austria. Wittgenstein lost his command, Barclay was fully reinstated as commander-in-chief, and, to gain time for Austria to try her vaunted mediation, a short armistice was proposed to Napoleon. Had the latter known the weakness, the discord, the exhaustion of his foe, wretched as was the state of his own army and depressed as were his

IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES

ENGRAVED BY CHARLES STATE

MARSHAL JEAN-BAPTISTE BESSIÈRES

DUKE OF ISTRIA

FROM THE PAINTING BY EDMOND HÉDOUIN, AFTER MEISSONIER

spirits, he might have refused, and even the monumental error of 1812 might now have been made good. As it was, the year 1813 is the date of his one irreparable blunder, the initiation of his final disaster. Other mistakes he had made, but they were all petty compared with the great one to which he was now tempted. But his faithful officers were falling like standing grain under a hail-storm; his boy soldiers, though fighting like veterans, inspired little confidence, for there was the same uneasiness among the humble privates as among the great officers; he had neither cavalry nor artillery, and his available force was reduced to a hundred and twenty thousand, men and boys; Barclay might, as for a moment he contemplated doing, draw off into the Russian steppes; the traitors in Paris were already stirring; in short, the Emperor felt that he must at least consider. This was the monumental blunder of his life because it put him at Austria's mercy without her being forced to reveal her policy.

CHAPTER VI

THE NATIONS IN GRAND ARRAY

CONDITION OF AFFAIRS AFTER BAUTZEN — THE ARMISTICE OF POISCHWITZ — AUSTRIA'S NEW TERMS — NAPOLEON'S RELIANCE ON HIS DYNASTIC INFLUENCE — INTERVENTION OF BRITISH AGENTS — NAPOLEON'S INTERVIEW WITH METTERNICH — THE EMPEROR'S WRATH — METTERNICH'S DETERMINATION — WELLINGTON'S VICTORIES — NAPOLEON AT MAINZ — THE COALITION COMPLETED — DIPLOMATIC FENCING — RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES — THE RESPONSIBILITY.

CHAP. VI
—
1813

NAPOLEON determined, however, to deliberate on the strongest possible vantage-ground, and for this reason continued his pursuit as far as Breslau, which was occupied by the end of the month. Simultaneously Berlin was threatened by Oudinot, Victor had relieved Glogau, and Vandamme was marching to Davout's assistance, so that Hamburg was safely in hand. The allied forces stood behind Schweidnitz, and by the same marvelous strategy as of old the various corps of the French army were disposed, under Ney, Lauriston, Reynier, Macdonald, and Bertrand, so as virtually to engirdle the enemy. Napoleon was at Neumarkt with the guard; a single bold dash southward toward the Eulen Mountains with his concentering force, and he would have crushed his opponents. But another victory like Lützen and Bautzen would reduce his army still further, and then in his weakness he would be confronted by the hundred thousand Austrians which, according to the best advices, his father-in-law had assembled in Bohemia. In that juncture Francis might risk a battle, and if successful he could dictate not merely an armistice, but the terms of peace — a contingency more terrible than any other. Time, moreover, seemed quite as valuable to the Emperor of the French as to his foe: while they were calling in reserves and strengthening their ranks, his hundred and eighty thou-

sand conscripts of 1814 could be marched to the Elbe, and Eugène could complete his work in Italy. Ignorant of the panic at his enemy's headquarters, the uneasy conqueror decided therefore that his best course was, by exhibiting a desire for peace and assenting to an armistice, to avoid the general reprobation of Europe. Accordingly, he took another disastrous step, and accepted the proposal of the allies for a conference.

How earnestly Napoleon desired peace appears from his spontaneous concessions. He would agree to the evacuation of Breslau for the sake of harmony, and would consent to such a truce as the majesty of a ruler and the rights of a successful general might alike exact; but he would not be treated like a besieged commander, Hamburg should remain as it was at the conclusion of negotiations, and the duration of the armistice must be longer than the term proposed — six weeks at the least. On these two points he took his stand. The fatal armistice of Poischwitz was signed at that village on June fourth by three commissioners, Shuvaloff for Russia, Kleist for Prussia, and Caulaincourt for France. It was a compromise providing for a neutral zone, stretching from the mouth of the Elbe southeastward to Bohemia, which was to separate the combatants until July twentieth. Hostilities might not be renewed until August first. Breslau was to be evacuated; Hamburg was to remain as the truce found it. These terms were reached only after much bluster, the allies, weak and disorganized as they were, demanding at first the evacuation of both Breslau and Hamburg, with a cessation of arms for a month. This stand they took in reliance partly on England, partly on Austria. The compromise, as mutually accepted, was reached in spite of British influence, when Francis, apparently nervous and anxious, arrived at Gitschin, near the Bohemian frontier, and opened a conference with Nesselrode.

At Vienna men had said, when the news of Bautzen came, that the conqueror was perhaps an angel, perhaps a devil — certainly not a man. The cabinet had seen with alarm his attempt to negotiate directly with the Czar. Success in winning Russia would put Austria again at Napoleon's mercy; Alexander must be kept in warlike humor at all hazards. Nesselrode demanded nothing less than Austria's adherence to the coalition; Francis was still unready to fight; and Metternich, displaying all his adroitness, finally wrung from Nesselrode a basis for mediation comprising six articles: the extinction of Warsaw, the en-

CHAP. VI
1813

largement of Prussia by her Polish provinces and Dantzic, the restoration of Illyria to Austria, the independence of the Hanseatic towns, the dissolution of the Rhenish Confederacy, and the restoration of Prussia's western boundaries to the lines of 1806. This was a "minimum" considerably smaller than that proposed before Bautzen; but the allies could well accept it if Austria would promise never to take sides with France, as Metternich is said to have verbally assured the Czar in a secret meeting would be the case. On June twenty-seventh it was formally arranged that a congress to pacify the Continent on this basis should be held preliminary to a general peace including England; and the treaty binding Russia, Prussia, and Austria to alliance in case of Napoleon's refusal was signed that day in secret at Reichenbach. Should Napoleon reject Austria's articles of mediation, she was, on July twentieth, to join the coalition, and fight not only until he was driven behind the Rhine, but until the fortresses on the Oder and the Vistula were evacuated, Italy liberated, Spain restored to the Bourbons, and Austria reënlarged to her boundaries of 1805.

"If the allies do not in good faith desire peace," said Napoleon on June fifth, as he left his headquarters for Dresden, "this armistice may prove fatal to us." Late in life he believed that if he had in his great crisis marched right on, Austria would not have declared against him. Shrewd as he was, he was a tyro in dynastic politics. Austria has been made, aggrandized, and saved by marriages; but no conception of the duty imposed on families by that relation as understood in private life has ever controlled her politics. Francis was never unwilling to use his daughter for public ends, and seems to have delighted in the construction of family feeling formed in his son-in-law's mind by homely sentiment. It is preposterous to suppose that Napoleon really entertained such a view of his marriage as that of the Parisian bourgeois; but viewing himself as an established dynastic ruler, he could well imagine that when Austria had her choice between two purely dynastic alliances, she would, for the sake of Maria Louisa, have chosen that with France. This rather simple conception he seems to have entertained for a time, because when Maret and Metternich met, the former urged the matrimonial bond as a consideration. "The marriage," rejoined the latter, with a cough—"yes, the marriage; it was a match founded on political considerations, but—" and the conclusion of the sentence was a significant wag of the head.

IN THE COLLECTION OF COUNT D'HEDOUVILLE

BARON HENRI JOMINI

Napoleon's first instinct of treachery was that of the general, and it was sound. His suspicions were fully aroused as soon as he reached Dresden; for Bubna began at once to stickle for antiquated formalities in negotiation, and stung Napoleon to exasperation by his evident determination to procrastinate. Accordingly the Emperor summoned Metternich to a personal meeting. The minister could not well explain. Since Castlereagh's return to power in January, 1812, Great Britain had kept at Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Vienna able diplomats ready, with purse in hand, to pay almost any sum for a strong coalition. It had been the appearance of Sir Charles Stewart from Berlin, and of Lord Cathcart from St. Petersburg, at the allied headquarters which accounted for the arrogant firmness of Shuvaloff and Kleist, and determined the character of the armistice. On June fourteenth and fifteenth those envoys further concluded treaties with Prussia and Russia respectively which explain the performances of Bubna at Dresden, and of the congress which later met at Prague. Prussia promised, in return for a subsidy of two thirds of a million pounds sterling, to cede a certain portion of lower Saxony, with the bishopric of Hildesheim, to the electorate of Hanover, and agreed to keep on foot eighty thousand men; Russia was to maintain a hundred and sixty thousand men, in return for one and a third million pounds, and for the care of English vessels in her harbors she was to receive a further sum of half a million. Great Britain and Russia were in conjunction to emit an issue of paper money to the amount of five millions sterling, and this loan was to be guaranteed by England, Prussia, and Russia conjointly. In conclusion it was solemnly stipulated that neither Russia nor Great Britain should negotiate separately with France.

In view of the successive stages of Napoleon's isolation,— namely, the armistice, these two subsidy treaties, and the secret treaty of June twenty-seventh signed at Reichenbach,— it seems futile to discuss the question whether or not Napoleon really wished peace in his famous interview with Metternich on June twenty-seventh — an interview which lasted from a quarter before twelve at midday until nearly nine at night, and has improperly been considered as the turning-point in Napoleon's career. Up to that moment Metternich's intervention had amounted to nothing short of selfish double-dealing. Of this Napoleon had written evidence. No wonder the shifty minister described his interview as "a most curious mixture of most heterogeneous subjects, of intermitting

CHAP. VI 1813

friendliness with the most passionate outbreaks," and strove in his account to deepen the shadows of his picture by discreet silence as to certain points — a trick he may have learned from Whitworth. The unfriendly narrator declares that Napoleon, when told that his soldiers were only boys, flung his hat into a corner, and hissed, "You do not know what passes in a soldier's mind; I grew up in the field, and a man like me troubles himself little about a million men." The Austrian statesman further reported the French emperor to have characterized his second marriage as a piece of stupidity, and to have charged his princely interlocutor with venality!

Probably all this is true: the professional soldier's point of view is terrible to the laity. Kossuth declared to a trustworthy witness that he had seen the letters of Maria Louisa which betrayed her husband to her father; and no one has ever denied that Napoleon was a fair judge of character, and called a spade a spade when he was angry. And angry he was. Here was the man who had plumed himself on the Bonaparte-Hapsburg alliance, who had hitherto professed the most ardent personal esteem for Napoleon himself, and who had so far found Austria's highest welfare in supporting the Napoleonic system. And what was his conduct? A complete and sudden reversal of his previous behavior, personal insolence, and public scorn. Then and there he demanded the suspension, at least temporarily, of the treaty of alliance between Austria and France — a paper solemnly negotiated by himself but little more than one short year earlier; then, too, he demanded a further prolongation of the armistice while the peace congress held its sessions, and coldly throwing every other consideration to the winds, gave his victim to understand that Austria was no longer a mediator, but an armed arbiter, determined to regain her glory by the line of least resistance — that is, by alliance with Russia, in order to secure a Continental peace, to which Great Britain should not be a party.

Is it wonderful that under such provocation Napoleon's hot Corsican blood boiled over, or that his unruly tongue uttered startling language? The time had come when he must recognize masters and laws, and it was not easy. At thirty, as he liked to boast, he had gained victories, appeased a popular storm, fused parties, and rallied a nation. Further, for years he had made sport of European dynasties, and in particular had found that of Austria both double-faced and time-serving. Having taken a leaf from her book, he had become her dupe, and it was hard to

bear the consequences. The stormy side of the famous interview is therefore unimportant historically; its only significance is that it marks the last stage in the evolution of Austrian diplomacy. Being now strong enough to reassert equality with France in the councils of Europe, the Hapsburg empire was about to act. Metternich believed that Alexander's aid would be more valuable than Napoleon's, and in a letter to his master, written two days after the famous interview, he explained that through a Continental peace lay the line of least resistance. The arrangement he suggested to Napoleon would leave England and France to renew the struggle and fight until exhausted, while Austria, Russia, and Prussia were recuperating. Napoleon's one weapon against England was his Continental system; on the morrow of a victorious campaign he could not so easily throw it down. If there was to be a Continental peace, and not a general one, it must be made after a final decisive victory; and to assemble his troops for a grand battle with Austria, Russia, and Prussia, he needed time. The Poischwitz armistice was his first fatal blunder; before the close of the interview he consented to its prolongation until August tenth, ostensibly that the Congress of Prague might arrange terms for a Continental peace; and this was his undoing.

The Congress of Prague was a puppet-show, and has no place in history except as it displayed the character of Metternich, deceiving himself to its close with the belief that he was what he professed to be — an armed mediator turning the course of European politics back into dynastic channels. In reality it was as Napoleon said — he believed himself to be directing everybody, when everything was directing him. Behind the puppets were Alexander's fatalism, Prussia's regenerated nationality, the half-awakened sensibility of Austria, and lastly, British gold with British victories. Wellington had finally focused the national power of Spain, and was actually menacing the soil of France. His famous "march to Vitoria," as it has been called because of the decisive battle fought at that place on June twenty-first, 1813, forced Napoleon finally to abandon Spain. Already the Emperor had withdrawn his choicest veterans thence, and he was well aware how futile any further struggles for Joseph's throne must be. His conduct, therefore, was perfectly consistent; with a bold front he laid down the ultimatum of *uti possidetis* for the congress, and left for Mainz, where he remained from July twenty-fifth to

CHAP. VI
1813

August first, arranging his military plans for the defense of the Pyrenees, and despatching Soult, who went against his will, for the campaign which sealed the marshal's reputation as a great soldier. Doubtless, too, Napoleon felt that distance from the absurd congress would absolve him from the guilt of its empty pretense.

There, too, he met his empress; perhaps he fondly dreamed that she might intercede with her sire; in the long interviews they held he was probably drilling her in the functions of a regent chosen to sustain in Paris the tottering cause of her consort and her child. Fouché, too, was recalled from his suspicious retirement to untangle the thread of Austrian duplicity. But the long hours of consultation, arrangement, and execution were mainly concerned, we may suppose, with the hurrying in of new levies, the raising of cavalry, the creation of artillery, and the general preparation for the life-and-death struggle which was soon to take place. The Danish alliance was strengthened, and Murat by strenuous efforts was kept within the shadowy lines of the vanishing Napoleonic system. Beugnot, then head of the French regency of Berg, was one day called at a moment's notice to act as amanuensis, and in a flurry twice took his Emperor's chair. "So you are determined to sit in my seat," was Napoleon's simple remark; "you have chosen a bad time for it." The mayor of Mainz was St. André, a stanch conventional of the old school; another day he and Beugnot, with the Prince of Nassau, accompanied the visitor on a river excursion, and the Emperor, scanning with intense interest the castle of Biberich, leaned far over the boat. "What a curious attitude," whispered the veteran revolutionary to the terrified Beugnot; "the fate of the world depends on a kick or two."

The fate of the world was not in jeopardy, and the seat of Napoleon as Emperor of the West was not to be occupied by another; but the affairs of the Continent were to be readjusted, the beneficent work of the Revolution was to be transferred to other hands, and the notion of Western empire was to vanish like other baseless fabrics. The diplomacy of Lord Aberdeen, Castlereagh's envoy at Vienna, had succeeded before Napoleon returned to Dresden, and the treaty of eventual triple alliance, signed at Reichenbach on June twenty-seventh, was made good on August first by Francis, who agreed, in return for an enormous subsidy from Great Britain, to join Russia and Prussia with two hundred thousand men. The rosters of Austria's army had been

DRAWING MADE FOR THE CENTURY CO.

MARSHAL CLAUDE-VICTOR PERRIN

DUKE OF BELLUNO

DRAWING BY ERIC PAPE FROM THE PORTRAIT BY ANTOINE-JEAN GROS

surreptitiously obtained by French agents in Prague. Napoleon was aghast as he read the proof of her gigantic efforts. At once he redoubled his own, and began to unfold a marvelous diplomatic shrewdness. With Poland's three despoilers thus united in England's pay, his isolation would be complete; a few days only remained until the expiration of the armistice; he had but one arrow left in his quiver, and he determined to speed it: to bribe Austria into neutrality by accepting her conditions and restoring the national equilibrium of Europe.

The proposition was made, and staggered Francis; for two days he dallied, and then made a counter-proposition with a new clause, which secured, not the emancipation of states, but dynastic independence for the sovereigns of the Rhine Confederation. This drew the veil from Metternich's policy. Afraid of a German nationality in which Prussia would inevitably secure the hegemony, he was determined to perpetuate the rivalries of petty potentates, and regain Austria's ascendancy in Germany as well as in Italy. This, too, would strip Napoleon of his German troops, and confine France to the west shore of the Rhine, even though it left Westphalia and Berg under French rulers. Such a contingency was abhorrent to one still pretending to Western empire, and Napoleon in turn procrastinated until the evening of the ninth, when, as a final compromise, he offered the dismemberment of Warsaw, the freedom of Dantzic and Illyria, including Fiume, but retaining Triest. But by this time dynastic jealousy had done its work at Prague, and when these terms were communicated to the plenipotentiaries unofficially, Cathcart's bellicose humor, which was heightened by the news from Wellington, served to complement Alexander's jealousy of Austria's rising power. The Prussian nationalists, too, saw their emancipation indefinitely postponed; and since the communication of Napoleon's ultimatum was unofficial, and an official notification had not arrived at midnight on the tenth, the commissioners of Russia and Prussia rose at the stroke of the clock, and informed Metternich that, their powers having expired, he was bound by the terms of Reichenbach.

Metternich kept up his mask, and continued to discuss with Caulaincourt the items of Napoleon's proposition, but the other diplomats gave vent to their delight. Humboldt lingered until Austria's formal declaration of war was under way to Dresden; simultaneously beacons, pre-

CHAP. VI
1813

arranged for the purpose on Bohemian hills, flashed the welcome news to the expectant armies of Russia and Prussia. Napoleon still stood undismayed by forms, for under the terms of the armistice a week's notice must be given before the renewal of hostilities. On the thirteenth he offered Austria everything except Hamburg and Triest; on the fifteenth he offered even these great ports. But technical right was on the side of war, and his proposals were refused.

Where the blame or merit for the renewal of hostilities rests will ever remain a matter of opinion. Amid the tangles of negotiation, it must be remembered that on March twenty-fourth, 1812, Russia and Sweden began the coalition; that Russia and Prussia were forced into union on February twenty-eighth, 1813, by the element of interest common to Alexander's dynasty and the Prussian people; that Great Britain entered on the scene in her commercial agreement with Sweden on March third, 1813; and that English diplomacy combined with the interests of Austrian diplomacy to complete and cement the coalition with the necessary subsidies. If we view the negotiations of Poischwitz and Prague in connection with Napoleon's whole career, they appear to have run in a channel prepared by his boundless ambition; if we isolate them and scrutinize their course, we must think him the moral victor. Whatever he may have been before, he was now eager for peace, and sincere in his professions. Believing himself to have acted generously when Austria was under his feet, he was outraged when he saw that he had been duped by her subsequent course. The concessions to which he was forced appear to have been made slowly, because what he desired was not a Continental peace in the interests of the Hapsburgs, but a general peace in the interest of all Europe as represented by the Empire and the dynasty which he had founded. At this distance of time, and in the light of intervening history, some credit should be given to his insight, which convinced him that strengthened nationality, as well as renewed dynastic influence, might retard the liberalizing influences of the Revolution, which he falsely believed himself still to represent. For the duration of the Holy Alliance this was to a certain extent true. It will be noticed that throughout the closing negotiations no mention was made of the "Continental system." That malign concept of the revolutionary epoch perished in Napoleon's decline, and history knows its name no more.

CHAPTER VII

THE LAST IMPERIAL VICTORY

NAPOLEON'S PROSPECTS — THE PREPARATIONS AND PLANS OF THE COALITION — CROSS PURPOSES OF THE COMBATANTS — CONDITION OF NAPOLEON'S MIND — STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS OF THE ALLIES — RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES — THE FEINT IN SILESIA — NAPOLEON AT DRESDEN — FIRST DAY'S FIGHTING — THE VICTORY WON ON THE SECOND DAY.

IN later years Napoleon confessed that during the interval between the first and second Saxon campaigns he had been outwitted. His antagonists had, in his own language, "changed for the better"; at least they secured the war they so earnestly desired under conditions vastly more favorable to themselves than to their opponent. Both parties had been arming with might and main during the prolonged truce, but each member of the dynastic coalition now had the backing of a growing national enthusiasm, while Napoleon had to deal with waning zeal and an exhausted people. Thus, then, at the opening of the second campaign in Saxony the allies had four hundred and thirty-five thousand men, and Napoleon but three hundred and fifty thousand. With this inferiority, it behooved the Emperor to use all his strategic powers, and he did so with a brilliancy never surpassed by him. Choosing the Elbe as his natural defensive line, Hamburg stood almost impregnable at one end, flanked to the southward by Magdeburg, Wittenberg, and Torgau, three mighty fortresses. Dresden, which was necessarily the focal point, was intrenched and palisaded for the protection of the army which was to be its main bulwark. Davout and Oudinot, with seventy thousand men, were to threaten Berlin, and, thereby drawing off as many as possible of the enemy, liberate the garrisons of Stettin and Küstrin; they were then to beleaguer Spandau, push the foe across

CHAP. VII 1813

the Oder, and stand ready to fall on the flank of the coalition army. Napoleon himself, with the remaining two hundred and eighty thousand, was to await the onset of the combined Russian, Prussian, and Austrian forces.

The allies now had in their camp two mighty strategists—Jomini, the well-known Swiss adventurer and military historian, and Moreau, who had returned from the United States. The former, pleading that he had lost a merited promotion by Berthier's ill-will, and that as a foreigner he had the right of choice, had gone over to the enemies of his employer; the latter, yielding to the specious pleas of his silly and ambitious wife that he might fight Napoleon without fighting France, had taken service with the Czar. The arrow which penetrated Napoleon's vitals was indeed feathered from his own pinions, since these two, with another of Napoleon's pupils—Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden —were virtually the council of war. Two of them, the latter and Moreau, saw the specter of French sovereignty beckoning them on. They dreamed of the chief magistracy in some shape, imperial, monarchical, consular, or presidential, and were more devoted to their personal interests than to those of the coalition. In the service of their ambition was formed the plan by which not only was Napoleon overwhelmed, but the fields of France were drenched with blood. Under their advice, three great armies were arrayed: that of the North, in Brandenburg, was composed of Prussians, Swedes, and a few Russians, its generals being Bülow, Bernadotte, and Tchernicheff; that of the East was the Prusso-Russian army in Silesia, now under Blücher, that astounding young cavalryman of seventy, and Wittgenstein; finally, that of the South was the new Austrian force under Schwarzenberg, with an adjunct force of Russian troops under Barclay, and the Russian guard under the Grand Duke Constantine. Bülow was in and near Berlin with about a hundred and fifty-six thousand men; Blücher had ninety-five thousand, and, having violated the armistice, was on August fourteenth already within the neutral zone at Striegau, before Breslau; the Austro-Russian force of almost two hundred and fifty thousand was in northern Bohemia, near Melnik; Bennigsen was in Poland building up a strong reserve. Schwarzenberg, though commander of the main army, was reduced to virtual impotence by the presence at his headquarters of all the sovereigns and of Moreau. Divided counsels spring from diverse interests; there was at the outset

IN THE COLLECTION OF THE COUNTESS HOCQUART DE TURTOT

ENGRAVED BY T. JOHNSON

JACQUES-ALEXANDRE-BERNARD LAW

MARQUIS OF LAURISTON

FROM THE PAINTING BY FRANÇOIS GÉRARD

a pitiful caution and inefficiency on the part of the allies, while at Napoleon's headquarters there was unity of design at least.

Both contestants were apparently under serious misapprehensions. The allies certainly were, because Francis believed that, as so often before, Napoleon's goal would be Vienna. The plan adopted by them was therefore very simple: each division of the allied army was to stand expectant; if assailed it was to yield, draw on the French columns, and expose their flank or rear to the attacks of the other two allied armies; then by superior force the invaders were to be surrounded. The allies divined, or believed they divined, that Napoleon would hold his guard in reserve, throw it behind any portion of his line opposite which they were vulnerable, break through, and defeat them in detachments. Their idea was keen, and displayed a thorough grasp both of the principles on which their opponent had hitherto acted and of his normal character. But nevertheless they were deceived. Napoleon discarded all his old principles, and behaved most abnormally. In his conduct there are evidences of a curious self-deception, and his decisions contradicted his language. Perpetually minimizing in conversation the disparity between the two forces, and sometimes even asserting his own superiority, he nevertheless almost for the first time assumed the defensive. This unheard-of course may have been due to misapprehension and exaggeration, but it produced for the moment a powerful moral effect on his generals, who, without exception, had hitherto been clamorous for peace, and likewise upon his new boy recruits; both classes began to have a realizing sense that they were now fighting, not for aggression, but for life. If the Emperor had any such confidence as he expressed, it must have been due to the fact that boys had fought like veterans at Lützen and Bautzen, and that at last there were cavalry and artillery in fair proportion. Possibly, likewise, he may have been desperate; fully aware that he was about to cast the dice for a last stake, he may have been at once braggart and timid. If he should win in a common defensive battle, he believed, as his subsequent conduct goes to show, that he was safe indefinitely; and if he lost — the vision must have been too dreadful, enough to distract the sanest mind: an exhausted treasury, an exhausted nation, an empty throne, vanished hopes, ruin.

Yet at the time no one remarked any trace of nervousness in Napoleon. Long afterward the traitorous Marmont, whose name, like

CHAP. VII 1813

that of Moreau, was to be execrated by succeeding generations of honorable Frenchmen, recalled that the Emperor had contemptuously designated the enemy as a rabble, and that he had likewise overestimated the strategic value of Berlin. The malignant annalist asserted, too, that Napoleon's motive was personal spite against Prussia. It has also been studiously emphasized by others that the "children" of Napoleon's army were perishing like flowers under an untimely frost, forty thousand French and German boys being in the hospitals; that corruption was rife in every department of administration; and that the soldiers' pay was shamefully in arrears. An eye-witness saw Peyrusse, the paymaster, to whom Napoleon had just handed four thousand francs for a monument to Duroc, coolly pocket a quarter of the sum, with the remark that such was the custom. He would be rash indeed who dared to assert that there was no basis for this criticism. It is true that the instructions to Davout and Oudinot made light of Bülow's army, and that Berlin had vastly less strategic value than those instructions seemed to indicate. But, on the other hand, both generals and men were sadly in need of self-reliance, and to see their capitals occupied or endangered had still a tremendous moral effect upon dynastic sovereigns. As to the defects in his army, Napoleon could not have been blind; but in all these directions matters had been nearly, if not quite, as bad in 1809, and a victory had set them all in order.

What nervousness there was existed rather among the allies. Never before in her history, not even under the great Frederick, had Prussia possessed such an army; the Austrians were well drilled and well equipped; the Russians were of fair quality, numerous, and with the reserves from Poland would be a powerful army in themselves. Yet in spite of their strength, the allies were not really able. Austria was the head, but her commander, Schwarzenberg, was not even mediocre, and among her generals there was only one who was first-rate, namely, Radetsky. Frederick William and Alexander were of incongruous natures; their alliance was artificial, and in such plans as they evolved there was an indefiniteness which left to the generals in their respective forces a large margin for independence. The latter were quick to take advantage of the chance, and this fact accounts for the generally lame and feeble beginning of hostilities.

For example, it was through Blücher's wilfulness that the moral advantage lay with Napoleon in the opening of the struggle. On July

ninth Bernadotte, Frederick William, and the Czar had met at Trachenberg to lay out a plan of campaign. In this conference, which first opened Napoleon's eyes to the determination of the allies, Blücher had secured for himself an independent command. The accession of Austria rendered the agreement of Trachenberg null, but Blücher did not abandon his ambition. Impatient of orders or good faith, he broke into the neutral zone at Striegau on August fourteenth, apparently without any very definite plan. Napoleon, hearing that forty thousand Russians from this army were marching toward Bohemia, advanced from Dresden on August fifteenth, to be within reach of the passes of the Iser Mountains on the Upper Elbe, and halted at Zittau as a central point, where he could easily collect about a hundred and eighty thousand men, and whence, according to circumstances, he could either strike Blücher, cut off the Russians, or return to Dresden in case of need. That city was to be held by Saint-Cyr. On August twentieth Blücher reached the banks of the Bober at Bunzlau; owing to Napoleon's nice calculation, Ney, Marmont, Lauriston, and Macdonald were assembled on the other side to check the advance, he himself being at Lauban with the guard. Had Blücher stood, the Russo-Prussians would have been annihilated, for their inferiority was as two to one. But the headstrong general did not stand; on the contrary, retreating by preconcerted arrangement behind the Deichsel, he led his antagonist to the false conclusion that he lacked confidence in his army.

Napoleon was not generally over-credulous, but this mistake was probably engendered in his mind by the steady stream of uneasy reports he was receiving from his own generals. On the twenty-third he wrote to Maret that his division commanders seemed to have no self-reliance except in his presence; "the enemy's strength seems great to them wherever I am not." Marmont was the chief offender, having severely criticized a plan of operations which would require one or more of the marshals to act independently in Brandenburg or Silesia or both, expressing the fear that on the day when the Emperor believed himself to have won a decisive battle he would discover that he had lost two. Seventeen years of campaigning had apparently turned the great generals of Napoleon's army into puppets, capable of acting only on their leader's impulse. Whatever the cause, Napoleon was set in his idea, and pressed on in pursuit. On the twenty-second Blücher was beyond the Katzbach, with the French van close behind, when word arrived at

CHAP. VII
1813

Napoleon's headquarters that the Austro-Russians had entered Saxony and were menacing Dresden. How alert and sane the Emperor was, how thoroughly he foresaw every contingency, appears from the minute directions he wrote for Macdonald, who was left to block the road for Blücher into Saxony, while Lauriston was to outflank and shut off the perfervid veteran from both Berlin and Zittau.

These instructions having been written, Napoleon at first contemplated crossing the Elbe above Dresden to take Schwarzenberg on the flank and rear in the passes of the Ore Mountains. This would not only cut off the Austrian general from the Saxon capital, but prevent his swerving to the left for an advance on Leipsic. But finding that his enemy was moving swiftly, the Emperor resolved to meet him before Dresden. It would never do to lose his ally's capital at the outset, or to suffer defeat at the very head of his defensive line. Giving orders, therefore, for the corps of Marmont, Vandamme, and Victor, together with Latour-Maubourg's cavalry and the guard, to wheel, he hastened back to reinforce Saint-Cyr at Dresden. On the twenty-fifth, as he passed Bautzen, he learned that Oudinot had been defeated at Luckau; but he gave no heed to the report, and next day reached Dresden at nine in the morning. An hour later the guard came up, having performed the almost incredible feat of marching seventy-six miles in three days. Vandamme, with forty thousand men, had arrived at Pirna, a few miles above, and Saint-Cyr was drawing in behind the temporary fortifications of the city itself.

The enemy, too, was at hand, but he had no plan. In a council of war held by him the same morning there was protracted debate, and finally Moreau's advice to advance in six columns was taken. He refused "to fight against his country," but explained that the French could never be conquered in mass, and that if one assailing column were crushed, the rest could still push on. This long deliberation cost the allies their opportunity; for at four in the afternoon, when they attacked, the mass of the French army had crossed the Elbe and had thus completed the garrison of the city. For two hours the fighting was fierce and stubborn; from three different sides Russians, Austrians, and Prussians each made substantial gains; at six Napoleon determined to make a general sally and throw in his guard. With fine promptness Mortier, at the head of two divisions of the young guard, attacked the Russians, and fighting until midnight, drove them beyond

ENGRAVED BY T. JOHNSON

NAPOLEON IN 1813

FROM THE PAINTING BY AMABLE-LOUIS-CLAUDE PAGNEST

the hamlet of Striefen. Saint-Cyr dislodged the Prussians, and pushed them to Strehla; while Ney, with two divisions of the young guard, threw a portion of the Austrians into Plauen, and Murat, with two divisions of infantry and Latour-Maubourg's cavalry, cleared the suburb Friedrichstadt of the rest. Napoleon, alert and ubiquitous, then made his usual round, and knew when he retired to rest in the royal palace that with seventy thousand men, or rather boys, he had repulsed a hundred and fifty thousand of his foe. His inspiriting personal work might be calculated as worth eighty thousand of his opponents' best men. That night both Marmont and Victor, with their corps, entered the city; and Vandamme in the early dawn began to bombard Pirna, thus threatening the allies' connection with Bohemia and drawing away forces from them to hold that outpost.

The second day's fighting was more disastrous to the allies than the first. The morning opened in a tempest, but at six both sides were arrayed. On the French right were Victor and Latour-Maubourg; then Marmont; then the old guard and Ney with two divisions of the young guard; next Saint-Cyr, with Mortier on the left. Opposite stood Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, in the same relative positions, on higher ground, encircling the French all the way westward and around by the south to Plauen; but between their center and left was reserved a gap for Klenau's Austrians, who were coming up from Tharandt in the blinding storm, and were overdue. At seven began the artillery fire of the young guard; but before long it ceased for an instant, since the gunners found the enemy's line too high for the elevation of their guns. "Continue," came swiftly the Emperor's order; "we must occupy the attention of the enemy on that spot." The ruse succeeded, and the gap was left open; at ten Murat dashed through it, and turning westward, killed or captured all who composed the enemy's extreme left. The garrison of Pirna then retreated toward Peterswald. Elsewhere the French merely held their own. Napoleon lounged all day in a curious apathy before his camp-fire, his condition being apparently due to the incipient stages of a digestive disorder. Early in the afternoon Schwarzenberg heard of Murat's great charge, but he held firm until at five the flight from Pirna was announced, when he abandoned the conflict. By six Napoleon was aware that the battle was over, and, mounting his horse, he trotted listlessly to the palace, his old gray overcoat and hood streaming with rain.

CHAPTER VIII

POLITICS AND STRATEGY

Napoleon's Conduct after Dresden — Military Considerations Overruled by Political Schemes — Probable Explanation of Napoleon's Failure — Prussian Victories at Grossbeeren and on the Katzbach — Vandamme Overwhelmed at Kulm — Napoleon's Responsibility — Political Considerations again Ascendant — The System of "Hither and Thither" — The Battle of Dennewitz — Its Disastrous Consequences — Napoleon's Vacillation — Strategy Thwarted by Diplomacy.

Chap. VIII
1813

THROUGHOUT the night after the victory at Dresden, Napoleon believed that the enemy would return again to battle on the morrow. This is conclusively shown by the notes which he made for Berthier during the evening. These were based on the stated hypothesis that the enemy was not really in retreat, but would on the morrow by a great battle strive to retrieve his failure. But the Emperor was altogether mistaken. To be sure, the council of the disheartened allies debated far into the small hours whether an advantageous stand could not still be made on the heights of Dippoldiswalde, but the decision was adverse because the coalition army was sadly shattered, having lost a third of its numbers. Crippled on its left and threatened on its rear, it began next morning to retreat in fair order toward the Ore Mountains, and so continued until it became known that Vandamme was directly in the path, when a large proportion of the troops literally took to the hills, and retreat became flight. Then first, at four in the afternoon, Napoleon began to realize what had actually occurred. And what did he do? Having ridden almost to Pirna before taking measures of any kind to reap the fruits of victory, he there issued orders for the single corps of Vandamme, slightly reinforced, to begin the pursuit! There-

upon, leaving directions for Mortier to hold Pirna, he entered a carriage and drove quietly back to Dresden!

These are the almost incredible facts: no terrific onslaught after the first night, no well-ordered pursuit after the second, a mere pretense of seizing the advantage on the third day! In fact, Napoleon, having set his plan in operation at the very beginning of the battle, sank, to all outward appearances, into a state of lassitude, the only sign of alert interest he displayed throughout the conflict being shown when he was told that Moreau had been mortally wounded. The cause may have been physical or it may have been moral, but it was probably a political miscalculation. If we may believe Captain Coignet, the talk of the staff on the night of the twenty-seventh revealed a perfect knowledge of the enemy's rout; they knew that the retreat of their opponents had been precipitate, and they had credible information of disordered bands seen hurrying through byways or rushing headlong through mountain defiles. Yet for all this, they were thoroughly discontented, and the burden of their conversation was execration of the Emperor. "He 's a —— —— who will ruin us all," was the repeated malediction. If we may believe Napoleon himself, he had a violent attack of vomiting near Pirna, and was compelled to leave everything on that fateful day to others. This is possible, but unlikely; the day before, though listless, he was well enough to chat and take snuff as he stood in a redoubt observing the course of events through his field-glass; the day after he was perfectly well, and exercised unusual self-control when tidings of serious import were brought from the north. The sequel goes to show that neither his own sickness nor the bad temper of the army sufficiently accounts for Napoleon's unmilitary conduct on the twenty-eighth; it appears, on the contrary, as if he refrained of set purpose from annihilating the Austrian army in order to reknit the Austrian alliance and destroy the coalition. This he never was willing to admit; but no man likes to confess himself a dupe.

Had Oudinot and Macdonald succeeded in their offensive operations against Berlin, and had Napoleon himself done nothing more than hold Dresden, a place which we must remember he considered from the outset as a defensive point, it would have sufficed, in order to obtain the most favorable terms of peace, to throw back the main army of the coalition, humiliated and dispirited, through Bohemia to Prague. But, as we have repeatedly seen, long service under the Empire had destroyed

CHAP. VIII 1813

all initiative in the French marshals: in Spain one mighty general after another had been brought low; those who were serving in Germany seemed stricken with the same palsy. It is true that in the days of their greatness they had commanded choice troops, and that now the flower of the army was reserved for the Emperor; but it is likewise true that then they had fought for wealth, advancement, and power. Now they yearned to enjoy their gains, and were embittered because Napoleon had not accepted Austria's terms of mediation until it was too late. Moreover, Bernadotte, one of their opponents, had been trained in their own school, and was fighting for a crown. To Blücher, untamed and untrustworthy in temper, had been given in the person of Gneisenau an efficient check on all headlong impulses, and Bülow was a commander far above mediocrity. Such considerations go far to account for three disasters—those, namely, of Grossbeeren, Katzbach, and Kulm—which made it insufficient for Napoleon to hold Dresden and throw back the main army of the allies, and which thwarted all his strategy, military and political.

The first of these affairs was scarcely a defeat. Oudinot, advancing with seventy thousand men by way of Wittenberg to seize Berlin, found himself confronted by Bernadotte with eighty thousand. The latter, with his eye on the crown of France, naturally feared to defeat a French army; at first he thought of retreating across the Spree and abandoning the Prussian capital. But the Prussians were outraged at the possibility of such conduct, and the schemer was convinced that a show of resistance was imperative. On August twenty-second a few skirmishes occurred, and the next day Bülow, disobeying his orders, brought on a pitched battle at Grossbeeren, which was waged, with varying success, until nightfall left the village in French hands. Oudinot, however, discouraged alike by the superior force of the enemy, by the obstinate courage of the Prussians, and by the dismal weather, lost heart, and retreated to Wittenberg. The heavy rains prevented an effective pursuit, but the Prussians followed as far as Treuenbrietzen. On August twenty-first, Blücher, aware of the circumstances which kept Napoleon at Dresden, had finally determined to attack Macdonald. The French marshal, by a strange coincidence, almost simultaneously abandoned the defensive position he had been ordered to hold, and advanced to give battle. It was therefore a mere chance when on the twenty-fifth the two armies came together, amid rain and fog, at the

IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES

ENGRAVED BY F. HEINEMANN

MARSHAL ÉDOUARD-ADOLPHE-CASIMIR-JOSEPH MORTIER

DUKE OF TREVISO

FROM THE PAINTING BY MARIE-NICOLAS PONCE-CAMUS

Katzbach. After a bitter struggle the French were routed with frightful loss. A terrific rain-storm set in, and the whole country was turned into a marsh. For five days Blücher continued the pursuit, until he reached Naumburg, on the right bank of the Queiss, where he halted, having captured eighteen thousand prisoners with a hundred and three guns. CHAP. VIII 1813

To these misfortunes the affair at Kulm was a fitting climax. No worse leader for a delicate independent movement could have been selected than the reckless Vandamme. He was so rash, conceited, and brutish that Napoleon once exclaimed in sheer desperation: "If there were two Vandammes in my army, nothing could be done until one had killed the other." As might have been expected, the headlong general far outstripped the columns of Marmont, Saint-Cyr, and Murat, which had been tardily sent to support him. Descending without circumspection into the plain of Kulm, he found himself, on the twenty-ninth, confronted by the Russian guard; and next morning, when attacked by them in superior force, he was compelled to retreat through a mountain defile toward Peterswald, whence he had come. At the mouth of the gorge he was unexpectedly met by the Prussian corps of Kleist. Each side thought the other moving to cut it off. They therefore rushed one upon the other in despair, with no other hope than that of breaking through to rejoin their respective armies. The shock was terrible, and for a time the confusion seemed inextricable. But the Russians soon came up, and Vandamme, with seven thousand men, was captured, the loss in slain and wounded being about five thousand. Saint-Cyr, Marmont, and Murat halted and held the mountain passes.

This was the climax of disaster in Napoleon's great strategic plan. In no way responsible for Grossbeeren, nor for Macdonald's defeat on the Katzbach, he was culpable both for the selection of Vandamme and for failure to support him in the pursuit of Schwarzenberg. At St. Helena the Emperor strove in three ways to account for the crash under which he was buried after Dresden: by the sickness which made him unable to give attention to the situation, by the inundation which rendered Macdonald helpless at the crossing of the Bober, and by the arrival of a notification from the King of Bavaria that, after a certain date, he too would join the coalition. This was not history, but an appeal to public sentiment, carefully calculated for untrained readers.

The fact was that at Dresden the gradual transformation of the

Chap. VIII 1813

strategist into the politician, which had long been going on, was complete. The latter misapprehended the moment for diplomatic negotiations, conceiving the former's victory to have been determinative, when in reality it was rendered partial and contingent by failure to follow it up. Great as Napoleon was in other respects, he was supremely great as a strategist; it is therefore his psychological development and decline in this respect which are essential to the determination of the moment in which he became bankrupt in ability. This instant was that of course in which his strategic failures became no longer intermittent, but regular; and after Dresden such was the case. As to conception and tactics there never was a failure — the year 1814 is the wonder-year of his theoretical genius; but after Dresden there is continuous failure in the practical combination of concept and means, in other words, of strategic mastery. This contention as to the clouding of Napoleon's vision by the interference of political and military considerations is proved by his next step. Hitherto his basal principle had been to mass all his force for a determinative blow, his combinations all turning about hostile armies and their annihilation, or at least about producing situations which would make annihilation possible. Now he was concerned, not with armies, but with capital cities. Claiming that to extend his line toward Prague would weaken it, in order to resume a strong defensive he chose the old plan of an advance to Berlin, and Ney was sent to supersede Oudinot, Schwarzenberg being left to recuperate unmolested. The inchoate idea of political victory which turned him back from Pirna was fully developed; by a blow at Berlin and a general northward movement he could not merely punish Prussia, but alarm Russia, separate the latter's army from that of the other allies, and then plead with Austria his consideration in not invading her territories. In spite of all that has been written to the contrary, there was some strength in this idea, unworthy as it was of the author's strategic ability. Ney was to advance immediately, while he himself pressed on to Hoyerswerda, where he hoped to establish connections for a common advance.

Such a concentration would have been possible if for a fortnight Macdonald had been able to hold Blücher, and Murat had succeeded in checking Schwarzenberg. But the news of Macdonald's plight compelled Napoleon to march first toward Bautzen, in order to prevent Blücher from annihilating the army in Silesia. Exasperated by this

unexpected diversion, the Emperor started in a reckless, embittered temper. On September fifth it became evident that Blücher would not stand, and Napoleon prepared to wheel in the direction of Berlin; but the orders were almost immediately recalled, for news arrived that Schwarzenberg was marching to Dresden. At once Napoleon returned to the Saxon capital. By September tenth he had drawn in his forces, ready for a second defense of the city; but learning that sixty thousand Austrians had been sent over the Elbe to take on its flank any French army sent after Blücher, he ordered the young guard to Bautzen for the reinforcement of Macdonald. Thereupon Schwarzenberg, on the fourteenth, made a feint to advance. On the fifteenth Napoleon replied by a countermove on Pirna, where pontoons were thrown over the river to establish connection with Macdonald. On the sixteenth Napoleon reconnoitered, on the seventeenth there was a skirmish, and on the eighteenth there were again a push and counterpush. These movements convinced Napoleon that Schwarzenberg was really on the defensive, and he returned to Dresden, determined to let feint and counterfeint, the "system of hither and thither," as he called it, go on until the golden opportunity for a crushing blow should be offered. Blücher meantime had turned again on Macdonald, who was now on the heights of Fischbach with Poniatowski on his right. Mortier was again at Pirna; Victor, Saint-Cyr, and Lobau were guarding the mountain passes from Bohemia.

This was virtually the situation of a month previous, before the battle. Schwarzenberg might feel that he had prevented the invasion of Austria, Napoleon that he had regained his strong defensive. While the victory of Dresden had gone for nothing, yet this situation was nevertheless a double triumph for Napoleon. Ney, in obedience to orders, had advanced on the fifth. Bernadotte lay at Jüterbog, his right being westerly at Dennewitz, under Tauenzien. Bertrand was to make a demonstration on the sixth against the latter, so that behind this movement the rest of the army should pass by unnoticed. But Ney started three hours late, so that the skirmish between Tauenzien and Bertrand lasted long enough to give the alarm to Bülow, who hurried in, attacked Reynier's division, and turned the affair into a general engagement. At first the advantage was with the Prussians; then Ney, at an opportune moment, began to throw in Oudinot's corps—a move which seemed likely to decide the struggle in favor of the French.

CHAP. VIII
1813

But Borstell, who had been Bülow's lieutenant at Grossbeeren, brought up his men in disobedience to Bernadotte's orders, and threw them into the thickest of the conflict. Hitherto the Saxons had been fighting gallantly on the French side; soon they began to waver, and now, falling back, they took up many of Oudinot's men in their flight. The Prussians poured into the gap left by the Saxons, and when Bernadotte came up with his Swedes and Russians the battle was over. Ney was driven into Torgau, with a loss of fifteen thousand men, besides eighty guns and four hundred train-wagons. The Prussians lost about nine thousand killed and wounded.

This affair concentrated into one movement the moral effects of all the minor defeats, an influence which far outweighed the importance of Dresden. The French still fought superbly in Napoleon's presence, but only then, for they were heartily sick of the war. Nor was this all: the Bavarians and Saxons were coming to feel that their obligations to France had been fully discharged. They were infected with the same national spirit which made heroes of the Prussians. These, to be sure, were defending their homes and firesides; but seeing the great French generals successively defeated, and that largely by their own efforts, they were animated to fresh exertions by their victories; even the reserves and the home guard displayed the heroism of veterans. On September seventh Ney wrote to Napoleon: "Your left flank is exhausted —take heed; I think it is time to leave the Elbe and withdraw to the Saale"; and his opinion was that of all the division commanders. Throughout the country-side partizans were seizing the supply-trains; Davout had found his Dutch and Flemings to be mediocre soldiers, unfit at crucial moments to take the offensive; the army had shrunk to about two hundred and fifty thousand men all told; straggling was increasing, and the country was virtually devastated. To this last fact the plain people, sufferers as they were, remained in their larger patriotism amazingly indifferent: the "hither-and-thither" system tickled their fancy, and they dubbed Napoleon the "Bautzen Messenger-Boy." Uneasiness pervaded every French encampment; on the other side timidity was replaced by courage, dissension by unity.

This transformation of German society seemed further to entangle the political threads which had already debased the quality of Napoleon's strategy. Technically no fault can be found with his prompt changes of plan to meet emergencies, or with the details of movements

IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES

ENGRAVED BY T. JOHNSON

MARSHAL JEAN-BAPTISTE-JULES BERNADOTTE

PRINCE OF PONTE CORVO, CHARLES XIV OF SWEDEN

FROM THE PAINTING BY FRANÇOIS KINSON

which led to his prolonged inaction. Yet, largely considered, the result was disastrous. The great medical specialist refrains from the immediate treatment of a sickly organ until the general health is sufficiently recuperated to assure success; the medicaster makes a direct attack on evident disease. Napoleon conceived a great general plan for concentrating about Dresden to recuperate his forces; but when Blücher prepared to advance he grew impatient, saw only his immediate trouble, and ordered Macdonald to make a grand dash. Driving in the hostile outposts to Förstgen, he then spent a whole day hesitating whether to go on or to turn westward and disperse another detachment of his ubiquitous foe, which, as he heard from Ney, had bridged the Elbe at the mouth of the Black Elster. It was the twenty-third before he turned back to do neither, but to secure needed rest on the left bank of the Elbe. But if Napoleon's own definition of a truly great man be accurate,—namely, one who can command the situations he creates,—he was himself no longer great. The enemy not only had bridges over the Elbe at the mouth of the Elster, but at Acken and Rosslau. The left bank was as untenable for the French as the right, and it was of stern necessity that the various detachments of the army were called in to hold a line far westward, to the north of Leipsic. Oudinot, restored to partial favor, was left to keep the rear at Dresden with part of the young guard. On October first it was learned that Schwarzenberg was manœuvering on the left to surround the invaders if possible by the south, and that Blücher, with like aim, was moving to the north. It was evident that the allies had formed a great resolution, and Napoleon confessed to Marmont that his "game of chess was becoming confused."

The fact was, the Emperor's diplomacy had far outstripped the general's strategy. It was blazoned abroad that on September twenty-seventh a hundred and sixty thousand new conscripts from the class of 1815, with a hundred and twenty thousand from the arrears of the seven previous classes, would be assembled at the military depots in France. Boys like these had won Lützen, Bautzen, and Dresden, and a large minority would be able-bodied men, late in maturing, perhaps, but strong. With this preliminary blare of trumpets, a letter for the Emperor Francis was sent to General Bubna. The bearer was instructed to say that Napoleon would make great sacrifices both for Austria and Prussia if only he could get a hearing. It was too late: already, on

CHAP. VIII 1813

September ninth, the three powers had concluded an offensive and defensive alliance for the purpose of liberating the Rhenish princes, of making sovereign and independent the states of southern and western Germany, and of restoring both Prussia and Austria to their limits of 1805. This was the treaty which beguiled Bavaria from the French alliance, and made the German contingents in the French armies, the Saxons among the rest, wild for emancipation from a hated service. It explained the notification previously received from the King of Bavaria, who, in return for the recognition of his complete autonomy, formally joined the coalition on October eighth, with an army of thirty-six thousand men. How much of all this the French spies and emissaries made known to Napoleon does not appear. One thing only is certain, that Napoleon's flag of truce was sent back with his message undelivered. This ominous fact had to be considered in connection with the movements of the enemy. They had learned one of Napoleon's own secrets. In a bulletin of 1805 are the words: "It rains hard, but that does not stop the march of the grand army." In 1806 he boasted concerning Prussia: "While people are deliberating, the French army is marching." In 1813, while he himself was vacillating, his foes were stirring. On October third, Blücher, having accomplished a superb strategic march, drove Bertrand to Bitterfeld, and stood before Kemberg, west of the Elbe, with sixty-four thousand men; Bernadotte, with eighty thousand, was crossing at Acken and Rosslau; and Schwarzenberg, with a hundred and seventy thousand, was already south of Leipsic; Bennigsen, with fifty thousand reserves, had reached Teplitz. The enemy would clearly concentrate at Leipsic and cut off Napoleon's base unless he retreated. But it was October fifth before the bitter resolution to do so was taken, and then the movement began under compulsion. Murat was sent, with three infantry corps and one of cavalry, to hold Schwarzenberg until the necessary manœuvers could be completed.

CHAPTER IX

THE END OF THE GRAND ARMY

PLANS FOR CONDUCTING THE RETREAT — NAPOLEON'S HEALTH — BLÜCHER'S BRILLIANT IDEA — NAPOLEON UNDER COMPULSION — HIS SKILFUL CONCENTRATION — THE BATTLE-FIELD AROUND LEIPSIC — THE ATTACK — RESULTS OF THE FIRST DAY'S FIGHTING — ATTEMPT TO NEGOTIATE — NAPOLEON'S APATHY — THE POSITIONS OF THE THIRD DAY — THE GRAND ARMY DEFEATED — THE DISASTER AT THE ELSTER BRIDGE — DISSOLUTION OF THE GRAND ARMY.

BUT how should the retreat be conducted? Napoleon's habit of reducing his thoughts to writing for the sake of clearness remained strong upon him to the last, and in the painstaking notes which he made with regard to this important move he outlined two alternatives: to garrison Dresden with two corps, send three to reconnoiter about Chemnitz, and then march, with five and the guard, to attack Schwarzenberg; or else to strengthen Murat, place him between Schwarzenberg and Leipsic, and then advance to drive Bernadotte and Blücher behind the Elbe. But in winter the frozen Elbe with its flat shores would be no rampart. Both plans were abandoned, and on the seventh orders were issued for a retreat behind the Saale, the precipitous banks of which were a natural fortification. Behind this line of defense he could rest in safety during the winter, with his right at Erfurt and his left at Magdeburg. Dresden must, he concluded, be evacuated. This would deprive the allies of the easy refuge behind the Saxon and Bohemian mountains which they had sought at every onset, but it might leave them complete masters of Saxony. To avoid this he must take one of three courses: either halt behind the Mulde for one blow at the armies of the North and of Silesia, or join Murat for a decisive bat-

CHAP. IX 1813

tle with the Austrian general, or else concentrate at Leipsic, and meet the onset of the united allies, now much stronger than he was.

The night of the seventh was spent in indecision as to any one or all of these ideas, but in active preparation for the actual movements of the retreat, however it should be conducted; any contingency might be met or a resolve taken when the necessity arose. During that night the Emperor took two warm baths. The habit of drinking strong coffee to prevent drowsiness had induced attacks of nervousness, and these were not diminished by his load of care. To allay these and other ailments, he had had recourse for some time to frequent tepid baths. Much has been written about a mysterious malady which had been steadily increasing, but the burden of testimony from the Emperor's closest associates at this time indicates that in the main he had enjoyed excellent health throughout the second Saxon campaign. He was on the whole calm and self-reliant, exhibiting signs of profound emotion only in connection with important decisions. He was certainly capable of clear insight and of severe application in a crisis; he could still endure exhausting physical exertion, and rode without discomfort, sitting his horse in the same stiff, awkward manner as of old. There were certainly intervals of self-indulgence and of lassitude, of excessive emotion and depressing self-examination, which seemed to require the offset of a physical stimulus; but on the whole there do not appear to have been such sharp attacks of illness, or even of morbid depression, as amount to providential interference; natural causes, complex but not inexplicable, sufficiently account for the subsequent disasters.

For instance, considerations of personal friendship having in earlier days often led him to unwise decisions, a like cause may be said to have brought on his coming disaster. It was the affection of the Saxon king for his beautiful capital which at the very last instant, on October eighth, induced Napoleon to cast all his well-weighed scheme to the winds, and — fatal decision — leave Saint-Cyr and Lobau, with three corps, in Dresden. A decisive battle was imminent; the commander was untrue to his maxim that every division should be under the colors. But with or without his full force, the master-strategist was outwitted: the expected meeting did not take place as he finally reckoned. On the tenth his headquarters were at Düben, and his divisions well forward on the Elbe, ready for Bernadotte and Blücher; but there was no foe. Both these generals had been disconcerted by

IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES

ENGRAVED BY HENRY WOLF

MARSHAL NICOLAS-CHARLES OUDINOT

DUKE OF REGGIO

FROM THE PAINTING BY ROBERT LEFEVRE

the unexpected swiftness of the French movements; the former actually contemplated recrossing the river to avoid a pitched battle with those whom he hoped before long to secure as his subjects. But the enthusiastic old Prussian shamed his ally into action, persuading him at least to march south from Acken, effect a junction with the army of Silesia, and cross the Saale to threaten Napoleon from the rear. This was a brilliant and daring plan, for if successful both armies might possibly unite with Schwarzenberg's; but even if unsuccessful in that, they would at least reproduce the situation in Silesia, and reduce the French to the "hither-and-thither" system, which, rendering a decisive battle impossible, had thwarted the Napoleonic strategy.

Napoleon spent a weary day of waiting in Duben, yawning and scribbling, but keeping his geographer and secretary in readiness. It was said at the time, and has since been repeated, that throughout this portion of the campaign Napoleon was not recognizable as himself; that he ruminated when he should have been active; that he consulted when he should have given orders; that he was no longer ubiquitous as of old, but sluggish, and rooted to one spot. But it is hard to see what he left undone, his judgment being mistaken as it was. When rumors of Bernadotte's movements began to arrive, he dismissed the idea suggested by them as preposterous; when finally, on the twelfth, he heard that Blücher was actually advancing to Halle, and no possible doubt remained, he gave instant orders for a march on Leipsic. Critics have suggested that again delay had been his ruin; but this is not true. An advance over the Elbe toward Berlin in search of the enemy would merely have enabled Blücher and Bernadotte to join forces sooner, and have rendered their union with Schwarzenberg easier. No stricture is just but one: that Napoleon, knowing how impossible it was to obtain such exact information as he seemed determined to have, should have divined the enemy's plan, and acted sooner. The accurate information necessary for such foresight was not obtainable; in fact, it seldom is, and some allowance may be made if the general lingered before rushing into the "tube of a funnel," as Marmont expressed it. On the morning of the thirteenth, while the final arrangements for marching to Leipsic were making, came the news of Bavaria's defection. It spread throughout the army like wildfire, but its effect was less than might be imagined, and it served for the priming of a bulletin, issued on the fifteenth, announcing the approaching battle.

CHAP. IX
1813

On the fifteenth, Murat, who had been steadily withdrawing before the allied army of the South, was overtaken at Wachau by Schwarzenberg's van. He fought all day with magnificent courage, and successfully, hurling the hostile cavalry skirmishers back on the main column. Within sound of his guns, Napoleon was reconnoitering his chosen battle-field in and about Leipsic; and when, after nightfall, the brothers-in-law met, the necessary arrangements were virtually complete. Those who were present at the council thought the Emperor inexplicably calm and composed — they said indifferent or stolid. But he had reasons to be confident rather than desperate, for by a touch of his old energy he had concentrated more swiftly than his foe, having a hundred and seventy thousand men in array. Reynier, with fourteen thousand more, was near; if Saint-Cyr and Lobau, with their thirty thousand, had been present instead of sitting idly in Dresden, the French would actually have outnumbered any army the coalition could have assembled for battle. The allies could hope at best to produce two hundred thousand men; Bernadotte was still near Merseburg; Blücher, though coming in from Halle, was not within striking-distance. In spite of his vacillation and final failure to evacuate Dresden, Napoleon had an excellent fighting chance.

The city of Leipsic, engirdled by numerous villages, lies in a low plain watered by the Parthe, Pleisse, and Elster, the last of which to the westward has several arms, with swampy banks. Across these runs the highway to Frankfort, elevated on a dike, and spanning the deep, central stream of the Elster by a single bridge. Eastward by Connewitz the land is higher, there being considerable swells, and even hills, to the south and southeast. This rolling country was that chosen by Napoleon for the main battle against Schwarzenberg; Marmont was stationed north of the city, near Möckern, to observe Blücher; Bernadotte, the cautious, was still at Oppin with his Swedes. On the evening of the fifteenth, his dispositions being complete, Napoleon made the tour of all his posts. At dusk three white rockets were seen to rise in the southern sky; they were promptly answered by four red ones in the north. These were probably signals between Schwarzenberg and Blücher. Napoleon's watch-fire was kindled behind the old guard, between Reudnitz and Crottendorf.

The battle began early next morning. Napoleon waited until nine, and then advanced at the head of his guards to Liebertwolkwitz, near

Wachau, on the right bank of the Pleisse, where the decisive struggle was sure to occur, since the mass of the enemy, under Barclay, with Wittgenstein as second in command, had attacked in four columns at that point. Between the Pleisse and the Elster, near Connewitz, stood Poniatowski, opposed to Schwarzenberg and Meerveldt; westward of the Elster, near Lindenau, stood Bertrand, covering the single line of retreat, the Frankfort highway, and his antagonist was Gyulay. Thus there were four divisions in the mighty conflict, which began by an onset of the allies along the entire front. The main engagement was stubborn and bloody, the allies attacking with little skill, but great bravery. Until near midday Napoleon more than held his own. Victor at Wachau, and Lauriston at Liebertwolkwitz, had each successfully resisted six desperate assaults; between them were massed the artillery, a hundred and fifty guns, under Drouot, and behind, all the cavalry except that of Sebastiani. The great artillery captain was about to give the last splendid exhibition of what his arm can do under favorable circumstances—that is, when strongly posted in the right position and powerfully supported by cavalry. He intended, with an awful shock and swift pursuit, to break through the enemy's center at Güldengossa and surround his right. So great was his genius for combinations that while the allies were that moment using three hundred and twenty-five thousand effective men all told to his two hundred and fourteen thousand, yet in the decisive spot he had actually concentrated a hundred and fifteen thousand to their hundred and fourteen thousand. This was because Schwarzenberg, having attempted to outflank the French, was floundering to no avail in the swampy meadows between the Pleisse and the Elster, and was no longer a factor in the contest.

When, at midday, all was in readiness and the order was given, the artillery fire was so rapid that the successive shots were heard, not separately, but in a long, sullen note. By two, Victor and Oudinot on the right, with Mortier and Macdonald on the left, were well forward of Güldengossa, but the place itself still held out. At three the cavalry, under Murat, Latour-Maubourg, and Kellermann, were sped direct upon it. With awful effort they broke through, and the bells of Leipsic began to ring in triumph — prematurely. The Czar had peremptorily summoned from Schwarzenberg's command the Austro-Russian reserve, and at four these, with the Cossack guard, charged the French cavalry, hurling them back to Markkleeberg. Nightfall found Victor

CHAP. IX
1813

again at Wachau, and Macdonald holding Liebertwolkwitz. Simultaneously with the great charge of the allies Meerveldt had dashed out from Connewitz toward Dölitz, but his force was nearly annihilated, and he himself was captured. At Möckern, Marmont, after gallant work with inferior numbers, had been beaten on his left, and then compelled for safety to draw in his right. While he still held Gohlis and Eutritzsch, the mass of his army had been thrown back into Leipsic. Throughout the day Bertrand made a gallant and successful resistance to superior numbers, and drove that portion of the allied forces opposed to him away from Lindenau as far as Plagwitz. At nightfall three blank shots announced the cessation of hostilities all around.

In the face of superior numbers, the French had not lost a single important position, and whatever military science had been displayed was all theirs; Blücher made the solitary advance move of the allies, the seizure of Möckern by York's corps; Schwarzenberg had been literally mired in his attempt to outflank his enemy, and but for Alexander's peremptory recall of the reserves destined for the same task, the day would have been one of irretrievable disaster to the coalition. Yet Napoleon knew that he was lost unless he could retreat. Clearly he had expected a triumph, for in the city nothing was ready, and over the Elster was but one crossing, the solitary bridge on the Frankfort road. The seventeenth was the first day of the week; both sides were exhausted, and the Emperor of the French seems to have felt that at all hazards he must gain time. During the previous night long consultations had been held, and the French divisions to the south had been slightly compacted. In the morning Meerveldt, the captured Austrian general, the same man who after Austerlitz had solicited and obtained on the part of Francis an interview from Napoleon, was paroled, and sent into his own lines to ask an armistice, together with the intervention of Francis on the terms of Prague: renunciation of Poland and Illyria by Napoleon, the absolute independence of Holland, of the Hanse towns, of Spain, and of a united Italy. When we remember that England was paymaster to the coalition, and was fighting for her influence in Holland, and that Austria's ambition was for predominance in a disunited Italy, we feel that apparently Napoleon wanted time rather than hoped for a successful plea to his father-in-law.

This would be the inevitable conclusion except for the fact that he withdrew quietly to his tent and there remained; the resourceful

IN THE COLLECTION OF PRINCE PONIATOWSKI

ENGRAVED BY CHARLES STATE

MARSHAL JOZEF ANTON, PRINCE PONIATOWSKI

general was completely apathetic, being either over-confident in his diplomatic mission or stunned by calamity. The day passed without incident except a momentary attack on Marmont, and the arrival of Bernadotte, who had been spurred to movement by a hint from Gneisenau concerning the terms on which Great Britain was to pay her subsidies. It was asserted at the time that Napoleon gave orders early in the morning for building numerous bridges over the western streams. If so, they were not executed, only a single flimsy structure being built, and that on the road leading from the town, not on the lines westward from his positions in the suburbs. His subordinates should have acted in so serious a matter even without orders; but like the drivers of trains which run at lightning speed, they had, after years of high-pressure service, lost their nerve. Marmont asserts that even Napoleon was nerveless. "We were occupied," he wrote, "in restoring order among our troops; we should either have commenced our retreat, or at least have prepared the means to commence it at nightfall. But a certain carelessness on the part of Napoleon, which it is impossible to explain and difficult to describe, filled the cup of our sorrows." Considering who wrote these words, they must be taken with allowance; but they indicate a truth, that in his decadence this hitherto many-sided man could not be both general and Emperor. No answer from Francis was received; the allies agreed on this course, and determined, according to their agreement with England, not to cease fighting till the last French soldier was over the Rhine. It was midnight when Napoleon finally drew in his posts and gave preliminary orders to dispose his troops in readiness either to fight or to retreat.

When day dawned on October eighteenth the French army occupied an entirely new position: the right wing, under Murat, lying between Connewitz and Dölitz; the center at Probstheida in a salient angle; the left, under Ney, with front toward the north between Paunsdorf and Gohlis. Within this arc, and close about the city, stood all the well-tried corps, infantry, artillery, and cavalry, under their various leaders of renown—Poniatowski, Augereau, Victor, Drouot, Kellermann, Oudinot, Latour-Maubourg, Macdonald, Marmont, Reynier, and Souham; Napoleon was on a hillock at Thonberg, with the old guard in reserve. His chief concern was the line of retreat, which was still open when, at seven, the fighting began. Schwarzenberg, with the left, could get no farther than Connewitz.

CHAP. IX 1813

Bennigsen, with the right, started to feel Bernadotte and complete the investment. Neither was entirely successful, but Marmont withdrew from before Blücher, and Ney from before Bernadotte and Bennigsen, in order to avoid being surrounded; so that the two French armies were united before nightfall on the western outskirts of the town, where Bertrand had routed Gyulay, and had kept open the all-important line of retreat, over which, since noon, trains of wagons had been passing. But magnificent as was the work of all these doughty champions on both sides, it was far surpassed in the center, where during the entire day, under Napoleon's eye, advance and resistance had been desperate. Men fell like grass before the scythe, and surging lines of their comrades moved on from behind. Such were the numbers and such the carnage that men have compared the conflict to that of the nations at Armageddon.

At Victor's stand, near Probstheida, the fighting was fiercer than the fiercest. The allied troops charged with fixed bayonets, rank after rank, column following on column; cannon roared while grape and shrapnel sped to meet the assailants; men said the air was full of human limbs; ten times Russians and Prussians came on, only to be driven ten times back. The very soil on which the assailants trod was human flesh. Hour after hour the slaughter continued. Occasionally the French attempted a rally, but only to be thrown back by musket fire and cavalry charge. It was the same at Stötteritz, where no one seemed to pause for breath. Woe to him who fell in fatigue: he was soon but another corpse in the piles over which new reinforcements came on to the assault or countercharge. At last there was scarcely a semblance of order; in hand-to-hand conflict men shouted, struggled, wrestled, thrust, advanced, and withdrew, and in neither combatants nor onlookers was there any sense of reality. By dusk the heated cannon were almost useless, the muskets entirely so, and, as darkness came down, the survivors fell asleep where they stood, riders in their saddles, horses in their tracks. Napoleon learned that thirty-five thousand Saxons on the left had gone over to the enemy, and some one of his staff handing him a wooden chair, he dropped into it and sank into a stupor almost as he touched it. For half an hour he sat in oblivion, while in the thickening darkness the marshals and generals gathered about the watch-fires, and stood with sullen mien to abide his awakening. The moon came slowly up, Napo-

AQUARELLE MADE FOR THE CENTURY CO.

TYPOGRAVURE BOUSSOD, VALADON & CO., PARIS.

THE FRENCH ARMY LEAVING LEIPSIC.

FROM THE AQUARELLE BY F. DE MYRBACH.

leon awoke, orders were given to complete the dispositions for retreat already taken, and, there being nothing left to do, the Emperor, with inscrutable emotions, passed inside the walls of Leipsic to take shelter in an inn on the creaking sign-board of which were depicted the arms of Prussia!

Throughout the night French troops streamed over the stone bridge across the Elster; in the early morning the enemy began to advance, and ever-increasing numbers hurried away to gain the single avenue of retreat. Until midday Napoleon wandered aimlessly about the inner town, giving unimportant commands to stem the ever-growing confusion and disorder. Haggard, and with his clothing in disarray, he was not recognized by his own men, being sometimes rudely jostled. After an affecting farewell to the King of Saxony, in which his unhappy ally was instructed to make the best terms he could for himself, the Emperor finally fell into the throng and moved with it toward Lindenau. Halting near the Elster, a French general began to seek information from the roughly clad onlooker who, without a suite or even a single attendant, stood apparently indifferent, softly whistling, "Malbrook s'en va t'en guerre." Of course the officer started as he recognized the Emperor, but the conquered sovereign took no notice. Bystanders thought his heart was turned to stone. Still the rush of retreat went on, successfully also, in spite of some confusion, until at two some one blundered. By the incredible mistake of a French subaltern, as is now proven, the permanent Elster bridge was blown up, and the temporary one had long since fallen. Almost simultaneously with this irreparable disaster the allies had stormed the city, and the French rear-guard came thundering on, hoping to find safety in flight. Plunging into the deep stream, many, like Poniatowski, were drowned; some, like the wounded Macdonald, swam safely across. The scene was heartrending as horses, riders, and footmen rolled senseless in the dark flood, while others scrambled over their writhing forms in mad despair. Reynier and Lauriston, with twenty thousand men, were captured, the King of Saxony was sent a prisoner to Berlin and Stein prepared to govern his domains by commission from the allies. By ten in the evening Bertrand was in possession of Weissenfels; Oudinot wheeled at Lindenau, and held the unready pursuers in check.

Next morning, the twentieth, Napoleon was alert and active; retreat began again, but only in tolerable order. Although he could not control

CHAP. IX
1813

the great attendant rabble of camp-followers and stragglers, he had nevertheless about a hundred and twenty thousand men under his standards; as many more, and those his finest veterans, were besieged and held in the fortresses of the Elbe, Oder, and Vistula by local militia. These places, he knew, would no longer be tenable; in fact, they began to surrender almost immediately, and the survivors of Leipsic were soon in a desperate plight from hunger and fatigue. Yet the commander gave no sign of sensibility. "'T was thus he left Russia," said the surly men in the ranks. Hunger-typhus appeared, and spread with awful rapidity; the country swarmed with partizans; the columns of the allies were behind and on each flank; fifty-six thousand Bavarians were approaching from Ansbach, under Wrede; at Erfurt all the Saxons and Bavarians still remaining under the French eagles marched away. The only foreign troops who kept true were those who had no country and no refuge, the unhappy Poles, who, though disappointed in their hopes, were yet faithful to him whom they wrongly believed to have been their sincere friend. Though stricken by all his woes, the Emperor was undaunted; the retreat from Germany was indeed perilous, but it was marked by splendid courage and unsurpassed skill. At Kösen and at Eisenach the allies were outwitted, and at Hanau, on the twenty-ninth, the Bavarians were overwhelmed in a pitched fight by an exhibition of personal pluck and calmness on Napoleon's part paralleled only by his similar conduct at Krasnoi in the previous year. At the head of less than six thousand men, he held in check nearly fifty thousand until the rest of his columns came up, when he fell with the old fire upon a hostile line posted with the river Kinzig in its rear, and not only disorganized it utterly, but inflicted on it a loss of ten thousand men, more than double the number which fell in his own ranks. But in spite of this brilliant success, the ravages of disease continued, and only seventy thousand men of the imperial army crossed the Rhine to Mainz. Soon the houses of that city were packed, and the streets were strewn with victims of the terrible hunger-typhus. They died by hundreds, and corpses lay for days unburied; before the plague was stayed thousands found an inglorious grave.

PUBLICATION AUTHORIZED

NAPOLEON AND HIS STAFF

FROM THE PAINTING BY MEISSONIER

CHAPTER X

THE FRANKFORT PROPOSALS

IMPORTANCE OF THE BATTLE OF LEIPSIC — DECLINE OF NAPOLEON'S POWERS — HIS GENTLER SIDE — DISINTEGRATION OF NAPOLEON'S EMPIRE — THE COALITION AND THE SENTIMENT OF NATIONALITY — REASONS FOR THE PARLEY AT FRANKFORT — INSINCERITY OF THE PROPOSALS — NAPOLEON AND FRANCE — THE REVOLUTION AND THE EMPIRE — HOLLOW DIPLOMACY.

THE battle of Leipsic is one of the most important in general history. Apparently it was only the offset to Austerlitz, as the Beresina had been to Friedland. In reality it was far more, because it gave the hegemony of continental Europe to Prussia. French imperialism in its death-throes wiped out the score of royal France against the Hapsburgs; Austria was not yet banished from central Europe to the lower courses of the Danube, but, what was much the same thing, Prussia was launched upon her career of military aggrandizement. Three dynasties seemed in that battle to have celebrated a joint triumph; as a matter of fact, the free national spirit of Germany, having narrowly escaped being smothered by Napoleonic imperialism, had chosen a national dynasty as its refuge. The conflict is well designated by German historians as "the battle of the nations," but the language has a different sense from that which is generally attributed to it. The seeds of Italian unity had been sown, but they were not yet to germinate. The battle of Leipsic seemed to check them, yet it was the process there begun under which they sprang up and bore fruit. France was destined to become for a time the sport of an antiquated dynastic system. The liberties which men of English blood had been painfully developing for a century she sought to seize in an instant; she was to see them elude her grasp for sixty years still, until her

CHAP. X
1813

democratic life, having assumed consisteney, should find expression in institutions essentially and peculiarly her own. Though the conquering monarchs believed that revolutionary liberalism had been quenched at Leipsic, its ultimate triumph was really assured, since it was consigned to its natural guardianship, that of national commonwealths. The imperial agglomeration of races and nationalities was altogether amorphous and had been found impossible; that form of union was not again attempted after Leipsic, while another — that, namely, of constitutional organic nationalities — was made operative. The successive stages of advance are marked by 1813, 1848, and 1870.

The Saxon campaigns display the completion of the process in which the great strategist, stifled by political anxieties, became the creature of circumstances both as general and statesman. The Russian campaign was nicely calculated, but its proportions and aim were those of the Oriental theocrat, not of the prosaic European soldier. With the aid of the railroad and the electric telegraph, they might possibly have been wrought into a workable problem, but that does not excuse the errors of premature and misplaced ambition. The Saxon campaigns, again, are marked by a boldness of design and a skill in combination characteristic of the best strategy; but again the proportions are monstrous, and, what is worse, the execution is intermittent and feeble. As in Russia, the war organism was insufficient for the numbers and distances involved, while the subordinates of every grade, though supple instruments, seemed mercenary, self-seeking, and destitute of devotion. Bonaparte had ruled men's hearts by his use of a cause, securing devotion to it and to himself by rude bonhomie, by success, and by sufficient rewards; Napoleon, on the other hand, quenched devotion by a lavishness which sated the greediest, and lost the affections of his associates by the demands of his gigantic plans.

As the world-conqueror felt the foundations of his greatness quivering, he became less callous and more human. Early in 1813 he said: "I have a sympathetic heart, like another, but since earliest childhood I have accustomed myself to keep that string silent, and now it is altogether dumb." His judgment of himself was mistaken: throughout the entire season he was strangely and exceptionally moved by the horrors of war; his purse was ever open for the suffering; he released the King of Saxony from his entangling engagements; in spite of his hard-set expression on the retreat from Leipsic, he forbade his men to

fire the suburbs of the city in order to retard the pursuit of their foes, and before he left Mainz for St. Cloud he showed the deepest concern, and put forth the strongest effort, in behalf of the dying soldiery.

The immediate effects of Leipsic were the full display of that national spirit which had been refined, if not created, in the fires of Napoleon's imperious career. An Austrian army under Hiller drove Eugène over the Adige. The Italians, not unsusceptible to the power in the air, felt their humiliation, and, turning on their imperial King in bitter hate, determined under the influence of feelings most powerfully expressed by Alfieri, that they would emulate northern Europe. But though they had for years been subject to the new influences, enjoying the equal administration of the Code Napoléon, and freed from the interference of petty local tyrants, they were neither united nor enlightened in sufficient degree. After an outburst of hatred to France, they were crushed by their old despots, and the land relapsed into the direst confusion. The Confederation of the Rhine was, however, resolved into its elements: the Mecklenburgs reasserted their independence; King Jerome fled to France; Würtemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Baden followed Bavaria's example; Cassel, Brunswick, Hanover, and Oldenburg were craftily restored to their former rulers before Stein's bureau could establish an administration. Holland recalled the Prince of Orange, Spain rose to support Wellington, and Soult was not merely driven over the Pyrenees — he was defeated on French soil, and shut up in Bayonne.

Even the three monarchs, as they sedately moved across Germany with their exhausted and battered armies, were aware of nationality as a controlling force in the future. In a direct movement on Paris they could, as Ney said, "have marked out their days in advance," but they halted at Frankfort for a parley. There were several reasons why they should pause. They had seen France rise in her might; they did not care to assist at the spectacle again. Moreover, the coalition had accomplished its task and earned its pay; not a Frenchman, except real or virtual prisoners, was left east of the Rhine. From that point the interests of the three monarchs were divergent. As Gentz, the Austrian statesman, said, "The war for the emancipation of states bids fair to become one for the emancipation of the people." Alexander, Frederick William, and Francis were each and all anxious for the future of absolutism, but otherwise there was mutual distrust. Aus-

CHAP. X
1813

tria was suspicious of Prussia, and desired immediate peace. In the restoration of Holland under English auspices, Russia saw the perpetuation of British maritime and commercial supremacy, to the disadvantage of her Oriental aspirations, and the old Russian party demanded peace. On the other hand, Alexander wished to avenge Napoleon's march to Moscow by an advance to Paris; and though Frederick William distrusted what he called the Czar's Jacobinism, his own soldiers, thirsting for further revenge, also desired to prosecute the war; even the most enlightened Prussian statesmen believed that nothing short of a complete cataclysm in France could shake Napoleon's hold on that people and destroy his power. Offsetting these conflicting tendencies against one another, Metternich was able to secure military inaction for a time, while the coalition formulated a series of proposals calculated to woo the French people, and thus to bring Napoleon at once to terms.

Ostensibly the Frankfort proposals, adopted on November ninth, were only a slight advance on the ultimatum of Prague; Austria was to have enough Italian territory to secure her preponderance in that peninsula; France was to keep Savoy, with Nice; the rest of Italy was to be independent. Holland and Spain liberated, France was to have her "natural" boundaries, the Alps, the Pyrenees, the ocean, and the Rhine. Napoleon was to retain a slight preponderance in Germany, and the hope was held out that in a congress to settle details for a general pacification, Great Britain, content with the "maritime rights" which had caused the war, would hand back the captured French colonies. The various ministers present at Frankfort assented to these proposals for Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia respectively; but Alexander and Frederick William were dissatisfied with them, and when Castlereagh heard them, he was as furious as his cold blood would permit at the thought of France retaining control of the Netherlands, Antwerp being the commercial key to central Europe.

Such a humor in three of the high contracting parties makes it doubtful whether the Frankfort proposals had any reality, and this doubt is further increased by the circumstances of the so-called negotiation. St. Aignan, the French envoy to the Saxon duchies, had in violation of international law and courtesy been seized at Gotha and held as a prisoner. He was now set free and instructed to urge upon Napoleon the necessity of an immediate settlement. To his brother-in-law,

IN THE COLLECTION OF LADY WALLACE.

TYPOGRAVURE BOUSSOD, VALADON & CO., PARIS.

THE BATTLE OF HANAU, OCTOBER 30, 1813.

the pacific Caulaincourt, who was soon to displace Maret as minister of foreign affairs, he was to hand a private and personal letter from Metternich. In the course of this epistle the writer expresses his conviction that any effort to conclude a peace would come to nothing. Not only, therefore, were the pretended negotiations entirely destitute of form, they were prejudged from the outset. Still further, the allies refused what Napoleon had granted after Bautzen, an armistice, and insisted that hostilities were to proceed during negotiation. All possible doubt as to the sincerity of the proposals is turned into assurance by Metternich's admission in his memoirs that they were intended to divorce Napoleon from the French nation, and in particular to work on the feelings of the army. He says that neither Alexander nor Frederick William would have assented to them had they not been convinced that Napoleon would "never in the world of his own accord" resolve to accept them. Yet the world has long believed that Napoleon, as he himself expressed it, lost his crown for Antwerp; that had he believed the honeyed words of the Austrian minister, and opened negotiations on an indefinite basis without delay, he might have kept France with its revolutionary boundaries intact for himself and his dynasty, and by the sacrifice of his imperial ambitions have retained for her, if not preponderance, at least importance, in the councils of Europe.

Neither Napoleon nor the French nation was deceived; a peace made under such circumstances could result only in a dishonorable tutelage to the allied sovereigns. France abhorred the dynasties and all their works, believing that dynastic rule could never mean anything except absolutism and feudalism. The experiment of popular sovereignty wielded by a democracy had been a failure; but the liberal French, like men of the same intelligence throughout Europe, did not, for all that, lose faith in popular sovereignty; they knew there must be some channel for its exercise. Outside of France, as in it, the most enlightened opinion of the time regarded Napoleon as the savior of society. The Queen of Saxony bitterly reproached Metternich for having deserted Napoleon's "sacred cause." This was because the Emperor of the French seemed to have used the people's power for the people's good. His giant arm alone could wield the popular majesty. It is said that the great mass of the French nation, on hearing of the Frankfort proposals, groaned and laughed by turns. Being profoundly, devotedly imperialist and therefore idealistic, they were outraged at the

CHAP. X
1813

thought of Hapsburgs, Romanoffs, or Hohenzollerns, the very incarnations of German feudality, as leaders of the new Europe. It seemed the irony of fate that civil and political rights on the basis, not of privilege, but of manhood, the prize for which the world had been turned upside down, should be intrusted to such keepers. Welded into a homogeneous nationality themselves, the French could not understand that the inchoate nationalities in other states had as yet nothing but dynastic forms of expression, or foresee that during a century to come the old dynasties would find safety only in adapting royalty to national needs.

Napoleon seems to have been fully aware of French sentiment. In addition, he understood that not merely for this sufficient reason could he never be king of France in name or fact, but also that, having elsewhere harried and humiliated both peoples and dynasties in the name of revolutionary ideals, the masses had found him out, and were as much embittered as their rulers, believing him to be a charlatan using dazzling principles as a cloak for personal ambition. In May, 1813, the Emperor Francis, anxious to salve the lacerated pride of the Hapsburgs, produced a bundle of papers purporting to prove that the Bonapartes had once been ruling princes at Treviso. "My nobility," was Napoleon's stinging reply, "dates only from Marengo." He well knew that when the battle should be fought that would undo Marengo, his nobility would end. In other words, without solid French support he was nothing, and that support he was fully aware he could never have as king of France. If the influence of what France improperly believed to be solely the French Revolution were to be confined to her boundaries, revolutionary or otherwise, not only was Napoleon's prestige destroyed, but along with it would go French leadership in Europe. An imperial throne there must be, exerting French influence far abroad. What happened at Paris, therefore, may be regarded as a counter-feint to Metternich's effort at securing an advantageous peace from the French nation when it should have renounced Napoleon. It was merely an attempt to collect the remaining national strength, not now for aggressive warfare, but for the expulsion of hated invaders.

Having received no formulated proposition for acceptance or rejection, and desiring to force one, the Emperor of the French virtually disregarded the letter of Metternich's communication, and sent a carefully considered message to the allies. Making no mention in this of

the terms brought by St. Aignan, he suggested Caulaincourt as plenipotentiary to an international congress which should meet somewhere on the Rhine, say at Mannheim. Further, he declared that his object had always been the independence of all the nations, "from the Continental as well as from the maritime point of view." This communication reached Frankfort on November sixteenth, and, whether wilfully or not, was misinterpreted to mean that the writer would persist in questioning England's maritime rights. Thereupon Metternich replied by accepting Mannheim as the place for the proposed conference, and promised to communicate the language of Napoleon's letter to his co-allies. How far these co-allies were from a sincere desire for peace is proven by their next step, taken almost on the date of Metternich's reply. A proclamation was widely posted in the cities of France, which stated, in a cant borrowed from Napoleon's own practice, that the allies desired France "to be great, strong, and prosperous"; they were making war, it was asserted, not "on France, but on that preponderance which Napoleon had too long exercised, to the misfortune of Europe and of France herself, to which they guaranteed in advance an extent of territory such as she never had under her kings." Napoleon's riposte was to despatch a swarm of trusty emissaries throughout France in order to compose all quarrels of the people with the government, to strengthen popular devotion in every possible way—in short, to counteract the possible effects of this call. The messengers found public opinion thoroughly imperial, but profoundly embittered against Maret as the supposed instigator of disastrous wars. Maret was transferred to the Department of State, and the pacific Caulaincourt was made minister of foreign affairs. On December second, at the earliest possible moment, the new minister addressed a note to Metternich, accepting the terms of the "general and summary basis." This, said the despatch, would involve great sacrifices; but Napoleon would feel no regret if only by a similar abnegation England would provide the means for a general, honorable peace. Metternich replied that nothing now stood in the way of convening a congress, and that he would notify England to send a plenipotentiary. There, however, the matter ended, and Metternich's record of those Frankfort days scarcely notices the subject, so interested is he in the squabbles of the sovereigns over the opening of a new campaign. It was the end of the year when they reached an agreement.

CHAPTER XI

THE INVASION OF FRANCE

AMAZING SCHEMES OF NAPOLEON FOR NEW LEVIES — ATTITUDE OF THE PEOPLE TOWARD THE EMPIRE — THE DISAFFECTED ELEMENTS — NAPOLEON'S ARMAMENT — ACTIVITY OF THE IMPERIALISTS — RELEASE OF FERDINAND AND THE POPE — NAPOLEON'S FAREWELL TO PARIS — HIS STRATEGIC PLAN — FRANCE AGAINST EUROPE — THE CONDUCT OF BERNADOTTE — MURAT'S DEFECTION — CONFLICTING INTERESTS OF THE ALLIES — POSITIONS OF THE OPPONENTS AT THE OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES.

CHAP. XI
1813–14

WHAT happened in France between the first days of November, 1813, when Napoleon reached St. Cloud, and the close of the year, is so incredible that it scarcely seems to belong in the pages of sober history. Of five hundred and seventy-five thousand Frenchmen, strictly excluding Germans and Poles, who had been sent to war during 1812 and 1813, about three hundred thousand were prisoners or shut up in distant garrisons, and a hundred and seventy-five thousand were dead or missing; therefore a hundred thousand or thereabouts remained under arms and ready for active service. By various decrees of the Emperor and the senate, nine hundred and thirty-six thousand more were called to arms: a hundred and sixty thousand from the classes between 1804 and 1814, whether they had once served or not; a hundred and sixty thousand from the class of 1815; a hundred and seventy-six thousand five hundred were to be enrolled in the regular national guard, and a hundred and forty thousand in a home guard; finally, in a comprehensive sweep from all the classes between 1804 and 1814 inclusive, every possible man was to be drawn. This, it was estimated, would produce three hundred thousand more.

It is easy to exaggerate the significance of these enormous figures,

IN THE COLLECTION OF PRINCE MURAT

ENGRAVED BY A. E. ANDERSON

MARIE-ANNUNCIADE-CAROLINE BONAPARTE

WIFE OF JOACHIM MURAT; QUEEN OF NAPLES, COUNTESS LIPONA; AND HER CHILDREN, ACHILLE, LAETITIA, LUCIEN AND LOUISE

FROM THE PAINTING BY FRANÇOIS GÉRARD

for to the layman they would seem to mean that every male capable of bearing arms was to be taken. But this was far from being the case; contrary to the general impression, the population of France had been and was steadily increasing. In spite of all the butcheries of foreign and civil wars, the number of inhabitants was growing at the rate of half a million yearly, and the country could probably have furnished three times the number called out. Moreover, less than a third of the nine hundred and thirty-six thousand were ever organized, and not more than an eighth of them fought. This disproportion between plan and fulfilment was due partly to official incapacity or worse, partly to a popular resistance which was not due to disaffection. It speaks volumes for the state of the country that even the hated flying columns, with their thorough procedure, could not find the men, especially the fathers, husbands, and only sons, who were the solitary supports of many families. The fields were tilled by the spades of women and children, for there were neither horses to draw nor men to hold the plows. Government pawn-shops were gorged, and the government storehouses were bursting with manufactured wares for which there was no market; government securities were worth less than half their face, the currency had disappeared, and usury was rampant. Yet it seems certain that four fifths of the people associated none of these miseries with Napoleonic empire. The generation which had grown to maturity under Napoleon saw only one side of his activities: the majestic public works he had inaugurated, the glories of France and the splendors of empire during the intervals of peace, the exhaustion and abasement of her foes in a long series of splendid campaigns—all this they associated with the imperial rule, and desired what they supposed was a simple thing, the Empire and peace.

The other fifth was, however, thoroughly aroused. When the legislature convened on December nineteenth, and the diplomatic correspondence was so cleverly arranged and presented as to make the allies appear implacable, an address to the throne was passed, amid thunderous applause and by a large majority, which virtually called for a return to constitutional government as the price of additional war supplies. In sober moments even the most ardent liberals were ashamed, feeling that this was not an opportune moment for disorganizing such administration as there was by calls for the reform of the constitution. Only one question was imperative, the awful responsibility

CHAP. XI 1813–14

they had for the national identity. The general public was so outraged by the spectacle that the deputies reconsidered their action, and by a vote of two hundred and fifty-four to two hundred and twenty-three struck out the obnoxious clause. But this did not appease Napoleon, who made no attempt to conceal his rage, and prorogued the chamber in scorn. His support was ample in the almost universal conviction that at such a moment there was no time for parleying about abstract questions of political rights; but every cavilling deputy had some friends at home, and in a crisis where the very existence of France was jeopardized there were agitations by the reactionary radicals. The royalists kept silent then, and for months later, contenting themselves with biting innuendos or witty double meanings; drinking, for instance, to "the Emperor's last victory," when the newspapers announced "the last victory of the Emperor."

The first conscription from the classes of 1808–1814 was thoroughly successful, the second attempt to glean from them was an utter failure; the effort to forestall the draft of 1815 met with resistance, and was abandoned. It was impossible to organize the home guards and reserves, for they rebelled or escaped, and local danger had to be averted by local volunteers who were designated as "sedentary" because they could not be ordered away. By the end of January not more than twenty thousand men had been secured for general service from all classes other than the first—at least that was approximately the number in the various camps of instruction. In order to arm and equip the recruits, Napoleon had recourse to his private treasure, drawing fifty-five million francs from the vaults of the Tuileries for that purpose. The remaining ten were transferred at intervals to Blois. But all his treasure could not buy what did not exist. The best military stores were in the heart of Europe; the French arsenals could afford only antiquated and almost useless supplies. The recruits were armed, some with shot-guns and knives, some with old muskets the use of which they did not know; they were for the most part without uniforms, and wore bonnets, blouses, and sabots. There were not half enough horses for the scanty artillery and cavalry. Worse than all, there was no time for instruction in the manual and tactics. On one occasion a boy conscript was found standing inactive under a fierce musketry fire; with artless intrepidity he remarked that he believed he could aim as well as anybody if he only knew how to load his gun!

The disaffected, though few, were powerful and active, suborning the prefects and civic authorities by every device, issuing proclamations which promised anything and everything, and procuring plans of fortified places for the allies. Talleyrand began to utter oracular innuendos about the vindictiveness of the allies, the desertion of Murat, the sack of Paris, and various half-truths more dangerous even than lies. The air was so full of rumors that, although there was no wide-spread revolutionary movement, there were now and then serious panics; the town of Chaumont surrendered to a solitary Würtemberg horseman. But when the populace of the country at large began to wonder who the coming Bourbon might be, and what he would take back from the present possessors of royal and ecclesiastical estates, they were staggered. People in the cities heard with some satisfaction the strains of the "Marseillaise," which by order of imperial agents were once again ground out around the streets by the hand-organs. Napoleon walked the avenues of Paris without escort, and was wildly cheered; the Empress and her little son were produced on public occasions with dramatic success, and popular wit dubbed the boy conscripts by the name of "Marie Louises." The little men showed a grim determination and eventually a sublime courage, but they never could acquire the veteran steadfastness which wins battles. Journals, theaters, music-halls, and public balls were all managed in the interest of imperial patriotism; imperial tyranny dealt ruthlessly with suspicious characters. Yet the imperialists had their doubts, and many, like Savary, threw an anchor to windward by storing treasure at distant points, and sending their families to safe retreats. On the whole, the balance of public opinion at the opening of 1814 was overwhelmingly imperialist both in the cities and in the country. Men ardently desired peace, but they wanted it with honor and under the Empire.

That the Empire desired peace seemed to be proved by steps for the release of its two most important prisoners, the King of Spain and the Pope. Wellington thought that if the former had been despatched directly into his kingdom on December eighth, the day on which the conditions between himself and the Emperor were signed, England would have found the further conduct of the war impossible. Talleyrand, already deep in royalist plots, must have been of the same opinion, for he did not advise haste, but craftily suggested to his prisoner that the provisional government of Spain might refuse to accept him

CHAP. XI 1813–14

as king unless the treaty of release had been previously ratified by the Cortes. Accordingly, it was referred to them, and, since the liberals desired the assent to their new constitution of a king not under duress, by their influence it was rejected. It was not until March, 1814, that Ferdinand was unconditionally released, and this delay proved fatal to Napoleon's interests in Spain. The liberals could no longer fight for free institutions, because it was then clear that the dynastic conservatism of Europe was to win a temporary victory. In about six months King Ferdinand undid the progressive work of six years, and Spain relapsed into absolutism and ecclesiasticism, with all their attendant evils. Nevertheless, France interpreted the conduct of the Emperor as indicating an earnest desire for peace, and this feeling had been strengthened by the absolutely unconditional release of the Pope on January twenty-second. This apparently gracious concession was effective among the masses, who did not know, as the Emperor did, that the allies were already on French soil.

The very next day Napoleon performed his last official act, which was one of great courage both physical and moral. The national guard in Paris had been reorganized, but its leaders had never been thoroughly loyal, many of them being royalists, some radical republicans, and the disaffection of both classes had been heightened by recent events. But the officers were nevertheless summoned to the Tuileries; the risk was doubled by the fact that they came armed. Drawn up in the vast chamber known as that of the marshals, they stood expectant; the great doors were thrown open, and there entered the Emperor, accompanied only by his consort and their child in the arms of his governess, Madame de Montesquiou. Napoleon announced simply that he was about to put himself at the head of his army, hoping, by the aid of God and the valor of his troops, to drive the enemy beyond the frontiers. There was silence. Then taking in one hand that of the Empress, and leading forward his child by the other, he continued, "I intrust the Empress and the King of Rome to the courage of the national guard." Still silence. After a moment, with suppressed emotion, he concluded, "My wife and my son." No generous-hearted Frenchman could withstand such an appeal; breaking ranks by a spontaneous impulse, the listeners started forward in a mass, and shook the very walls with their cry, "Long live the Emperor!" Many shed tears, and felt, as they withdrew in respectful silence, a new sense of devotion

IN THE COLLECTION OF THE MARQ[illegible] ANG[illegible]

[illegible]Y [illegible]

NAPOLEON-FRANÇOIS-CHARLES-JOSEPH

PRINCE IMPERIAL; KING OF ROME; DUKE OF REICHSTADT

FROM THE PAINTING BY SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE

welling up in their hearts. On the eve of his departure, the Emperor received a numerously signed address from the very men whose loyalty he had hitherto had just reason to suspect.

It was four in the morning of January twenty-fifth when Napoleon left for Châlons. From that moment he was no longer Emperor. During the long winter nights just past he had wrought with an intensity and a feverish activity which he had never surpassed, sparing neither himself nor others, displaying no consideration for prejudice or honest opposition, calling on every Frenchman to sacrifice everything for France, to which, as he vehemently asserted, he himself was more necessary than she to him. If he had come honestly to believe what millions of others believed, it was little wonder; he had thenceforth but one aim — to prove that he was, as of yore, the first general of France, the only one able to save the country in an hour when all her glories were falling in wreck about her. His strategic plans, immense and intricate as was his task, were complete and excellent. The first was intended to prevent invasion by way of Liège, the most direct line and that which Prussia preferred. The second, which was partly defensive, was the one eventually used against the clumsy form of advance actually chosen by the invaders. Of the two, the former was the more brilliant, but the second was almost as clever. By it the Rhine bank was divided into three parts for purposes of defense. Macdonald was stationed at Cologne to protect the lower course; Marmont was to guard the central stretch, and they two divided between them the remnants of the army which had been swept out of Germany; Victor was stationed on the upper course to command the garrisons of the great frontier fortifications and strengthen himself by the new levies; Bertrand remained as a sort of rear post on the right bank of the river at Kastel, opposite Mainz. All told, these generals had at first only fifty thousand men.

The allies no sooner obtained possession of central Europe than they outdid its recent master in every species of exaction. The countries which had formed the Confederacy of the Rhine were compelled almost to double the number of the contingents they had raised for France, and to organize every fencible man into either the first or second line of reserves, called by the old feudal terms of ban and arrière-ban. At the same time the allies demanded and obtained new subsidies both of money and arms from Great Britain. In the three armies of Austria,

CHAP. XI 1813-14

Prussia, and Russia, as they stood on the Rhine, there were ready by January first about two hundred and eighty-five thousand men. By the end of February the army-lists of France, excluding the national guards, displayed a total of six hundred and fifty thousand men; the coalition, including England, had enregistered nearly a million. Deducting forty per cent. as ample to cover all shortcomings, we may say that France, with three hundred and ninety thousand in the ranks, men and boys, faced Europe with six hundred thousand full-grown men. These figures include the French armies of Catalonia, of the Pyrenees, of Italy, and of the Netherlands, together with the garrisons in all the strong places then held by France on both sides of the Rhine; they also include the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian reserves, with the national armies of Holland, Spain, and Italy.

Aside from the centrifugal forces inherent in the coalition, there was one which threatened its disintegration: the erratic character of the great Gascon who represented Sweden. Bernadotte's first care, after the battle of Leipsic, was to move north and secure the long-coveted prize of Norway. Ever mindful of the hint about a French crown, which Alexander had thrown out as still another bait at Åbo, he gave as his parting admonition the transparent advice that the coming campaign should be confined to a frontier invasion of France, and at Hamburg he actually offered Davout, as the price of surrender, a safe return for himself and his army to their native land! This was too much; Alexander was furious, and the schemer was peremptorily ordered to leave a sufficient investing force before the city and return with the rest of his army to the lower Rhine. There he was suffered to remain in idleness, the task assigned to him being that of watching the Netherlands; two of his best corps were withdrawn from him and assigned to Blücher.

Nor was Napoleon free from his thorn in the flesh. In a bulletin published by him after the retreat from Moscow was a passage which implied some censure of Murat for his lack of stability. This both the King of Naples and his spouse bitterly resented, the latter roundly abusing her brother in their correspondence. This was an excellent pretext for desertion when the general crash appeared imminent, and at Erfurt the dashing and gallant, but weak and testy monarch decamped. Hastening south, he entered at once into alliance with Austria, and then, putting himself at the head of eighty thousand Nea-

politans, set out for Rome, waging a terrific warfare of proclamations. Eugène, too,—and this was an elemental disaster,—was virtually checkmated by the defection of his father-in-law, the King of Bavaria, which opened the Tyrol to the allies. All Italy was consequently lost. Augereau, whose feeble loyalty to Napoleon was already at the vanishing-point, had been appointed to take forty thousand conscripts, collect any straggling soldiers he could find in southeastern France, and keep open the door out of Italy for some or all of Eugène's veterans, with whose assistance it was hoped the marshal could form an army for the defense of the Vosges Mountains. But Eugène, having fought the indecisive battle of Roverbello, and finding himself in a sorry plight from both the military and political points of view, could send no reinforcements until April, when finally he concluded an armistice releasing his army. Augereau therefore found himself opposite Bubna at Geneva with an ineffective force, and with very little heart to wield what he had. This ended Napoleon's grand scheme for uniting the forces of Italy, Naples, Switzerland, and France.

Prussia was now the ablest as well as the bitterest of Napoleon's foes, Stein, Blücher, Gneisenau, and their friends aiming at nothing short of annihilating the Napoleonic power. This was, no doubt, due in part to a thirst for revenge; but in the main it was due to the longing for such a leadership in Germany as would spread abroad the new doctrines of liberal and constitutional monarchy, in order to restrain Austria's ever-increasing influence. The councils of the allies presented an amusing spectacle. The Prussians urged an immediate advance by the best line for invasion, that, namely, from Liège and Brussels; but the Austrians, except Radetzky, drew back, fearing Prussia almost equally with France. The Czar held the balance, but his scales were very sensitive, inclining often toward Prussia, but settling in the end to a compromise suggested by Schwarzenberg and Metternich. Having imitated Napoleon in his practice of war requisitions, the allies now determined to imitate him in contempt for international law, and to violate Swiss neutrality. The plan which they adopted was to throw their main army into France by way of Basel, and thus turn the line of frowning fortresses behind the Rhine, as well as the Vosges Mountains. Blücher was to cross the middle Rhine, and Bülow, with thirty thousand men, was to coöperate with the English troops under Graham in the Netherlands. The whole scheme was unmilitary, but it exactly

CHAP. XI 1813–14

suited Metternich, who, having on January thirteenth first learned of Bernadotte's understanding with the Czar about the crown of France, was very uneasy. Both he and Schwarzenberg desired to end the war on the frontier, if possible; Prussia's power and Alexander's ambitions for European preponderance were far more dangerous to Austria than a Napoleonic empire confined to France.

Blücher, leaving twenty-eight thousand men before Mainz, crossed the Saar on January ninth, with forty-seven thousand; Schwarzenberg, with the main army arrayed in four columns, two hundred and nine thousand strong, crossed the Rhine at or near Basel and moved toward Langres. The thin, straggling French columns began to retreat concentrically toward Châlons on the Marne. At the opening of the second stage in the campaign Blücher had invested the Mosel fortresses, and was advancing, with less than thirty thousand men, toward Arcis on the Aube; Schwarzenberg was in and about Langres; and the French were concentrated on a line from Vitry-le-François to St. Dizier. Napoleon reached Châlons on the twenty-sixth, having left Joseph to represent him in Paris. The wily strategist, feeble as was his strength, had momentarily secured the advantage over his unwieldy foe, having wedged himself between the invading armies, and being quite strong enough, with the forty thousand persons in his ranks, to cope with Blücher.

IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES

ENGRAVED BY T. JOHNSON

MARSHAL CHARLES-PIERRE-FRANÇOIS AUGEREAU

DUKE OF CASTIGLIONE

FROM THE PAINTING BY ROBERT LEFEVRE

CHAPTER XII

NAPOLEON'S SUPREME EFFORT

THE FERTILITY OF GENIUS — THE BATTLES OF BRIENNE AND LA ROTHIÈRE — THE FRENCH RETREAT — VICTORY AT CHAMPAUBERT — VICTORY AT MONTMIRAIL — VICTORY AT VAUCHAMPS — SUCCESS ENGENDERS DELUSION — INSINCERITY OF THE ALLIES — THEIR CLASHING INTERESTS — THE CONGRESS OF CHÂTILLON — NAPOLEON'S PROCRASTINATION — FRENCH VICTORY AND FRENCH DIPLOMACY.

THE year 1814 is the most astonishing of Napoleon's military life. He first conceived a plan for combining the resources of Italy, Switzerland, Naples, and France. This failed by Augereau's sloth and Murat's ingratitude. Nothing daunted, the fertile brain then outlined schemes for meeting the quick advance of the allies through the Netherlands, for defending the Rhine frontier, and for a levy en masse of the French people to hurl back invasion under the walls of Paris. After taking the field, the daring of his conceptions, the rapidity of his movements, the surprises he prepared for his enemy, the support he wrung from an exhausted land, the devotion he received from a panting, ill-clothed army at bay — all are so uncommon that by contrast the allies appear to be a lumbering, stupid mass. With another antagonist they would have appeared in a very different light; Gneisenau's clear head, Blücher's daring, Radetzky's good sense and courage, together with the valor of the forces at their back, would have won the goal far more easily with an ordinary, or even an extraordinary, combatant in Napoleon's plight. The Emperor of the French had not merely a prestige worth a hundred thousand men, as he was fond of reckoning: he had an activity of mind and body, a reservoir of resources, which made his single blade cover the whole circumference of defense like the whirling spokes of a fiery wheel.

CHAP. XII
1814

After a skirmish for the possession of St. Dizier, the campaign opened at Brienne, where Blücher, hurrying to gain touch with the main army of the allies, was caught on January twenty-ninth. The conflict probably did not recall to Napoleon his mock conflicts when a school-boy near the same spot. The terrific struggle began late in the afternoon, and lasted in full fury until midnight, when the Prussian general, narrowly escaping capture, abandoned the town and hurried toward Trannes. Thoroughly beaten, he needed not touch alone, but actual union with the Austrians, and this he gained near Bar on the Aube, whence Schwarzenberg was passing on toward Auxerre. Ignorant of this success, Napoleon now drew up his line with its center at La Rothière, hoping in the first place to hold the bridge over the Aube at Lesmont, and thus secure the moral effect of his victory at Brienne, and in the second to bring on another engagement with Blücher, whom he believed to be still isolated. Marmont was at Montierender, Mortier was summoned from before Troyes. This stand of Napoleon's was a desperate attempt to overawe the allied sovereigns, for strategically it was fatal, since in the case of either victory or defeat the French army was in danger of being outflanked by Schwarzenberg's advance, and thus cut off from Paris. On February first, Blücher, reinforced by twelve thousand of the Russian guard, attacked. The battle lasted, with fluctuating success for the allies, during two days, and at its close Napoleon safely retreated over the Aube to make another stand at Troyes. The various conflicts were terrific; in the end Blücher lost six thousand dead and wounded, the French about four thousand. The odds against the latter were never less than two to one, sometimes more. Had the allies first thrown their full strength into the contest, and had they then followed up their victory by a well-organized pursuit, the campaign would have ended there. As it was, they paused, permitted a disorganized, feeble enemy to escape, and gained nothing from the bloody conflict except an ill-founded self-confidence. Blücher wrote on the evening of the battle that they would be in Paris within eight days. To General Reynier, who was to be liberated by an exchange of prisoners, the Czar said: "We shall be in Paris before you." A council of war was called which decided for an advance on the French capital in two columns; to Blücher, as the conqueror of La Rothière, was assigned the shortest line, that down the Marne.

For several days the allied lines moved onward, slowly, widely

PUBLICATION AUTHORIZED BY THE ARTIST.

TYPOGRAVURE HOUSSIN, VALMON & CO., PARIS.

scattered, and carelessly. Napoleon was as calm and undaunted as if he had been the victor. Retreating on the defensive with careful deliberation, he strengthened his forces by well-chosen periods of rest, and by hurrying in reinforcements from the various depots about and beyond Paris. On the afternoon of February ninth, when leaving Nogent for Sézanne, he wrote to his brother Joseph, whom he had left to represent his interests at Paris, that he could now reckon, all told, on between sixty and seventy thousand men, including engineers and artillery; that he estimated the Silesian army under Blücher at forty-five thousand, and the main army under Schwarzenberg at a hundred and fifty thousand, including Bubna and the Cossacks. "If I gain a victory over the Silesian army, and put it out of account for some days, I can turn against Schwarzenberg, reckoning on the reinforcements you will send, with from seventy to eighty thousand men, and I think he cannot oppose me at once with more than from a hundred and ten to a hundred and twenty thousand. If I find myself too weak to attack, I shall be at least strong enough to hold him in check for a fortnight or three weeks, and this would give me the opportunity for new combinations." To hold Schwarzenberg temporarily, Oudinot with twenty-five thousand men was stationed on the line from Provins to Sens, and Victor with fourteen thousand was sent to Nogent. The Emperor himself, with the old guard, about eight thousand strong, with Ney and Marmont each commanding six thousand infantry, and with ten thousand cavalry under Nansouty and Doumerc, set out from Sézanne to try his fortunes with Blücher.

This was the last of Napoleon's great strategic schemes which was destined to be crowned with success. It had but a single drawback. While Napoleon was still the boldest man in war that ever lived, as at St. Helena he declared himself to be, his marshals were uneasy and depressed; Marmont, in this moment of infinite chance, as it seemed to him, fell into a panic. The marshal's fears were not justified, for his Emperor's daring was not foolhardy. It was calculated on the myriad chances of his enemy's opportunity and his enemy's ability, and in this case it was perfectly calculated. Blücher, in spite of Gneisenau's continuous warnings, was over-confident. Having dispersed his detachments more than ever, he had for two days been moving swiftly in the hope of cutting off Macdonald by a dashing feat of arms. In his haste he had not taken up two Russian corps which had been separated from

CHAP. XII
1814

his main line, but on the contrary he had left them so far out that they were beyond support. By a blunder of the Czar's, reinforcements which had been promised were still a long distance in the rear. Schwarzenberg's movements were marked by an over-confident deliberation as characteristic of him as overhaste was of Blücher. Accordingly when on the tenth Marmont advanced from Sézanne, he found the corps of Olsusieff, about forty-five hundred strong, virtually isolated at Champaubert. His own numbers were slightly superior, and with a swift rush he annihilated the unready Russians. Napoleon was beside himself with joy, and began to talk of the Vistula once more; but he stopped when he saw how sour the visages of Marmont and the other marshals grew at the very mention of such an idea. Nevertheless, if the process begun at Champaubert could be continued, victory and ultimate recovery of something more than French empire were assured. He therefore hurried Nansouty and Macdonald on toward Montmirail for a second stroke of the same kind.

The affair at Montmirail was more of a battle than that at Champaubert, for Blücher had been able to gather in the divisions of Sacken, York, Kleist, and Kapzewitch. The battle opened about an hour before noon on the eleventh by a fierce artillery fire from the French, behind which Napoleon manœuvered so as to concentrate his own force against the Russians, and separate them from York with his Prussians. At two o'clock Napoleon attacked the Russians, Mortier engaging the Prussians separately. The plan succeeded, and by nightfall the enemy was in full retreat for Château-Thierry, where was the nearest bridge over the Marne. Napoleon had hoped that Macdonald would arrive from La Ferté-sous-Jouarre in time to seize the bridge, cut off the retreat, and make the victory decisive. But in spite of heroic exertion, that marshal could not or did not move with sufficient rapidity over the heavy dirt roads. The flying allies sacked the town with awful cruelty, and destroyed the bridge without any molestation except from the inhabitants, who wreaked their vengeance on numerous stragglers. On the thirteenth the French occupied the place, repaired the bridge, and crossed to the right bank. Next morning Marmont started in pursuit of Blücher.

Somewhat flushed by such success, Napoleon deliberated whether he should not now turn and attack Schwarzenberg. The Emperor thought these victories might give pause to a mediocre Austrian, ever mindful

of the terrific blows his country had received once and again from France. He was mistaken; Schwarzenberg had moved, though slowly, yet steadily forward. On the twelfth Victor abandoned the bridge at Nogent, and Napoleon sent Macdonald with twelve thousand men to join Victor at Montereau. Early on the fourteenth came news that Blücher had driven Marmont back to Fromentières. By noon Napoleon had effected a junction with this marshal near Étoges, making a famous and successful flank march over a marshy country, a manœuver which is justly considered worthy of his great genius. Advancing then to the neighborhood of Vauchamps, his infantry attacked in front, while the cavalry, under Grouchy, outflanked the enemy's line and fell on the rear. Blücher was apparently doomed, for he had only three regiments of cavalry, and while facing one powerful enemy he would be forced to break the ranks of another in order to open a line of retreat. He solved the problem, but at enormous cost. Forming his troops into a line of solid squares, one stood to support the artillery and receive the onset in front, while the others dashed at Grouchy's horsemen, each square standing and retreating behind the next alternately as the bloody retreat went on. At last the butchery ceased, and Blücher fled to Bergères. The French pursued only as far as Étoges. Napoleon had hoped to follow all the way to Châlons, annihilate what was left of Blücher's army, and then to return and throw himself on Schwarzenberg. He was arrested by the news that the Seine valley, as far as Montereau, was in the hands of the Austro-Russians; that Oudinot and Victor had been driven back to Nangis; in short, that Paris was seriously menaced.

It was long asserted that in the three actions just recorded the French far outnumbered their opponents, and that Napoleon's generalship was consequently inferior to his high average. The sufficient answer to this is in the facts now universally accepted. At Champaubert there were four thousand eight hundred and fifty French against four thousand seven hundred Russians; at Montmirail there were twenty-two thousand seven hundred Russians and Prussians against twelve thousand eight hundred French; and in the third engagement, near Étoges, Blücher had twenty-one thousand five hundred to ten thousand three hundred. It is therefore natural to compare these three victories with those at Montenotte, Millesimo, and Dego. But they were far greater. At forty-four Napoleon displayed exactly the same boldness,

CHAP. XII 1814

steadfastness, and skill which he had displayed in youth; but in addition he overcame the stolid enmity of winter, of variable weather, of roads almost impassable, of swampy fields that were almost impassable by reason of overflowing ditches and half-frozen morasses. He overcame, too, the resisting power created by his own example; for here were the choicest soldiers of the Continent, commanded by men inured for eighteen years to the hardships, the shifts, the rapidity of warfare as he himself had taught the art. Momentarily Napoleon seems to have wondered whether allied and co-allied Europe had learned nothing in half a generation, and whether an army twice and a half larger than his own, under veteran generals, was to withdraw again behind the Rhine, the Elbe, the Oder, perhaps the Vistula. It is hard to believe that he dreamed such dreams as we read the prosaic, scientific, hard common sense of his military correspondence between January twenty-sixth and February fourteenth. Yet there is certainly an appearance of self-deception and vacillation in his political and diplomatic plans, due apparently to the intoxication of success, as when he spoke of the Vistula to Marmont after Champaubert.

The innermost thoughts of Metternich, and of the diplomats associated with him, are very hard to fathom. For two generations the world believed that after Leipsic, Napoleon, in his sanguine conceit, rejected offer after offer from the allies, and finally perished utterly because of a folly which made him believe he could recover his predominance. There is now every reason to believe the contrary, and to suppose that Napoleon clearly understood the situation. The war was one of extermination on the part of the allies; in the interest of their dynasties they intended not only to destroy Napoleon, but also thereby to root out the ideas for which he was supposed to stand. By the light of recent memoirs, especially those of Metternich himself, we seem forced to the conclusion that in all the offers after Leipsic there was, if anything, far less of reality and sincerity than in those between the armistice of Poischwitz and the battle. When Castlereagh arrived at the allied headquarters early in January, 1814, he found them established in Basel. Schwarzenberg had found no difficulty in crossing Switzerland. Geneva surrendered its keys without a struggle, and generally the Swiss seemed indifferent to the violation of their neutrality. As the advance continued, it appeared that the French were equally apathetic. Bubna was driven from before Lyons by Augereau, but Dijon sur-

rendered to a squad of cavalrymen which, at the request of the conscientious mayor, made a show of force to oblige him. It was not difficult under such circumstances for the sovereigns and their ministers to convince themselves that any peace with Napoleon would be nothing but a "ridiculous armistice," and that the Emperor of the French must, in any case, be utterly overthrown.

In response to the Frankfort proposals, the pacific Caulaincourt had promptly arrived to conduct negotiations. The invaders had almost at once suggested that they must abandon the Frankfort proposals, and confine France to her royal limits; that is, refuse her Belgium with the great port of Antwerp. So far they were agreed, but there the unanimity ceased. The Czar desired first to conquer France, and then leave her to choose her own government; he intended to take the whole of Poland, and give Alsace to Francis in return for Galicia, thus checking Austria by both Prussia and France, so that he could work his will in the Orient. Metternich wished the old balance of power, and had determined on the restoration of the Bourbons. Francis was writing to his daughter that he would never separate her cause and that of her son from France. The Prussian king and ministers desired only such an arrangement as would secure to their country what she had regained. Stein and his associates wished the utter humiliation of their foe. Castlereagh spoke with the authority of a paymaster; he was determined to keep the Netherlands from falling under French influence, to restore the Bourbons, and to establish so nice an equilibrium in Europe that Great Britain would be unhampered elsewhere in the world. There was to be no mention of colonial restitution or neutral rights. Being a second-rate statesman, he was much influenced by Metternich, and the two sought to form an impossible alliance between constitutional liberty and feudal absolutism.

A so-called congress was opened at Châtillon on February fifth. It must be remembered that the treaty of Reichenbach was still a secret. That agreement was the reality behind the congress of Prague, the Frankfort proposals, and the meeting at Mannheim. None of those gatherings consequently was serious; that at Châtillon was even less so. The memoirs of Metternich explain all the facts: Swiss neutrality was violated by Austrian influence in order to restore the aristocratic constitution of Bern and the ascendancy of that canton; Alexander, posing still as a liberal, was angry at this violation of international law,

CHAP. XII
1814

and forbade the restoration of Vaud to its old master. Schwarzenberg's deliberate movements were due primarily to timidity, but they stood in good stead Metternich's desire to restore the Bourbons. It has been asserted, and there is much probability in the conjecture, that not only the plan adopted for invading France, but the slowness of the Austrians in advancing toward Langres, toward Troyes, across into the Seine valley, together with the spurious activity they displayed before Montereau, Sens, and Fontainebleau, was part of a scheme to wear out but not to exhaust France, and then compel her to take back her dynastic rulers. Blücher, who wanted glory and revenge, and the Prussian liberals, who desired so to crush France that Prussia might be free to slough off her militarism and build up a constitutional government, were alike furious at being chained to the frontier. All these cross-purposes and bitternesses were mirrored in the ostentatious proceedings of the congress of Châtillon. Napoleon, either divining the facts, or, more probably, informed by spies, seemed indifferent, and refused at first to give full powers to Caulaincourt; finally the marshals, terrified at the prospect of indefinite war opened by the unlucky mention of the Vistula, made their influence so felt that the Emperor yielded.

Maret's name was long held up to detestation as the instigator of Napoleon's procrastinating policy at Dresden, the line of conduct which seemed to have made it possible for Austria to join the coalition. Among the papers of that minister is an account of his relations with Napoleon during the congress at Châtillon, which displays the evident motive of an attempt to prove how pacific his nature really was. He declares that after the defeat at La Rothière, Caulaincourt wrote a panic-stricken letter demanding full authority to treat. Maret handed it to the Emperor, beseeching him to yield. Napoleon seemed scarcely to heed, but indicated a passage in Montesquieu's "Grandeur and Fall of the Romans," which he happened to be reading: "I know nothing more magnanimous than the resolution taken by a monarch who ruled in our time, to bury himself under the ruins of the throne rather than accept proposals which a king may not entertain. He had a soul too lofty to descend lower than his misfortunes had hurled him." "But I, sire," rejoined the secretary—"I know something more magnanimous—to cast aside your glory in order to close the abyss into which France would fall along with you." "Well, then, gentlemen, make your peace," came the reply. "Let Caulaincourt make it; let him sign

IN THE COLLECTION OF M. VEVER.

TYPOGRAVURE BOUSSOD, VALADON & CO., PARIS

everything necessary to obtain it. I can support the disgrace, but do not expect me to dictate my own humiliation." Maret informed Caulaincourt, but the latter recoiled before the responsibility, and asked for particular instructions. The Emperor persistently refused, but wrote giving the minister "carte blanche" to take any measure which would save the capital. Again Caulaincourt begged for details, and again Napoleon refused, persisting until Bertrand joined his supplications to those of Maret, whereupon he consented to abandon Belgium, and even the left bank of the Rhine.

The formal despatch containing these concessions was to be signed next morning, on February eighth, but in the interval came news of Blücher's movements. Maret found the Emperor buried in the study of his map. "I have an entirely different matter in hand," was the greeting; "I am at present occupied in dealing Blücher a blow in the eye." The signature was indefinitely postponed. On the tenth Alexander suspended the congress on the plea of Caulaincourt's refusal to state his own or accept the offered terms. Then followed the three victories, and Napoleon, on the night of the twelfth, wrote to Chatillon demanding the Frankfort proposals. Caulaincourt urgently besought the allies for an armistice, and begged Napoleon to be less exacting. Prussia and Austria were eager for the armistice, but Alexander obstinately refused to reopen the congress until the eighteenth, when everything seemed changed, and all the allies really desired peace. Caulaincourt, warned by Napoleon's letter of the twelfth, refused to treat without full instructions, and as he had none he began to procrastinate. In the end he bore the blame for not having used the carte blanche when he had it in order to save his country, for subsequently he had no opportunity.

CHAPTER XIII

THE GREAT CAPTAIN AT BAY

VICTOR'S FAILURE AT MONTEREAU—SCHWARZENBERG'S RUSE—THE FRENCH ADVANCE AND THE AUSTRIAN RETREAT—NAPOLEON'S EFFORT TO DIVIDE THE COALITION—VAIN NEGOTIATIONS—THE TREATY OF CHAUMONT—BLÜCHER'S NARROW ESCAPE—THE PRUSSIANS DEFEATED AT CRAONNE—NAPOLEON'S DETERMINATION TO FIGHT—HIS MISFORTUNES AT LAON—DISSENSIONS AT BLÜCHER'S HEADQUARTERS—NAPOLEON AT SOISSONS—RHEIMS RECAPTURED—ANOTHER PHASE IN NAPOLEON'S ECLIPSE.

CHAP. XIII
1814

THE eagerness of the Prussians and the Austrians to grant an armistice was at first due to the belief that Caulaincourt's request was a confession of exhaustion; the Czar's assent to reopening the congress on the eighteenth was wrung from him by the military operations between the fourteenth and that date. Convinced that Paris was menaced, Napoleon left Marmont to hold Blücher, and starting for La Ferté-sous-Jouarre on the fifteenth, covered fifty miles with his army in a marvelous march of thirty-six hours, arriving on the evening of the sixteenth with his men comparatively fresh. Next morning the French began to advance, and the Austrians to withdraw toward the Seine. Victor was to seize Montereau that same day and hold the bridge. Compelled to drive an Austrian corps out of Valjouan, the marshal did not reach his goal until six or seven in the evening, and finding it beset by the Crown Prince of Würtemberg with fourteen thousand Germans, he merely drove in the outposts and then halted for the night. His ardor was far from intense, and though like Macdonald at Château-Thierry, he might feel that he had done all that could be demanded, yet he lost the opportunity of annihilating a considerable portion of the enemy's force. Simultaneously Macdonald had

now advanced until he stood before Bray, while Oudinot on the left was before Provins. Thus far Napoleon's advance had been a front movement to cover Paris, but that same day, the seventeenth, he drove Wittgenstein from Nangis, and then expected by a rush over the bridge at Montereau to prevent Schwarzenberg from extending his flank to Fontainebleau, a move which would surround the French right. As a matter of fact, strange riders speaking curious outlandish tongues, Cossack scouts in other words, had appeared for the first time that very day in Nemours and Fontainebleau, terrifying the inhabitants. It seems highly probable that if Napoleon's force could have made a quick push from Montereau early on the eighteenth, it would have cut off a considerable portion of Schwarzenberg's left. In any case the Emperor was deeply incensed by what he considered Victor's slackness, and degraded him. The humbled marshal confessed his fault, displaying profound contrition, and was speedily restored to partial favor, being intrusted with the command, under Ney, of a portion of the young guard.

This was the third of the marshals — Augereau, Macdonald, Victor, each in turn — who since the opening of the campaign had shown a physical and moral exhaustion disabling them from rising to the heights of Napoleon's expectation. "We must pull on the boots and the resolution of '93," wrote the Emperor to Augereau; he was quite right: nothing short of the unsapped revolutionary vigor of France could have saved his cause. On the eighteenth, after a six hours' struggle, the French under Gérard and Pajol seized Montereau. Napoleon had halted at Nangis, and there Berthier received by a flag of truce a letter from Schwarzenberg, declaring that he had ceased his offensive march in consequence of news that preliminaries of peace had been signed the day previous at Châtillon. This was probably as base a ruse as any ever practised by Napoleon's generals. It is likely that all the Austrian marches and countermarches for ten days past had been but a bustling semblance calculated for diplomatic effect. Be that as it may, before Napoleon's advance the Austrian commander had quailed, and, with the French at Montereau, his columns were already moving back to Troyes, where they were drawn up in battle array. Napoleon wrote indignantly to Joseph that the ruse was probably preliminary to a request for an armistice, and that he would now accept nothing short of the Frankfort proposals. "At the first check the wretched creatures

CHAP. XIII 1814

fall on their knees." Meanwhile he led his army over the river to Nogent, and prepared to attack Schwarzenberg.

But Blücher had not been idle; by superhuman exertions he had collected and strengthened his army at Châlons, and on the twenty-first he appeared at Méry on the Seine, threatening Napoleon's left flank in case of an advance toward Troyes. By this time the flames of French patriotism were rekindled in town and country, and, the soldiers being flushed with victory, it was clearly the hour to strike at any hazard. Oudinot was despatched with ten thousand men to hold Blücher, and this task he actually accomplished, capturing that portion of Méry which lay on the left bank of the river, and fortifying the bridge-head against all comers. Marmont being at Sézanne with eight thousand men to cover Paris, and Mortier at Soissons with ten thousand to prevent the advance of York and Sacken, Napoleon marched on Troyes. It was late in the evening when his main army was drawn up, and in order to leave time for his rear to come in, he postponed operations until the morning. Schwarzenberg had seventy thousand in line, but at four in the early dawn of the twenty-second, leaving in place a front formation sufficient to mask his movements, he decamped with his main force and withdrew behind the Aube.

Arrived at Bar, the Austrian commander wrote on the twenty-sixth an admirable letter of justification for the course he had taken. Defeat would have meant a retreat, not behind the Aube, but the Rhine. "To offer a decisive battle to an army fighting with all the confidence gained in small affairs, manœuvering on its own territory, with provisions and munitions within reach, and with the aid of a peasantry in arms, would be an undertaking to which nothing but extreme necessity could drive me." This retreat put a new aspect on the diplomacy of Châtillon. On the nineteenth Caulaincourt received a despatch from Napoleon revoking the carte blanche entirely; the same day Napoleon received an ultimatum from the congress, written several days before, to the effect that he was to renounce all the acquisitions of France since 1792, and take no share in the arrangements subsequent to the peace. This last clause being a covert suggestion of abdication, the recipient flew into a passion; when finally he was soothed by the pleadings of Berthier and Maret, he gave such a meaningless reply as would enable negotiations to proceed, but his counter-project he addressed directly to the Emperor Francis. It was a refusal to give up Antwerp

IN THE COLLECTION OF M. CHAUCHARD

TYPOGRAVURE BOUSSOD, VALADON & CO., PARIS.

1814 — CAMPAIGN OF FRANCE

and Belgium, and an emphatic recurrence to the Frankfort proposals. "If we are not to lay down our arms except on the offensive conditions proposed at the congress, the genius of France and Providence will be on our side."

Napoleon's missive suggested to his father-in-law, as was its intention, that a Continental peace on the Frankfort basis would leave France free to recuperate her sea power and continue the war with England alone. This was the wedge which for some time past the writer had been proposing to drive into the coalition so as to separate Austria from Russia. Castlereagh was very uneasy as to the possible effect of the message, and there was much anxiety among all the diplomats. Their first step was to send a pacific reply and renew their request for an armistice. Napoleon consented, but stipulated that hostilities should proceed during the preliminary pourparlers, and that in the protocol a clause should be inserted declaring that the plenipotentiaries were reassembled at Châtillon to discuss a peace on the basis proposed at Frankfort. A commission to arrange the terms of the armistice met on the twenty-fourth. That they were not in earnest is shown by Frederick William's despatch of the twenty-sixth to Blücher, saying, "The suspension of arms will not take place." That very day also, in a council of war held by the allied generals, it was determined to form an invading army of the south. Blücher was authorized to make a diversion in favor of the main army — a move which he had really begun the day before by a march to the right. Napoleon, leaving Macdonald and Oudinot, with forty thousand men, to follow Schwarzenberg, hurried after Blücher with his remaining force. On the twenty-eighth the commission adjourned its sessions with a formal reiteration of the ultimatum already made by the allied powers.

The reason was that by that time its members believed Napoleon to be elsewhere engaged. Schwarzenberg's army had checked Oudinot, and as his troops recuperated their strength the leader recovered partial confidence. Blücher being off for Paris, with Napoleon on his heels, the main army of the allies had then turned on the forces of Macdonald and Oudinot, and had driven them westward until in the pursuit it reached Troyes, where it halted, ready, in case of Blücher's defeat, to recross the Rhine. The congress of Châtillon was formally reopened on March first, and continued its useless sessions until the nineteenth, when it closed. During this second period none of the im-

CHAP. XIII 1814

portant dignitaries, except Schwarzenberg and the King of Prussia, attended; the rest withdrew to Chaumont, where, on March ninth, the three powers signed a treaty with England, dated back to March first, binding themselves, in return for an annual subsidy of five million pounds sterling equally divided, that each would keep a hundred and fifty thousand men in the field, for twenty years if necessary, provided Napoleon would not accept the boundaries of royal France — a futile stipulation. This treaty was the precursor of that iniquitous triple alliance between Russia, Austria, and Prussia which was destined not merely to hamper England herself so seriously in the subsequent period of history, but to stop for some time the progress of liberal ideas throughout Europe.

Blücher crossed the Marne on February twenty-seventh with half his force, and then attempted to cross the Ourcq in order to attack Meaux from the north. But he was checked by Marmont and Mortier, with the sixteen thousand men they already had, and then, after six thousand new recruits came in from Paris, he was forced to retreat. Should Napoleon arrive in time he would be annihilated. Accordingly he hastened up the valley of the Ourcq with his entire force. Napoleon arrived on the Marne too late to attack Blücher's rear, and after some hesitation as to whether he should not return to complete his work with Schwarzenberg, he finally determined that, inasmuch as the fortress of Soissons was secure, and Blücher must therefore retreat to the eastward, he could himself deliver an easy but staggering blow on the Prussian flank when they should cross the Aisne at Fismes. Accordingly, on March third the worn-out columns of the French passed over the Marne. Unfortunately, Soissons had been left by Marmont in charge of an inexperienced commander, who had surrendered almost without resistance when, on March second, Bülow and Wintzengerode, having come in from the Netherlands, suddenly appeared before the place. This stroke of good fortune enabled Blücher not merely to find a city of refuge for his exhausted and disorganized force, but to recruit it by the two victorious and elated corps which thenceforth served him as an invaluable rear-guard. Napoleon, thwarted again, gave no outward sign of the despair he must have felt, but crossed the Aisne on March fifth, and occupied Rheims, in order at least to cut Blücher off from any connection with Schwarzenberg. He then turned to join Marmont and Mortier in order to drive Blücher still farther north, so

that, as he wrote to Joseph, he might gain time sufficient to return by Châlons and attack Schwarzenberg.

In spite of all his discouragements, Blücher had no intention of retreating without a blow. There was constant friction between the Prussian commander and his subordinates, so that dissension prevented prompt action. Nevertheless, after much delay the army was got in motion to resume the offensive, the general plan being to move eastward instead of withdrawing due north, to cross the plateau of Craonne, and, descending into the plain north of Berry, to attack the French in force as they advanced to Laon. Napoleon had expected to meet his foe under the walls of that city; his quick advance was as much of a surprise to Blücher as Blücher's was to him. The first shock of battle, therefore, occurred at Craonne on the sixth, when neither army was in readiness. But Blücher secured the advantage of position. Though he had only a portion of his force, the troops he did have were on a commanding plateau above the enemy when the action began. The skirmishes of the first day, however, were indecisive. Napoleon's knowledge of the district being defective, he sought to secure the best possible information from the inhabitants. Some one mentioning incidentally that the mayor of a neighboring town was named De Bussy, Napoleon recalled, with his astounding memory, that in the regiment of La Fère he had had a comrade so named. The mayor turned out to be the sometime lieutenant, and, with superserviceable zeal, the former friend poured out worthless information which led the Emperor to believe that on the morrow there would be only Blücher's rear-guard to disperse. But it was not so. Blücher struggled with his utmost might to gather in his cavalry and artillery, while Sacken, with the Russians, stood like a wall, repelling the successive surges of Ney and Victor the whole day through. At nightfall the Prussian commander, finding it impossible to assemble guns or horsemen over the icy fields, gave orders for retreat, and his army passed on to Laon.

Though Craonne was a victory, the losses of the French were proportionately greater than those of the enemy, and the pursuit, though spirited, gained no advantage. "The young guard melts like snow; the old guard stands; my mounted guards likewise are much reduced," were the words of Napoleon's private letter. Yet he pressed on. The night of the seventh he spent in a roadside inn under the sign of "The Guardian Angel." There Caulaincourt's last messenger from Châtillon

CHAP. XIII
1814

found him. The congress was still sitting, but the warrior knew the fact meant and could mean nothing to him; though the allies had increased their demands in proportion to their victories, they had not lessened them in proportion to their defeats. Whatever terms he might accept, and whatever Metternich might say, this war he felt sure was one for his extermination. As he said then and there, it was a bottomless chasm, and he added, "I am determined to be the last it shall swallow up." So he made no answer, and spent the night completing his plans for battle at Laon.

That place stands on a terraced hill rising somewhat abruptly from the plain, and throughout the eighth Blücher arrayed his army in and on both sides of the city, which itself was of course the key. Napoleon, being a firm believer in such movements when on friendly soil, made a long night march. He reached the enemy's fore posts early on the ninth, and drove them in. At seven Ney and Mortier began the battle under cover of a mist, and captured two hamlets at the foot of the hill. Marmont was on the right, and had already been cut off from the center by a body of Cossacks; but he attacked the village of Athies. After a long day's hard fighting, he succeeded in capturing a portion of it. Further exertion being impossible, his men bivouacked, while he himself withdrew to the comforts of Eppes, a château three miles distant. It was noon when Napoleon learned that Marmont had been severed from the line; at once he renewed his attack on Laon, but though he gained Clacy on his left, he lost Ardon, and was thus more completely cut off from Marmont. That night York fell upon Marmont's men unawares, and routed them utterly.

Napoleon heard of this disaster shortly after midnight. He was, of course, deeply agitated—did he dare risk being infolded on both sides, or should he brave his fate in order to mislead the enemy? He chose the desperate course, and when day broke stood apparently undismayed. Even when two fugitive dragoons arrived and confirmed in all its details the terrible news from Athies, he issued orders as bold as if his army were still entire. This was a desperate ruse, but it succeeded, for the pursuit of Marmont's men was stayed. At four the main French army began its retreat, and the next morning saw it at Soissons; six thousand had been killed and wounded. Again Napoleon's name had stiffened the allies into inactive horror, for they did not pursue. York was so disgusted with the dissensions at Blücher's headquarters that he

PRINCE CLEMENS WENZEL NEPOMUK LOTHAR VON
METTERNICH-WINNEBURG

FROM THE LITHOGRAPH BY MAUZIN

threw up his command and left for Brussels. Blücher was literally at the end of his powers. "For heaven's sake," said Langeron, a French refugee in the Russian service, on whom the command would have devolved, "whatever happens, let us take the corpse along." "The corpse," with dimmed eyes and trembling hands, traced in great rude letters an epistle beseeching York to return, and this, indorsed by another from the Prince Royal of Prussia, brought back the able but testy refugee. CHAP. XIII 1814

Meantime Rheims, intrusted to a feeble garrison, had been taken by Langeron's rear-guard under St. Priest, another French emigrant in the service of the allies. By this disaster communication between Schwarzenberg and Blücher had been reëstablished. In the short day Napoleon could spend at Soissons, he took up twenty-five hundred new cavalrymen, a new line regiment of infantry, a veteran regiment of the same, and some artillery detachments. It is not easy to conceive of recuperative power more remarkable than that which was thus exhibited both by France and her Emperor. These men had been sent forward from Paris in spite of the profound gloom now prevalent there. The truth was at last known in the capital; Joseph was hopeless; the Empress and her court were preparing for extremities. News had come that in the south Soult had been thrown back on Toulouse; that in the southwest royalist plots were thickening; that in the southeast Augereau had been forced back to Lyons; Macdonald was ready to abandon Provins at the first sign of advance by Schwarzenberg; and the sorry tale of Laon was early unfolded. Yet the administrative machinery was still running, and soldiers were being manufactured from the available materials. Those who had been sent to Soissons had been hastily gathered, equipped, and drilled almost without hope, but they were precious since they enabled Napoleon to refit his shattered battalions.

Marmont had unwisely abandoned Berry-au-Bac, and that in disregard of orders. But otherwise he had done his best to make good a temporary lapse, and had got together about eight thousand men at Fismes. His narrative gives a graphic picture of the situation—of disorder, confusion, chaos among his troops, of artillery served by inexperienced sailors, of undrilled companies whose members had neither hats, clothes, nor shoes. There were plenty of captured uniforms and head-coverings, but they were so infested with vermin that the French, sorry as was their plight, refused to wear them, and clung to their old

CHAP. XIII 1814

tatters. Marmont's men were heroes, he himself was not yet a traitor. Though overborne by a sense of Napoleon's recklessness, and therefore unfit for the desperate self-sacrifice which would have made him a fit coadjutor for his chief, he was prepared to atone for his disgrace at Athies. Early in the morning of the thirteenth the main French army moved from Soissons; at four in the afternoon Marmont opened the attack on Rheims. Napoleon himself had arrived, but his troops were slow in coming up, and there was no heavy artillery wherewith to batter in the gates. The struggle went on with desperate courage and gallantry on both sides. St. Priest was killed by the same gunner whose aim had been fatal to Moreau. "We may well say, O Providence! O Providence!" wrote Napoleon to his brother. At ten the beleaguered garrison began to sally and flee. Napoleon rose from the bearskin on which he had been resting before a bivouac fire, and storming with rage lest his prey should escape, hurried in the guns, which were finally within reach. Amid awful tumult and carnage the place fell; three thousand of the enemy were slain, and about the same number were captured. The burghers were frenzied with delight as the Emperor marched in, and the whole city burst into an illumination.

Next morning Napoleon and Marmont met. The culprit was loaded with reproaches for the affair at Athies, and treated as a stern father might treat a careless child. No better evidence of the Emperor's low state is needed. Marmont was now the hero of the hour; his peccadillos might well have been forgotten for the sake of securing his continued faithfulness. With Napoleon at his best, this would surely have been the case; but aware that at most the war could be a matter of only a few weeks, the desperate man overdid his rôle of self-confidence, being too rash, too severe, too haughty. Not that he was without some hope. Although for two years the shadow had been declining on the dial of Napoleon's fortunes, and although under adverse conditions one brilliant combination after another had crumbled, yet his ideas were as great as ever, the adjustment of plans to changing conditions was never more admirable. The trouble was that effort and result did not correspond, and this being so, what would have been trifling misdemeanors in prosperity seemed to him in adversity to be dangerous faults. The great officers of state and army, imitating their master's ambitions, had acquired his weaknesses, but had failed in securing either his strength or his adroitness. With him they had lost that fire of youth which had

carried them and him always just over the line of human expectation, and so his nice adjustments failed in exasperating ways at the very turn of necessity. Hard words and stinging reproofs are soon forgotten in generous youth; they rankle in middle life; and even the invigorating address or inspiring word, when heard too often for twenty years, fails of effect. The beginning of the end was the loss of Soissons at the critical instant. Napoleon was uncertain and touchy; his marshals were honeycombed with disaffection; the populations, though flashing like powder at his touch, had nowhere risen en masse. Thereafter the great captain was no longer waging a well-ordered warfare. Like an exhausted swordsman, he lunged here and there in the grand style; but his brain was troubled, his blade broken. Some untapped reservoirs of strength were yet to be opened, some untried expedients were to be essayed, but the end was inevitable. The movement on Rheims was the spasmodic stroke of the dying gladiator.

CHAPTER XIV

THE STRUGGLES OF EXHAUSTION

THE ALLIES DEMORALIZED—NAPOLEON'S DESPERATE CHOICE—THE BATTLE AT ARCIS—THE CORRESPONDENCE OF CAULAINCOURT AND NAPOLEON—PANIC AT SCHWARZENBERG'S HEADQUARTERS—CROSS-PURPOSES OF THE ALLIES—NAPOLEON'S DETERMINATION CONFIRMED—HIS OVER-CONFIDENCE—THE RESOLUTION TO ABANDON PARIS—THE FRENCH BROUGHT TO A STAND—THEIR MASKED RETREAT—INEFFICIENCY OF MARMONT AND AUGEREAU—NAPOLEON'S MARCH TOWARD ST. DIZIER—HIS TERRIBLE DISENCHANTMENT—HOW THE ALLIES HAD DISCOVERED NAPOLEON'S PLANS—THEIR DETERMINATION TO PURSUE—THE CZAR'S RESOLUTION TO MARCH ON PARIS—SUCCESSFUL RETURN OF THE INVADERS.

CHAP. XIV
1814

THOUGH unscientific as a military move and futile as to the ultimate result of the war, the capture of Rheims was, nevertheless, a telling thrust. On receipt of the news from Laon, Schwarzenberg had immediately set his army in motion against Macdonald, and Blücher, after waiting two days to restore order among his worried troops and insubordinate lieutenants, had advanced and laid siege to Compiègne. The capture of Rheims checked the movements of both Austrians and Prussians; dismay prevailed in both camps, and both armies began to draw back. The French halted at Nangis in their retreat before Schwarzenberg, and the people of Compiègne were released from the terrors of a siege. "This terrible Napoleon," wrote Langeron in his memoirs, "they thought they saw him everywhere. He had beaten us all, one after the other; we were always frightened by the daring of his enterprises, the swiftness of his movements, and his clever combinations. Scarcely had we formed a plan when it was disconcerted by him." Besides this, in obedience to Napoleon's call, the peasantry be-

IN THE HOHENZOLLERN MUSEUM, BERLIN

ENGRAVED BY T. JOHNSON

FRIEDRICH WILHELM VON BÜLOW

gan an organized guerrilla warfare, avenging the pillage, incendiarism, and military executions of the allies by a brutal retaliation in kind which made the marauding invaders quake. Finally the momentary consternation of the latter verged on panic when the report reached headquarters that Bernadotte, lying inactive at Liège with twenty-three thousand Swedes, had permitted a flag of truce from Joseph to enter his presence. Could it be that the sly schemer, for the furtherance of his ambition to govern France, was about to turn traitor and betray the coalition?

But the consternation of the allies was the least important effect of the capture of Rheims by Napoleon. It initiated certain ideas and purposes in his own mind about which there has been endless discussion. Many see in them the immediate cause of his ruin, a few consider them the most splendid offspring of his mind. Reinforcements from Paris, slender as they were, flowed steadily into his camp; and when he learned that both Schwarzenberg and Blücher had virtually retreated, he believed himself able to cope once more with the former. Accordingly he dictated to his secretary an outline of three possible movements: to Arcis on the Aube, by way of Sézanne to Provins, and to Meaux for the defense of Paris. The first was the most daring; the second would cut the enemy off from the right bank of the Seine, but it had the disadvantage of keeping the troops on miry cross-roads; the third was the safest. Of course he chose the course of desperation—all or nothing. Leaving Marmont with seven thousand men at Berry-au-Bac, and Mortier with ten thousand at Rheims and Soissons, he enjoined them both to hold the line toward Paris against Blücher at all hazards, and himself set out, on March seventeenth, for Arcis on the Aube. This he did, instead of marching direct to Meaux for the defense of Paris, because it would, in his own words, "give the enemy a great shock, and result in unforeseen circumstances."

Schwarzenberg's movements during the next three days awakened in Napoleon the suspicion, which he was only too glad to accept as a certainty, that the Austro-Russian army was on the point of retreating into the Vosges or beyond; and on the twentieth he announced his decision of marching farther eastward, past Troyes, toward the frontier forts still in French hands. This idea of a final stand on the confines of France and Germany haunted him to the end, and was the "will-o'-the-wisp" which intermittently tempted him to folly. But for the

CHAP. XIV
1814

present its execution was necessarily postponed. That very day news was received within the lines he had established about Arcis that the enemy, far from retreating, was advancing. Soon the French cavalry skirmishers appeared galloping in flight, and were brought to a halt only when the Emperor, with drawn sword, threw himself across their path. A short, sharp struggle ensued—sixteen thousand French with twenty-four thousand five hundred of their foe. It was irregular and indecisive, but Napoleon held his own. The neighboring hamlet of Torcy had also been attacked by the allies, and before their onset the French had at first yielded. But the defenders were rallied, and at nightfall the position was recaptured. This sudden exhibition by Schwarzenberg of what looked like courage puzzled Napoleon; after long deliberation he concluded that the hostile troops were in all probability only a rear-guard covering the enemy's retreat. He was not very far wrong, but far enough to make all the difference to him. The circumstances require a full explanation.

Thanks to Caulaincourt's sturdy persistence, the congress at Châtillon was still sitting, and on the thirteenth the French delegate wrote a last despairing appeal to the Emperor. His messenger was delayed three days by the military operations; but when he arrived, on the sixteenth, Maret wrung from Napoleon concessions which included Antwerp, Mainz, and even Alessandria. In the despatch announcing this, and written on the seventeenth to Caulaincourt, Maret made no reservation except one: that Napoleon intended, after signing the treaty, to secure for himself whatever the military situation at the close of the war might entitle him to retain. The return of the messenger was likewise delayed for three days, and it was the twenty-first before he reached the outskirts of Châtillon. He arrived to find Caulaincourt departing; the second "carte blanche" had arrived too late. With all his skill, the persistent and adroit minister had been unable to protract negotiations longer than the eighteenth. His appeal having brought no immediate response, he had, several days earlier, despatched a faithful warning, and this reached Napoleon at Fère-Champenoise simultaneously with the departure of the messenger for Châtillon. The day previous the Emperor had received bad news from southern France: that Bordeaux had opened its gates to a small detachment of English under Hill, and that the Duke of Angoulême had been cheered by the people as he publicly proclaimed Louis XVIII King of France. Ap-

parently neither this information nor Caulaincourt's warning profoundly impressed Napoleon; he knew his Gascons well, his "carte blanche" he must have believed to be in Châtillon, and it had been in high spirits that he hastened on to Arcis, determined to make the most of the time intervening until the close of negotiations.

When news of Napoleon's advance reached Schwarzenberg's headquarters in Troyes, there had at first been nothing short of panic; the commander himself was on a sick-bed, having entirely succumbed to the hardships of winter warfare. No sooner had he ordered the first backward step than his army had displayed a feverish anxiety for farther retreat. As things were going, it appeared as if the different corps would, for lack of judicious leadership, be permitted to withdraw still farther in such a way as to separate the various divisions ever more widely, and expose them successively to annihilating blows from Napoleon, like those which had overwhelmed the scattered segments of the Silesian army. The Czar and many others immediately perceived the danger. With faculties unnerved by fear, the officers foreboded a repetition with the Bohemian army of Montmirail, Champaubert, and Vauchamps. Rumors filled the air: the peasantry of the Vosges were rising, the Swiss were ready to follow their example; the army must withdraw before it was utterly surrounded and cut off. There was even a report—and so firmly was it believed that it long passed for history—of Alexander's having expressed a desire to reopen the congress.

Schwarzenberg's strange hesitancy in the initial stages of the invasion has been explained. Beyond his natural timidity, it was almost certainly due to Metternich's politics, which displayed a desire to ruin Napoleon's imperial power, but to save France either for the Bourbons or possibly for his Emperor's son-in-law. If the Austrian minister could accomplish this, he could thereby checkmate Prussian ambitions for leadership in Germany. But during the movements of February and March the actions of the Austrian general appear to have been due almost exclusively to cowardice. The papers of Castlereagh, of Metternich, and of Schwarzenberg himself aim to give the impression that during all the events which had occurred since the congress of Prague, everything had been straightforward, and that Austria had no thought of sparing Napoleon or acting otherwise than she did in the end. Yet the indications of the time are quite the other way: the Russians in Schwarzenberg's army were furious, and, as one of them wrote, sus-

CHAP. XIV
1814

picious "of what we are doing and what we are not doing." Alexander, in this crisis, was deeply concerned, not for peace, but for an orderly, concentrated retreat. With stubborn fatalism, he never doubted the final outcome; and during his stay in Châtillon he had spent his leisure hours in excogitating a careful plan for the grand entry into Paris, whereby the honors were to be his own.

Consequently, when on the nineteenth he hastened to Schwarzenberg's bedside, it was with the object of persuading the Austrian commander to make a stand long enough to secure concentration in retreat. This idea originated with the Russian general Toll, and the place he suggested for concentration was the line between Troyes and Pougy. But the council was terror-stricken, and though willing to heed Alexander's urgent warning, they at first selected a position farther in the rear, on the heights of Trannes. With this the Czar was content, but on second thought such a course appeared to the more daring among the Austrian staff as if it smacked of pusillanimity. Schwarzenberg felt the force of this opinion, and by the influence of some one, probably Radetzky, it was determined, without consulting the Czar, to concentrate near Arcis on the left bank of the Aube, in order to assume the offensive at Plancy. This independent resolution of Schwarzenberg's staff explains the presence of allied troops near Arcis and at Torcy. Alexander was much incensed by the news of the meeting, and declared that Napoleon's real purpose was to hold them while cutting off their connections on the extreme right at Bar and Chaumont. This was in fact a close conjecture. Napoleon, though surprised into action, was naturally confirmed in his surmise that the hostile troops were a retreating rear-guard; and in consequence he had definitely adopted the most desperate scheme of his life—the plan of hurrying toward the Vosges, of summoning the peasantry to rise en masse, and of calling out the garrison troops from the frontier fortresses to reinforce his army and enable him to strike the invaders from behind.

By his retreat to Troyes on February twenty-second, Schwarzenberg had avoided a decisive conflict, saving his own army, and leaving Napoleon to exhaust himself against the army of Silesia; by his decision of March nineteenth he had confirmed Napoleon in the conviction that the allies were overawed, and had thus led his desperate foe into the greatest blunder conceivable — this chimerical scheme of concentrating his slender, scattered force on the confines of France, and leaving open

PUBLICATION AUTHORIZED BY B., V. & CO.

TYPOGRAVURE BOUSSOD, VALADON & CO., PARIS

"CAPTIVE."

FROM THE PAINTING BY ALBERT PIERRE DAWANT

a way for the great army of invaders to march direct on Paris. Of such stuff are contemporary reputations sometimes constructed. But this was not enough: a third time the Austrian general was to stumble on greatness. Napoleon's movements of concentration had thus far met with no resistance, in spite of their temerity; and throughout the nineteenth the enemy's outposts, wherever found, fled incontinently. It appeared a certainty that the allies were abandoning the line of the Seine in order to avoid a blow on their flank. That evening Napoleon began to vacillate, gradually abandoning his notion of an offensive move near Troyes, and deliberating how best to reach Vitry for a further advance toward his eastern fortresses. To avoid any appearance of retreat, he rejected the safer route by way of Fère-Champenoise to Sommesous, and determined to follow the course of the Aube for a while before turning northward to Sommepuis. He might run across the enemy's rear-guard, but he counted on their pusillanimity for the probable retreat of the very last man to Troyes. When Ney and Sebastiani began on the twentieth to push up the south bank of the Aube, they expected no opposition. That very morning Napoleon had announced to his minister of war, "I shall neglect Troyes, and betake myself in all haste to my fortresses."

So far the Emperor had made no exhibition of the temerity about which so much was later to be said. But he had deceived himself and had taken a wild resolution. Moreover, it is amazing that he should have felt a baseless confidence in Blücher's remaining inert. This hallucination is, however, clearly expressed in a despatch to Marmont of the very same date. Yet, nevertheless, the alternative is not left out of consideration, for he ordered that marshal, in case Blücher should resume the offensive, to abandon Paris and hasten to Châlons. This fatal decision was not taken suddenly: the contingency had been mentioned in a letter of February eighth to Joseph, and again from Rheims emphatic injunctions to keep the Empress and the King of Rome from falling into Austrian hands were issued to the same correspondent. "Do not abandon my son," the Emperor pleaded; "and remember that I would rather see him in the Seine than in the hands of the enemies of France. The fate of Astyanax, prisoner to the Greeks, has always seemed to me the unhappiest in history." The messenger had been gone but a few hours when word was brought that Blücher had resumed the offensive, and a swift courier was despatched

CHAP. XIV 1814

summoning Marmont to Châlons. In this ultimate decision Napoleon showed how cosmopolitan he had grown: he had forgotten, if he had ever understood, the extreme centralization of France; he should have known that, Paris lost, the head of the country was gone, and that the dwarfed limbs could develop little or no national vitality.

This bitter lesson he was soon to learn. On the momentous afternoon of the twentieth, as has been related, about sixteen thousand French confronted nearly twenty-five thousand of the allies in the sharp but indecisive skirmishes before Arcis; the loss of the former was eighteen hundred, that of the allies twenty-seven hundred. In spite of the dimensions which these conflicts had assumed, Napoleon remained firm in the belief that he had to do with his retreating enemy's rear-guard; Schwarzenberg, on the other hand, was convinced that the French had a strength far beyond the reality. During the night both armies were strongly reinforced, and in the early morning Napoleon had twenty-seven thousand five hundred men—quite enough, he believed, to demoralize the retreating Austrians. It was ten o'clock when he ordered the attack, Ney and Sebastiani being directed to the plateau behind the town. What was their surprise and dismay to find Schwarzenberg's entire army, which numbered not less than a hundred thousand, drawn up in battle array on the plain to the eastward, the infantry in three dense columns, cavalry to right and left, with three hundred and seventy pieces of artillery on the central front! The spectacle would have been dazzling to any but a soldier: the bright array of gay accoutrements, the glittering bayonets, the waving banners, and the serried ranks. As it was, the audacious French skirmishers instinctively felt the incapacity of a general who could thus assemble an army as if on purpose to display its numbers and expose it to destruction. Without a thought they began a sort of challenging rencounter with horse-artillery and cavalry.

But the Emperor's hopes were dashed when he learned the truth; with equal numbers he would have been exultant; a battle with odds of four to one he dared not risk. Sebastiani was kept on the heights to mask the retreat which was instantly determined upon, and at half-past one it began. This ruse was so successful, by reason of the alarms and crossings incident to the withdrawal of the French, that the allies were again terror-stricken; even the Czar rejected every suggestion of attack; again force was demoralized by genius. At last, however,

scouts brought word that columns of French soldiers were debouching beyond the Aube, and the facts were plain. Even then the paralyzed invaders feared to attack, and it was not until two thirds of Napoleon's force was behind the stream that, after fierce fighting, the French rear was driven from the town. Oudinot's corps was the last to cross the river, and, standing until sappers had destroyed the bridge, it hurried away to follow the main column toward Vitry. The divisions of Gérard and Macdonald joined the march, and there were then forty-five thousand men in line.

While Napoleon was thus neutralizing the efforts of armies and generals by the renown of his name, two of of his marshals were finally discredited. Enfeebled as Blücher appeared to be, he was no sooner freed from the awe of Napoleon's proximity than he began to move. On the eighteenth he passed the Aisne, and Marmont, disobeying the explicit instructions of Napoleon to keep open a line of retreat toward Châlons, began to withdraw toward Fismes, where he effected a junction with Mortier. His intention was to keep Blücher from Paris by false manœuvers. Rheims and Épernay at once fell into hostile hands; there was no way left open toward Châlons except the long detour by Château-Thierry and Étoges; and Blücher, it was found, was hurrying to effect a connection with Schwarzenberg. This was an assured checkmate. Meantime Augereau had displayed a similar incapacity. On the eighth he had begun a number of feeble, futile movements intended to prevent the allies from forming their Army of the South. But after a few aimless marches he returned to Lyons, and stood there in idleness until his opponents had completed their organization. On the twentieth the place was assaulted. The French general had twenty-one thousand five hundred men under his immediate command, six thousand eight hundred Catalonian veterans were on their way from Perpignan, and at Chambéry were seven thousand more from the armies of Tuscany and Piedmont. The assailants had thirty-two thousand, mostly raw troops. With a stout heart in its commander, Lyons could have been held until the reinforcements arrived, when the army of the allies would probably have been annihilated. But there was no stout heart in any of the authorities; not a spade had been used to throw up fortifications; the siege-guns ready at Avignon had not been brought up. Augereau, at the very height of the battle, summoned the civil authorities to a consultation, and the unwarlike burghers assented without a murmur to

CHAP. XIV 1814

his suggestion of evacuation. The great capital of eastern France was delivered as a prize to those who had not earned it. Had Suchet been substituted for Augereau some weeks earlier, the course of history might have been diverted. But although Napoleon had contemplated such a change, he shrank from disgracing an old servant, and again, as before Leipsic, displayed a kindly spirit destructive to his cause.

The night after his retreat from Arcis, Napoleon sent out a reconnaissance to Vitry, and finding it garrisoned by Prussians, swerved toward St. Dizier, which, after a smart combat, he entered on the twenty-third. This placed him midway between the lines of his enemy's communication both from Strasburg and from Basel; which of the two, he asked himself, would Schwarzenberg return to defend? Thinking only how best to bait his foe, he set his army in motion northward; the anxious Austrian would certainly struggle to retain the line in greatest danger. This illusion continued, French cavalry scoured the country, some of the Châtillon diplomats were captured, and the Emperor of Austria had a narrow escape at Bar. It seemed strange that the country-side as far as Langres was deserted, but the fact was apparently explained when the news came that the enemy were in force at Vitry; probably they had abandoned Troyes and had disregarded Brienne for the purpose of diverting him from his purpose.

Alas for the self-deception of a ruined man! The enemy at Vitry were a body of eight thousand Russian cavalry from the Silesian army, sent, under Wintzengerode, to dog Napoleon's heels and deceive him, just as they actually did. Having left Vitry on the twenty-eighth, they were moving toward St. Dizier when Napoleon, believing that they formed the head of a powerful hostile column, fell upon them with needless fury, and all too easily put them to flight; two thousand were captured and five hundred killed. Thanks to Marmont's disobedience and bad judgment, Blücher had opened communications with Schwarzenberg, and both were marching as swiftly as possible direct to Paris. Of this Napoleon remained ignorant until the twenty-eighth. From his prisoners the Emperor first gained a hint of the appalling truth. It was impossible to believe such reports. Orders were issued for an immediate return to Vitry in order to secure reliable information. Arrived before the place, Napoleon called a council of war to decide whether an attempt to storm it should be made. In the moment of deliberation news began to arrive in abundance: captured despatches

IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES

ENGRAVED BY CHARLES STATE

HENRI-JACQUES-GUILLAUME CLARKE

COUNT D'HUNEBOURG, DUKE OF FELTRE

(MARSHAL OF FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XVIII)

FROM THE PAINTING BY GUILLAUME-DESIRÉ-JOSEPH DESCAMPS

and bulletins of the enemy, confirmed by definite information from the inhabitants of the surrounding country. There could no longer be any doubt: the enemy, with an advantage of three days' march, was on his way to Paris. The futility of his eastward movement appears to have struck Napoleon like a thunderbolt. Paris abandoned in theory was one thing; France virtually decapitated by the actual loss of its capital was quite another. The thought was unendurable. Mounting his horse, the unhappy man spurred back to St. Dizier, and closeted himself in silent communing with his maps.

The allies had not at first divined Napoleon's purpose. Indeed, their movements in passing the Aube and on the day following were little better than random efforts to fathom it. But on the morning of the twenty-third two important messengers were captured—one a courier from Berthier to Macdonald with despatches stating exactly where Napoleon was; the other a rider with a short note from Napoleon to his Empress, containing a statement of its writer's plans. This famous paper was lost, for Blücher, after having read it, let the rider go. But the extant German translation is doubtless accurate. It runs: "My friend, I have been all day in the saddle. On the twentieth I took Arcis on the Aube. The enemy attacked at eight in the evening. I beat him, killed four thousand men, and captured four cannon. On the twenty-first the enemy engaged in order to protect the march of his columns toward Brienne and Bar on the Aube. I have resolved to betake myself to the Marne in order to draw off the enemy from Paris and to approach my fortifications. I shall be this evening in St. Dizier. Adieu, my friend; kiss my boy." Savary declares that there was a final phrase: "This movement makes or mars me."

The menace to their lines of communication at first produced consternation in the council of the allies. The first proposition laid before them was that they should return on parallel lines and recover their old bases. Had this scheme been adopted, Napoleon's strategy would have been justified completely instead of partially as it was; nothing but a miracle could have prevented the evacuation of France by the invaders. But a second, calmer thought determined the invaders to abandon both the old lines, and, opening a new one by way of Châlons into the Netherlands, to make the necessary detour and fall on Napoleon's rear. Francis, for the sake of keeping close touch with his own domains, was to join the Army of the South at Lyons. Although there

CHAP. XIV 1814

is no proof to support the conjecture, it seems as if the Czar and the King of Prussia had suggested this so that both Francis and Metternich might be removed from the military councils of the allies in order that the more warlike party might in their absence take decisive measures. That night a package of letters to Napoleon from the imperial dignitaries at Paris fell into the hands of the invaders. The writers, each and all, expressed a profound despondency, Savary in particular asserting that everything was to be feared should the enemy approach the capital. Next morning, the twenty-fourth, the junction between Blücher and Schwarzenberg was completed. Francis and Metternich being absent, Schwarzenberg, listening to warlike advice, determined to start immediately in pursuit of Napoleon and seek a battle. The march was begun, and it seemed as if Napoleon's wild scheme was to be completely justified. He had certainly displayed profound insight.

Alexander, however, had been steadily hardening his purpose to annihilate Napoleon. For a week past Vitrolles, the well-known royalist agent, had been at his headquarters; the accounts of a steady growth in royalist strength, the efforts of Napoleon's lifelong foe, Pozzo di Borgo, and the budget of despondent letters from the Paris officials, combined to temper the Czar's mystical humor into a determination of steel. Accordingly, on the same day he summoned his personal military advisers, Barclay, Wolkonsky, Diebitsch, and Toll; then, pointing out on a map the various positions of the troops engaged in the campaign, he asked, significantly and impressively, whether it were best to pursue Napoleon or march on Paris. Barclay supported the former alternative; Diebitsch advised dividing the army and doing both; but Toll, with powerful emphasis, declared himself for the second course. The Czar listened enthusiastically to what was near his own heart, and expressed himself strongly as favoring it; the others yielded with the eagerness of courtiers, and Alexander, mounting his horse, spurred after Frederick William and Schwarzenberg. The new plan was unfolded; the Prussian king supported it; Schwarzenberg hesitated, but yielded. That night orders were issued for an about-face, a long explanatory despatch was sent to Blücher, and on the twenty-fifth the combined armies of Bohemia and Silesia were hurrying with measured tramp toward Paris. For the first time there was general enthusiasm in their ranks. Blücher, who from his unremitted ardor had won the name of Marshal Forward, was transported with joy.

The two armies marched on parallel lines, and met with no resistance of any importance, except as the various skirmishes enabled the irregular French soldiers to display a desperate courage, not only the untried "Marie Louises" coming out from Paris, but various bodies of the national guard convoying provision-trains. It was the twenty-fifth before Marmont and Mortier effected their junction, and then, although about sixteen thousand strong, they were steadily forced back through Fère-Champenoise and Allemant toward Charenton, which was under the very walls of Paris. Marmont displayed neither energy nor common sense on the retreat: his outlying companies were cut off, and strategic points which might have been held were utterly neglected. The army with which he reached Paris on the twenty-ninth should have formed an invaluable nucleus for the formation and incorporation of the numerous volunteers and irregular companies which were available; but, like its leader, it was entirely demoralized. Ledru des Essarts, commander of Meaux, was obliged on the twenty-seventh to abandon his charge, a military depot full of ammunition and supplies, which was essential to the safety of Paris. The garrison consisted of six thousand men, but among them were not more than eight hundred veterans, hastily collected from Marmont's stragglers, and the new conscripts were ill-conditioned and badly commanded. Although the generals drew up their men with a bold front to defend the passage of the Marne, the undisciplined columns were overwhelmed with terror at the sight of Blücher's army, and, standing only long enough to blow up the magazines, fled. They fought gallantly, however, on their retreat throughout the twenty-eighth, but to no avail; one position after another was lost, and they too bivouacked on the evening of the twenty-ninth before the gates of the capital. It is a weak curiosity, possibly, but we must wonder what would have occurred had Marmont, instead of retreating to Fismes on the eighteenth, withdrawn to Rheims, where he and Mortier could at least have checked Blücher's unauthorized advance, and perhaps have held the army of Silesia for a time, when the moral effect would probably have been to justify Schwarzenberg and confirm his project for the pursuit of Napoleon. In that case, moreover, the precious information of Napoleon's letter to his consort would not have fallen into his enemies' hands. Would destiny have paused in its career?

CHAPTER XV

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

NAPOLEON'S PROBLEM — THE MILITARY SITUATION — A COUNCIL OF WAR AND STATE — THE RETURN TO PARIS — PROSTRATING NEWS — THE EMPRESS-REGENT AND HER ADVISERS — TRAITORS WITHIN — TALLEYRAND — THE DEFENDERS OF THE CAPITAL — THE FLIGHT OF THE COURT — THE ALLIES BEFORE THE CITY.

CHAP. XV
1814

THE pallid, silent Emperor at St. Dizier was closeted with considerations like these. He knew of the defeat which forced Marmont and Mortier back on Paris; the loss of the capital was imminent; parties were in a dangerous state; his marshals were growing more and more slack; he had failed in transferring the seat of war to Lorraine; the information he had so far received was almost certainly colored by the medium of scheming followers through which it came. What single mind could grapple with such affairs? It was not because the thwarted man had lost his nerve, but because he was calm and clear-minded, that he felt the need of frank, dispassionate advice on all these matters. On the other hand, there stood forth in the clearest light a single fact about which there could be no doubt, and it alone might counterbalance all the rest: the peoples of northern and eastern France were at last aroused in behalf of his cause. For years all Europe had rung with outcries against the outrages of Napoleon's soldiery; the allied armies no sooner became invaders in their turn than they began to outstrip their foe in every deed of shame; in particular, the savage bands from Russian Asia indulged their inhuman passions to the full, while the French peasantry, rigid with horror, looked on for the moment in paralysis. Now they had begun to rise in mass, and from the twenty-fifth to the twenty-eighth their volunteer companies brought in a thousand prisoners. The depots, trains, and impedimenta of every

IN THE COLLECTION OF M. ROTHAN

ENGRAVED BY E. H. DEL ORME

MARSHAL ÉTIENNE-JACQUES-JOSEPH-ALEXANDRE MACDONALD

DUKE OF TARENTUM

FROM THE PAINTING BY JACQUES-LOUIS DAVID

sort which the allies abandoned on turning westward fell into the hands of a peasant soldiery, many of whom were armed with shot-guns. The rising for Napoleon was comparable only to that which earlier years had seen in the Vendée on behalf of the Bourbons.

Besides, all the chief cities of the district were now in the hands of more or less regular troops; Dunette was marching from Metz with four thousand men; Broussier, from Strasburg with five thousand; Verdun could furnish two thousand, and several other fortresses a like number. Souham was at Nogent with his division, Allix at Auxerre with his; the army at the Emperor's disposal could easily be reckoned at seventy thousand. Assisted by the partizan bands which now hung in a passion of hatred on the skirts of the invaders, and by the national uprising now fairly under way, could not the Emperor-general hope for another successful stand? He well knew that the fear of what had happened was the specter of his enemy's council-board; they would, he reckoned, be rendered over-cautious, and give him at least a fortnight in which to manœuver before the fall of Paris could be expected. Counting the men about Vitry and the garrison reinforcements at only sixty thousand, the combined armies of Suchet, Soult, and Augereau at the same number, that of Marmont at fourteen thousand, and the men in the various depots at sixteen thousand, he would have a total of a hundred and fifty thousand, from which he could easily spare fifty thousand to cut off every line of retreat from his foe, and still have left a hundred thousand wherewith to meet their concentrated force on a basis of something like equality. From the purely strategic point of view, the march of the allies to Paris was sheer madness unless they could count on the exhaustion of the population right, left, and behind. If the national uprising could be organized, they would be cut off from all reinforcement and entrapped. Already their numbers had been reduced to a hundred and ten thousand men. Napoleon with a hundred thousand, and the nation to support him, had a fair chance of annihilating them.

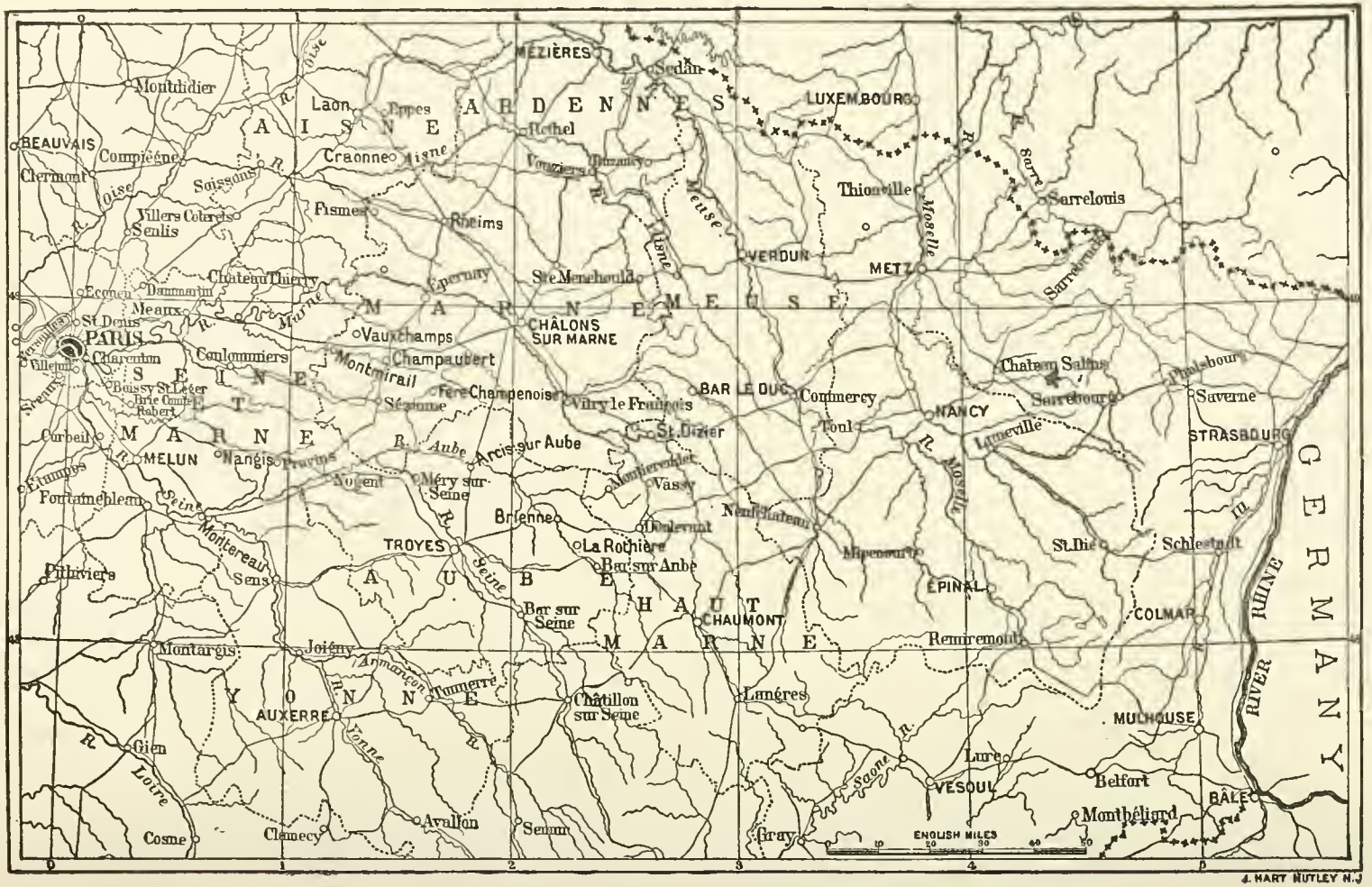
It was, therefore, not a mere hallucination which led him to hope that once again the tangled web of affairs might be severed by a sweep of the soldier's saber. But of course in the crisis of his great decision he could not stand alone; he must be sure of his lieutenants. Accordingly, after a few hours of secret communing, he summoned a council, and laid before it his considerations substantially as enumerated. Those

CHAP. XV
1814

present were Berthier, Ney, Lefebvre, Caulaincourt, and Maret; Oudinot and Macdonald, at Bar on the Ornain and Perthes respectively, were too distant to arrive in time, but he believed that he knew their opinion, which was that the war should be continued either in Lorraine or from a center of operations to be established at Sens. From this conclusion Macdonald did not once waver; Oudinot had begun to hedge: their absence, therefore, was unimportant. Berthier was verging on desperation, and so was Caulaincourt, who, since leaving Châtillon, had been vainly struggling to reopen negotiations for peace on any terms; Ney, though physically brave, was not the stuff from which martyrs are made, and Lefebvre, naturally weak, was laboring under a momentary attack of senility. The council was imperative for peace at any price; the Emperor, having foreseen its temper, had little difficulty in taking the military steps for carrying out its behests.

Early in the morning of March twenty-eighth the army was set in motion toward Paris. The line of march was to be through Bar on the Aube, Troyes, and Fontainebleau, a somewhat circuitous route, chosen apparently for three reasons: because the region to be traversed would still afford sustenance to the men, because the Seine would protect its right flank, and because the dangerous point of Meaux was thus avoided. Such a conclusion is significant of the clearest judgment and the nicest calculation. Pages have been written about Napoleon's hallucinations at the close of his career; neither here nor in any of the courses he adopted is there aught to sustain the charge. At breakfast-time a squad of jubilant peasants brought in a prisoner whom they believed to be no less a person than the Comte d'Artois. In reality it was Weissenberg, an Austrian ambassador on his way to London. He was promptly liberated on parole and despatched with letters to Francis and Metternich. By a curious adventure, Vitrolles was in the minister's suite disguised as a serving-man, but he was not detected.

At Doulevant Napoleon received cipher despatches from La Valette, the postmaster-general in Paris, a trusted friend. These were the first communications since the twenty-second; the writer said not a moment must be wasted, the Emperor must come quickly or all would be lost. His decision once taken, Napoleon had grown more feverish with every hour; this message gave wings to his impatience. With some regard for such measures as would preclude his capture by wandering bands of Cossacks, he began almost to fly. New couriers were met at Doulain-



MAP OF THE FIELD OF OPERATIONS IN 1814.

CHAP. XV
1814

court with despatches which contained a full history of the past few days; in consequence the troops were spurred to fresh exertions, their marches were doubled, and at nightfall of the twenty-ninth Troyes was reached. Snatching a few brief hours of sleep, Napoleon at dawn next morning threw discretion to the winds, and started with an insufficient escort, determined to reach Villeneuve on the Vanne before night. The task was performed, but no sooner had he arrived than at once he flung himself into a post-chaise, and, with Caulaincourt at his side, sped toward Paris; a second vehicle, with three adjutants, followed as best it might; and a third, containing Gourgaud and Lefebvre, brought up the rear. It will be remembered that Gourgaud was an able artillerist; Lefebvre, it was hoped, could rouse the suburban populations for the defense of Paris. At Sens Napoleon heard that the enemy was ready to attack; at Fontainebleau that the Empress had fled toward the Loire; at Essonnes he was told that the decisive battle was raging; and about ten miles from the capital, at the wretched posting-station of La Cour de France, deep in the night, fell the fatal blow. Paris had surrendered. The terrible certainty was assured by the bearer of the tidings, Belliard, a cavalry officer despatched with his troop by Mortier to prepare quarters for his own and Marmont's men.

Maria Louisa had played her rôle of Empress-regent as well as might be expected from a woman of twenty-three with slender abilities; only once in his letters did the Emperor chide her, and that was for a fault venial in European royalty: receiving a high official, in this case the arch-chancellor, in her bedchamber. On the whole, she had been dignified and conciliatory; once she rose to a considerable height, pronouncing before the senate with great effect a stirring speech composed by her husband and forwarded from his headquarters. About her were grouped a motley council: Joseph, gentle but efficient; Savary, underhanded and unwarlike; Clarke, working in the war ministry like a machine; Talleyrand, secretly plotting against Napoleon, whose title of vice-grand elector he wore with outward suavity; Cambacérès, wise but unready; Montalivet, adroit but cautious. Yet, while there was no one combining ability, enthusiasm, and energy, the equipment of troops had gone on with great regularity, and each day regiments of half-drilled, half-equipped recruits had departed for the seat of war. The national guards who garrisoned the city, some twelve thousand in all, had forgotten their imperialism, having grown very sensitive to the

IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES

ENGRAVED BY T. JOHNSON

MARSHAL AUGUST-FRÉDÉRIC-LOUIS VIESSE DE MARMONT

DUKE OF RAGUSA

FROM THE PAINTING BY JEAN-BAPTISTE-PAULIN GUÉRIN

shafts of royalist wit; yet they held their peace and had performed the round of their duties. Everything had outwardly been so quiet and regular that Napoleon actually contemplated a new levy, but the emptiness of the arsenals compelled him to dismiss the idea. Theoretically a fortified military depot, Paris was really an antiquated fortress with arsenals of useless weapons. Spasmodic efforts had been made to throw up redoubts before the walls, but they had failed from lack of energy in the military administration.

A close examination of what lay beneath the surface of Parisian society revealed much that was dangerous. Talleyrand's house was a nest of intrigue. Imperial prefects like Pasquier and Chabrol were calm but perfunctory. The Talleyrand circle grew larger and bolder every day. Moreover, it had influential members — De Pradt, Louis, Vitrolles, Royer-Collard, Lambrecht, Grégoire, and Garat, together with other high functionaries in all departments. Bourrienne developed great activity as an extortioner and briber; the great royalist irreconcilables, Montmorency, Noailles, Denfort, Fitz-James, and Montesquiou, were less and less careful to conceal their activity. Jaucourt, one of Joseph's chamberlains, was a spy carrying the latest news from headquarters to the plotters. "If the Emperor were killed," he wrote on March seventeenth, "we should then have the King of Rome and the regency of his mother. . . . The Emperor dead, we could appoint a council which would satisfy all opinions. Burn this letter." The program is clear when we recall that the little King of Rome was not three years old. Napoleon was well aware of the increasing chaos, and smartly reproved Savary from Rheims.

But Talleyrand was undaunted. At first he appears to have desired a violent death for Napoleon, in the hope of furthering his own schemes during a long imperial regency. At all events, he ardently opposed the departure of the Empress and the King of Rome from Paris. Nevertheless it was he who despatched Vitrolles, the passionate royalist, to Nesselrode with a letter in invisible ink which, when deciphered, turned out to be an inscrutable riddle capable of two interpretations. "The bearer of this deserves all confidence. Hear him and know me. It is time to be plain. You are walking on crutches; use your legs and will to do what you can." Lannes had long before stigmatized the unfrocked bishop as a mess of filth in a silk stocking; Murat said he could take a kick from behind without showing it in his face; in the last meeting

CHAP. XV
1814

of the council of state before the renewal of hostilities, Napoleon fixed his eyes on the sphinx-like cripple and said: "I know I am leaving in Paris other enemies than those I am going to fight." His fellow-conspirators were scarcely less bitter in their dislike than his avowed enemies. "You don't know the monkey," said Dalberg to Vitrolles; "he would not risk burning the tip of his paw even if all the chestnuts were for himself." Yet, master of intrigue, he pursued the even tenor of his course, scattering innuendos, distributing showers of anonymous pamphlets, smuggling English newspapers into the city, in fact working every wire of conspiracy. Surprised by the Minister of Police in an equivocal meeting with De Pradt, he burst out into hollow laughter, his companion joined in the peal, and even Savary himself found the merriment infectious.

Toward the close of March the populace displayed a perilous sensitiveness to all these influences. The London "Times" of March fifteenth, which was read by many in the capital, asked what pity Blücher and the Cossacks would show to Paris on the day of their vengeance, the editor suggesting that possibly as he wrote the famous town was already in ashes. Such suggestions created something very like a panic, and a week later the climax was reached. When the fugitive peasants from the surrounding country began to take refuge in the capital they found business at a standstill, the shops closed, the streets deserted, the householders preparing for flight. From the twenty-third to the twenty-eighth there was no news from Napoleon; the Empress and council heard only of Marmont's defeat. They felt that a decision must be taken, and finally on the twenty-eighth the imperial officials held a council. The facts were plainly stated by Clarke; he had but forty-three thousand men, all told, wherewith to defend the capital, and in consequence it was determined to send the Empress and her son to Rambouillet on the very next day. This fatal decision was taken partly through fear, but largely in deference to Napoleon's letter containing the classical allusion to Astyanax. The very men who took it believed that the Parisian masses would have died for the young Napoleon, and deplored the decision they had reached. "Behold what a fall in history!" said Talleyrand to Savary on parting. "To attach one's name to a few adventures instead of affixing it to an age. . . . But it is not for everybody to be engulfed in the ruins of this edifice." From that hour the restoration of the Bourbons was a certainty.

It was a mournful procession of imperial carriages which next morning filed slowly through the city, attracting slight attention from a few silent onlookers, and passed on toward Rambouillet. The baby king had shrieked and clutched at the doors as he was torn away from his apartments in the Tuileries, and would not be appeased; his mother and attendants were in consternation at the omen, and all thoughtful persons who considered the situation were convinced that the dissolution of the Empire was at hand. A deputation from the national guard had sought in vain to dissuade the Empress from her course; their failure and the distant booming of cannon produced wide-spread depression throughout the city, which was not removed by a spirited proclamation from Joseph declaring that his brother was on the heels of the invaders. All the public functionaries seemed inert, and everybody knew that, even though the populace should rise, there was no adequate means of resistance either in men or in arms or in proper fortifications.

Clarke alone began to display energy; with Joseph's assistance, what preparations were possible at so late an hour were made; six companies were formed from the recruits at hand, the national guard was put under arms, the students of the polytechnic school were called out for service, communication with Marmont was secured, and by late afternoon Montmartre, Belleville, and St. Denis were feebly fortified. The allies had been well aware that what was to be done must be done before the dreaded Emperor should arrive, and on that same morning their vanguard had summoned the town; but during the parley their generals began to feel the need of greater strength, and further asked an armistice of four hours. This was granted on the usual condition that within its duration no troops should be moved; but the implied promise was perfidiously broken, and at nightfall both Alexander and Frederick William, accompanied by their forces, were in sight of the far-famed city. Dangers, hardships, bygone insults and humiliations, all were forgotten in a general tumult of joy, wrote Danilevsky, a Russian officer. Alexander alone was pensive, well knowing that, should the city hold out two days, reinforcements from the west might make its capture impossible until Napoleon should arrive. Accordingly he took virtual command, and issued stringent orders preparatory for the assault early next morning.

CHAPTER XVI

THE FALL OF PARIS

THE BATTLE BEFORE PARIS—THE ARMISTICE—THE POSITION OF MARMONT—LEGITIMACY AND THE BOURBONS—THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT—NAPOLEON'S FURY—SUGGESTIONS OF ABDICATION—NAPOLEON'S NEW POLICY FORESHADOWED—HIS TROOPS AND OFFICERS—THE TREASON OF MARMONT—THE MARSHALS AT FONTAINEBLEAU—NAPOLEON'S DESPAIR.

CHAP. XVI
1814

FROM early dawn until midday on March thirtieth the fighting before Paris was almost continuous, the assailants displaying an assurance of victory, the defenders showing the courage of despair. Marmont and Mortier kept their ranks in order, and the soldiers fought gallantly; elsewhere the militia and the boys emulated each other and the regulars in steadfastness. But when, shortly after noon, it became evident that Paris was doomed to fall before superior force, Joseph, as deputy emperor, issued to Marmont full powers to treat, and followed the Empress, whom he overtook at Chartres, far beyond Rambouillet, where she had expected to halt. She had determined, for greater safety, to cross the Loire. At four in the afternoon the Prussians captured Montmartre, and prepared to bombard from that height; at the same moment the last ranks of the allied armies came up.

Marmont felt further resistance to be useless; his line of retreat was endangered, and he had special directions not to expose the city to a sack. There was still abundant courage in the citizens, who stood behind the barricades within the gates clamorous for arms and ammunition. A messenger came galloping in with the news that Napoleon was but half a day distant. The lookouts now and then espied some general riding a white horse, and called, "'T is he!" But for all the enthusiasm, the expected "he" did not appear. Further carnage seemed use-

IN THE LOUVRE

ENGRAVED BY PETER AITKEN

THE BARRIÈRE DE CLICHY, OR THE DEFENSE OF PARIS IN 1814

FROM THE PAINTING BY HORACE VERNET

less, since French honor had been vindicated, and when the war-worn Marmont withdrew into the town he was received as one who had done what man could do. Negotiations once fairly begun, the allies abandoned the hard conditions with which they opened the parley, and displayed a sense of great relief. Their chief representative, Count Orloff, behaved with much consideration. Recognizing the force of the French plea that their army was quite strong enough, if not to defend the city another twenty-four hours, at least to contest it street by street until, arrived at last on the left bank of the Seine, they could regain Fontainebleau in safety, Orloff assented to what were virtually the stipulations of Marmont and Mortier. The terms adopted made provision for an armistice, assured kind treatment to the city, and permitted the withdrawal of the troops.

Throughout the afternoon and evening Marmont's house was the rendezvous of the negotiators and of the few political personages left in the city. There was the freest talk: "Bonaparte" was conquered; the Bourbons would be restored; what a splendid man was this Marmont! Some weeks earlier the marshal had been significantly informed by his brother-in-law Perregaux, a chamberlain of Napoleon's, that in case of a restoration he and Macdonald would be spared, whatever happened to the other great imperial leaders. Talleyrand had ostensibly taken flight with his colleagues, but by an interesting coincidence his coachman had sought the wrong exit from the city, and had been turned back. That night he appeared in Marmont's presence with direct overtures from the Bourbons. His interview was short, and he seemed to have gained nothing; but he had an air of victory as he withdrew. He saw that Marmont was consumed with vanity, feeling that the destinies of France, of Napoleon, of all Europe, perhaps, were in his hands alone. This was much. Passing through the corridors, the sly diplomatist respectfully greeted Prince Orloff, and begged to lay his profound respects at the feet of the Czar. "I shall not forget to lay this blank check before his majesty," was the stinging retort. Talleyrand smiled almost imperceptibly with his lips, and went his way. But Alexander said on hearing the facts: "As yet this is but anecdote; it may become history."

The triumphal entry of the allies into Paris began next morning, March thirty-first, 1814, at seven o'clock. It was headed by Alexander and Frederick William, now universally regarded as the Czar's satellite

CHAP. XVI 1814

king. Francis was in Dijon; he was represented by Schwarzenberg. The three leaders, with their respective staff officers, were solemnly received by a deputation of the municipal authorities. Their soldiers were orderly, and there was no pillage or license. Crowds of royalists thronged the streets acclaiming the conquerors and shouting for Louis XVIII. Throughout the afternoon Talleyrand and Nesselrode were closeted in the former's palace; and when, toward evening, they were joined by the Czar and the King, both of whom had devoted the day to ceremony, the diplomats had already agreed that France must have the Bourbons. The sovereigns had actually been deceived by the noisy royalist manifestations into believing that France welcomed her invaders, and they assented to the conclusion of the ministers. A formal meeting was instantly arranged; there were present, besides the monarchs and their ministers, Schwarzenberg, Lichtenstein, Dalberg, and Pozzo di Borgo. Alexander assumed the presidency, but Talleyrand, with consummate skill, monopolized the deliberations. The Czar suggested, as various bases for peace, Napoleon under all guaranties, Maria Louisa as regent for the King of Rome, the Bourbons, and, it is believed, hinted at Bernadotte or the republic as possibilities. Of all these courses there was but one which represented the notion of legitimacy with which Alexander had in the coalition identified himself, and by which alone he, with his shady title, could hope to assert authority in western Europe. This was expounded and emphasized by the wily Talleyrand with tremendous effect. The idea of the republic was of course relegated to oblivion; of Bernadotte there could not well be a serious question. If France wanted a mere soldier, she already had the foremost in the world. Napoleon still alive, the regency would be only another name for his continued rule; the Bourbons, and they alone, represented a principle. There was little difficulty, therefore, in reaching the decision not to treat with Napoleon Bonaparte or with any member of his family.

This was the great schemer's first stroke; his second was equally brilliant: the servile senate was appointed to create a provisional government and to construct a new constitution, to be guaranteed by the allies. That body, however obsequious, was still French; even the extreme radicals, as represented by Lainé of Bordeaux, had to acknowledge this. The new and subservient administration was at work within twenty-four hours; Talleyrand, with his two creatures, Dalberg

and Jaucourt, Montesquiou the royalist, and Beurnonville, a recalcitrant imperialist, constituting the executive commission. Two days later the legislature was summoned, and seventy-nine deputies responded. After considerable debate they pronounced Napoleon overthrown for having violated the constitution. The municipal council and the great imperial offices, with their magistrates, gave their assent. The heart of the city appeared to have been transformed: on the street, at the theater, everywhere, the white Bourbon cockades and ribbons burst forth like blossoms in a premature spring. But outside the focus of agitation, and in the suburbs, the populace murmured, and sometimes exhibited open discontent. In proportion to the distance west and south, the country was correspondingly imperial, obeying the imperial regency now established at Blois, which was summoning recruits, issuing stirring proclamations, and keeping up a brave show. In a way, therefore, France for the moment had three governments, that of the allies, that of the regency, and that of Napoleon himself.

When, in the latest hours of March thirtieth, Napoleon met Belliard, and heard the disastrous report of what had happened, he gave full vent to a frightful outburst of wrath. As he said himself in calmer moments, such was his anger at that time, that he never seemed to have known anger before. Forgetful of all his own shortcomings, he raged against others with a fury bordering on insanity, and could find no language vile or blasphemous enough wherewith to stigmatize Joseph and Clarke. In utter self-abandonment, he demanded a carriage. There were noise and bustle in the stable. With a choked, hoarse voice the seeming maniac called peremptorily for haste. No vehicle appeared. Probably Caulaincourt had dared to cross his Emperor's command for the sake of his Emperor's safety. Finally Napoleon strode forth into the darkness toward Paris. Questioning and storming as he walked, he denounced his two marshals for their haste in surrendering. His attendants reasoned in vain until, a mile beyond La Cour de France, Mortier's vanguard was met marching away under the terms of the convention, and Napoleon knew that he was face to face with doom; to advance farther would mean imprisonment or worse. General Flahaut was therefore sent to seek Marmont's advice, and Caulaincourt hurried away to secure an audience with the Czar. There were still wild hopes which would not die. Perhaps the capitulation was not yet signed, perhaps Caulaincourt could gain time if

CHAP. XVI
1814

nothing else, perhaps by sounding the tocsin and illuminating the town the populace and national guard would be led to rise and aid the army. The reply from Marmont came as swiftly as only discouraging news can come; the situation, he said, was hopeless, the public depressed by the flight of the court, the national guard worthless; he was coming in with the twenty thousand troops still left to himself and Mortier. Napoleon, now calm and collected, issued careful orders for the two marshals to take position between the Essonne and the Seine, their left on the former stream, their right on the latter, the whole position protected by these rivers on the flanks, and by the Yonne in the rear. It was clear there was to be a great battle under the walls of Paris. Macdonald was the only general who advised it; Berthier, Drouot, Belliard, Flahaut, and Gourgaud all wished to return into Lorraine; but the divisions were coming in swiftly, and in the short midnight hour before returning to Fontainebleau, Napoleon's decision was taken.

On the afternoon of April first the Emperor rode from Fontainebleau to Marmont's headquarters. While he was in the very act of congratulating Marmont on his gallantry, the commissioners who had signed the capitulation arrived and opened their budget of news. They told of the formal entry by the allies, of their resolution not to treat with Napoleon, and declared that the white cockade of the Bourbons was everywhere visible. Napoleon grew pensive and somber as he listened, and then, almost without speaking, rode sadly back to Fontainebleau. Next morning he was cheerful again, and as he stepped into the White Horse court of the palace at the hour of guard-mounting two battalions cheered him enthusiastically. His step was elastic, his countenance lighted with the old fire; the onlookers said, "It is the Napoleon of Potsdam and Schönbrunn." But in the afternoon Caulaincourt returned, and the sky seemed darkened; the Czar had listened to the envoy's eloquence only so far as to take into consideration once again the question of peace with the Empire under a regency; as a condition antecedent, Napoleon must abdicate.

The stricken man could not hear his faithful servant's report with equanimity. He restrained his violent impulses, but used harsh words. Soon it seemed as if ideas of a strange and awful form were mastering him, the gloomy interview was ended, and the Emperor dismissed his minister. For such a disease as his there was no remedy but action; next morning two divisions, one each of the old and young guard, ar-

IN THE POSSESSION OF GEORGE CLINTON GENET

ENGRAVED BY R. G. TIETZE

MARSHAL MICHEL NEY

DUKE OF ELCHINGEN, PRINCE OF THE MOSKWA

FROM COPY OF THE PAINTING BY FRANÇOIS GÉRARD

rived, and they were drawn up for review. Napoleon, in splendid garb and with a brilliant suite, in which were two marshals, Ney and Moncey, went through the ceremony. At its close he gathered the officers present into a group, and explained the situation in his old incisive phrase and vibrating tones, closing with the words: "In a few days I am going to attack Paris; can I count on you?" There was dead silence. "Am I right?" rang out, in a final exhausting effort, the moving call of the great actor. Then at last came the hearty, ringing response so breathlessly expected. "They were silent," said General Petit in gentle tones, "because it seemed needless to reply." Napoleon continued: "We will show them if the French nation be master in their own house, that if we have long been masters in the dwellings of others we will always be so in our own." As the officers scattered to their posts and repeated the "little corporal's" words, the old "growlers," as men had come to call the veterans of the Empire, gave another cheer. The bands played the two great hymns of victory, the "Marseillaise" and the "Chant du Départ," as the ranks moved away.

Napoleon must now have certain clear conceptions. Except Mortier, Drouot, and Gérard, his great officers were disaffected; but the ambitious minor generals were still his devoted slaves. The army was thoroughly imperialist, partly because they represented the nation as a whole, partly because they were under the Emperor's spell. Of such troops he appeared to have at hand sixty thousand, distributed as follows: Marmont, twelve thousand five hundred; Mortier, six thousand; Macdonald, two thousand seven hundred; Oudinot, five thousand five hundred; Gérard, three thousand; Ney, two thousand three hundred; Drouot, nine thousand; and about eleven thousand six hundred guard and other cavalry. Besides these, there were sixteen hundred Poles, two thousand two hundred and fifty recruits, and fifteen hundred men in the garrisons of Fontainebleau and Mélun. Farther away were considerable forces in Sens, Tours, Blois, and Orléans, eight thousand in all; and still farther the armies of Soult, Suchet, Augereau, and Maison. Although the allies had lost nine thousand men before Paris, they had quickly called up reinforcements, and had about a hundred and forty thousand men in readiness to fight. This situation may not have been entirely discouraging to the devotee of a dark destiny, to which as a hapless worshiper he had lately commenced to give the name of Providence. Be that as it may, when Macdonald arrived on the morning of

CHAP. XVI 1814

the fourth the dispositions for battle had been carefully studied and arranged; every corps was ordered to its station. As usual, Napoleon appeared about noon for the ceremony of guard-mounting, and the troops acclaimed him as usual. But a few paces distant from him stood the marshals and higher generals in a little knot, their heads close bunched, their tongues running, their glances averted. From out of this group rang the thunderous voice of Ney: "Nothing but the abdication can draw us out of this." Napoleon started, regained his self-control, pretended not to hear the crushing menace, and withdrew to his work-room.

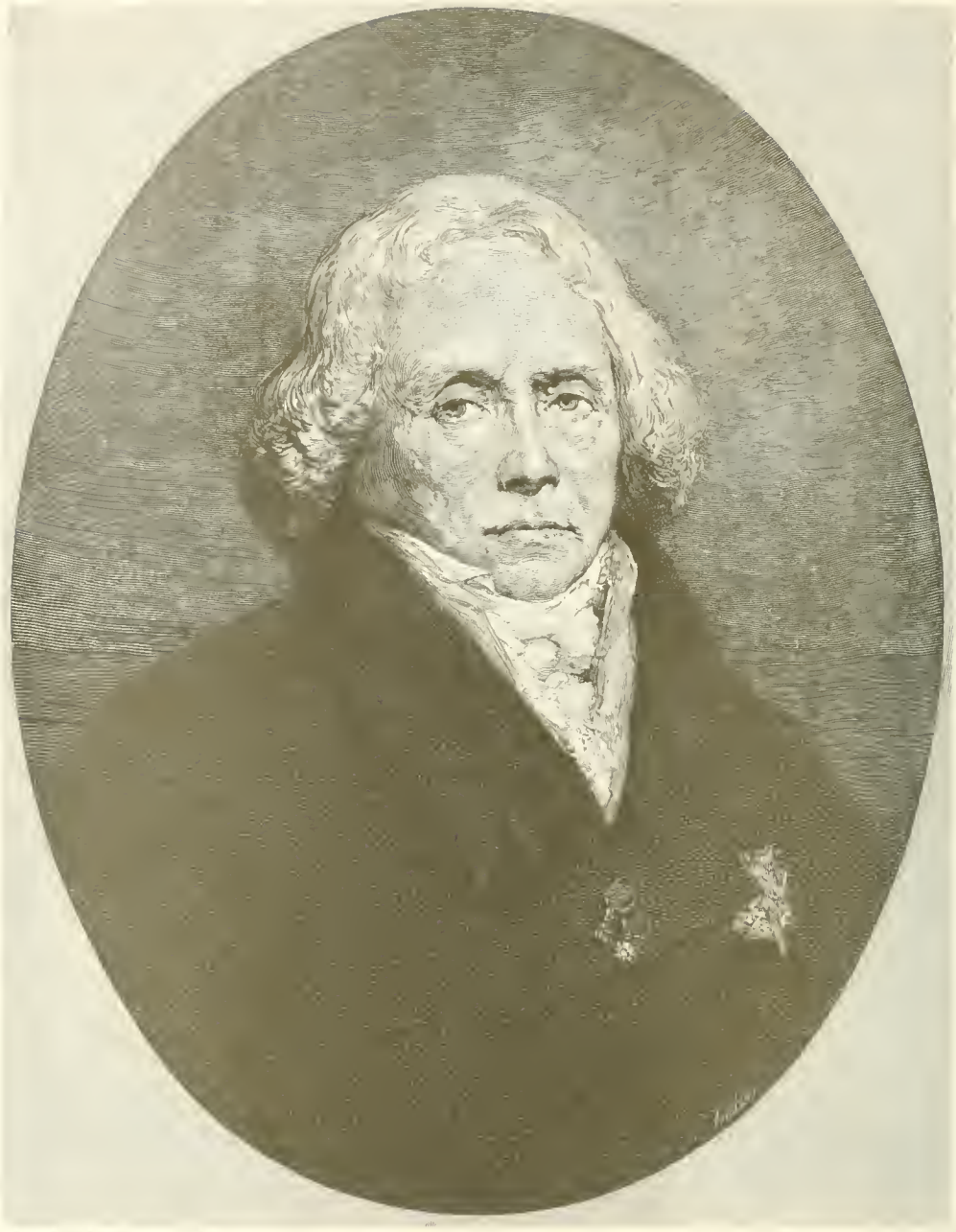
Concurrent with the resolve of the marshals at Fontainebleau ran the actual treason of one who alone was more important to Napoleon's cause than all of them. "I am ready to leave, with my troops, the army of the Emperor Napoleon on the following conditions, of which I demand from you a written guaranty," are the startling words from a letter of Marmont to the Czar, dated the previous day. On April first agents of the provisional government had made arrangements with a discredited nobleman named Maubreuil for the assassination of Napoleon; the next day Schwarzenberg introduced into the French lines newspapers and copies of a proclamation explaining that the action of the senate and of all France had released the soldiers from their oaths. Marmont forwarded the documents he received to Berthier, and while most of the officers flung their copies away in contemptuous scorn, some read and pondered. On April third an emissary from Schwarzenberg appeared at Marmont's headquarters, and what he said was spoken to willing ears. Still under the influence of the homage he had received in Paris, the vain marshal saw himself repeating the rôle of Monk; he beheld France at peace, prosperity restored, social order reëstablished, and himself extolled as a true patriot—all this if only he pursued the easy line of self-interest, whereby he would not merely retain his duchy, but also secure the new honors and emoluments which would be showered on him. So he yielded on condition that his troops should withdraw honorably into Normandy, and that Napoleon should be allowed to enjoy life and liberty within circumscribed limits fixed by the allied powers and France. Next morning, the fourth, came Schwarzenberg's assent, and Marmont at once set about suborning his officers; at four in the afternoon arrived an embassy from Fontainebleau on its way to Paris. The officers composing it desired to see Marmont.

The informal meeting held in the courtyard at Fontainebleau was a historical event. Its members chatted about the course taken by the senate, about Caulaincourt's mission, and discussed in particular the suggestion of abdication. The marshals and great generals, long since disgusted with campaigning, wounded in their dignity by the Emperor's rebukes, and attributing their recent failures to the wretched quality of the troops assigned to them, were eager for peace, and yearned to enjoy their hard-earned fortunes. They caught at the seductive idea presented by Caulaincourt. The abdication of Napoleon would mean the perpetuation of the Empire. The Empire would be not merely peace, but peace with what war had gained; to wit, the imperial court and society, the preservation and enjoyment of estates, the continuity of processes which had done so much to regenerate France and make her a modern nation. The prospect was irresistible, and Ney only expressed the grim determination of his colleagues when he gave the watchword so unexpectedly at the mounting of the guard. When Napoleon entered his cabinet he found there Berthier, Maret, Caulaincourt, and Bertrand. Concealing his agitation, he began the routine of such familiar labors as impend on the eve of battle. Almost instantly hurrying footsteps were heard in the corridor, the door was burst open, and on the threshold stood Ney, Lefebvre, Oudinot, and Macdonald. The leader of the company quailed an instant under the Emperor's gaze, and then gruffly demanded if there were news from Paris. No, was the reply — a deliberate falsehood, since the decree of the senate had arrived the night before. "Well, then, I have some," roared Ney, and told the familiar facts.

At Nogent, six weeks earlier, Ney and Oudinot had endeavored to bully Napoleon in a similar way; then they were easily cowed. But now Napoleon's manner was conciliatory and his speech argumentative. Long and eloquently he set forth his situation. Enumerating all the forces immediately and remotely at his disposal, describing minutely the plan of attack which Macdonald had stamped with his approval, explaining the folly of the course pursued by the allies, contrasting the perils of their situation with the advantages of his own, he sought to justify his assurance of victory. The eloquence of a Napoleon, calm, collected, clear, but pleading for the power which was dearer to him than life, can only be imagined. But his arguments fell on deaf ears; not one of his audience gave any sign of emotion. Macdonald was the

CHAP. XVI
1814

only one present not openly committed, and he too was sullen; during the last twenty-four hours he had received, through Marmont, a letter from Beurnonville, the contents of which, though read to Napoleon then and there, have not been transmitted to posterity. What happened or what was said thereafter is far from certain, so conflicting and so biased are the accounts of those present. Contemporaries thought that in this crisis, when Ney declared the army would obey its officers and would not march to Paris in obedience to the Emperor, there were menacing gestures which betrayed a more or less complete purpose of assassination on the part of some. If so, Napoleon was never greater; for, commanding a calm by his dignified self-restraint, he dismissed the faithless officers one and all. They went, and he was left alone with Caulaincourt to draw up the form of his abdication.



ENGRAVED BY R. G. PIETZE

CHARLES-MAURICE-ÉLIE, DUKE OF TALLEYRAND-PERIGORD

PRINCE OF BENEVENTO

FROM THE PAINTING BY ARY SCHEFFER

CHAPTER XVII

NAPOLEON'S FIRST ABDICATION

THE MEANING OF NAPOLEON'S ABDICATION — THE PAPER AND ITS BEARERS — PROGRESS OF MARMONT'S CONSPIRACY — ALEXANDER INFLUENCED BY NAPOLEON'S EMBASSY — MARMONT'S SOLDIERS BETRAYED — MARMONT'S REPUTATION AND FATE — NAPOLEON'S SCHEME FOR A LAST STROKE — REVOLT OF THE MARSHALS — NAPOLEON'S FIRST ATTEMPT AT SUICIDE — UNCONDITIONAL ABDICATION — RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS — NAPOLEON'S NEW REALM — FLIGHT OF THE NAPOLEONS — GOOD-BY TO FRANCE, BUT NOT FAREWELL.

THERE is no doubt that Napoleon sincerely and dearly loved his "growlers"; there is no doubt that with grim humor he constantly circumvented and used them for his own ends; even in his agony he contemplated a course which, leaving them convinced of their success, would yet render their action of no effect. After a short conference with his minister he took a pen and wrote: "The allied powers having declared the Emperor Napoleon to be the sole obstacle to the establishment of peace in Europe, and since the Emperor cannot assuredly, without violating his oath, surrender any one of the departments which were united with France when he ascended the throne, the Emperor Napoleon declares himself ready to abdicate and leave France, even to lay down his life for the welfare of his country and for the preservation of the rights of his son the king, of the Empress-regent, and of the laws and institutions, which shall be subject to no change until the definite conclusion of peace and while foreign armies stand upon our soil."

But these words carried too plainly a meaning which was not intended to be conspicuous, and the paper, as finally written and executed, runs as follows: "The allied powers having declared the Emperor Napoleon to be the sole obstacle to the reëstablishment of peace in Europe,

CHAP. XVII 1814

the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he is ready to descend from the throne, to leave France, and even to lay down his life for the good of the country, [which is] inseparable from the rights of his son, from those of the Empress's regency, and from the laws of the Empire." Who should constitute the embassy to present the document to the Czar? Caulaincourt, of course, would necessarily be one; Ney, dangerous if thwarted, must be the second; and the third? Marmont certainly, was Napoleon's first thought, and he ordered full powers to be made out for him. But on second thought he felt that his aide-de-camp in Egypt, his trusted friend from then onward, his confidential adviser, "brought up in his tent," as he said, might injure the cause as being too certainly influenced by personal considerations. Macdonald, therefore, was named in his stead. The embassy should, however, pass by Essonnes, and if Marmont desired to go he might send back for his credentials.

This was the company which, arriving about four in the afternoon at Marmont's headquarters, presented Napoleon's message. The busy conspirator was stunned, but he had already won at least five of his generals — Souham, Merlin, Digeon, Ledru des Essarts, and Megnadier, his chief of staff; the tide of treason was in full flow, and could not be stemmed. Should the Czar assent to the regency, where would Marmont be? Or, on the other hand, should Napoleon learn the truth, there was no question but that a few hours might see the emulator of Monk a corpse. In quick decision, the traitorous marshal confessed the steps already taken, and then at the loud cry of reprobation with which his statement was met, he falsely asserted that he was not yet committed, and demanded to join the embassy. The others, willing to remove their colleague from further temptation, assented; and Souham was left in command, with strict injunctions to inform the troops of Napoleon's abdication, but to take no further steps. At Schwarzenberg's headquarters Marmont found means to betray the situation to that general. The Austrian, by Marmont's own account, absolved his fellow-intriguer from all engagements so far made; but somehow that very evening about nine Talleyrand knew the whole story, and hastening, pale with terror, to Alexander's presence, poured out a bitter remonstrance against the regency. The Czar listened, but contemptuously dismissed the petitioner with the non-committal remark that no one would repent having trusted him.

It was almost midnight when Alexander gave audience to the embassy. Marmont was not of the number, having slunk away in guilty uneasiness to await the event at Ney's house. To Caulaincourt, as the spokesman of the Empire, the Czar listened attentively and sympathetically. He now felt himself to have taken a false step when, five days earlier, he had virtually assented to the restoration of the Bourbons. In the interval their cause had steadily grown more and more unpopular; neither people nor soldiers, not even the national guard, would give any declaration of adherence to the acts of the provisional government; the imperial army, on the other hand, stood firm. His own and Russia's honor having been redeemed, the earlier instincts of hatred for absolutism had returned; the feeling that the Empire was better for his purposes than any dynasty welled up as he listened to Caulaincourt's powerful argument that France as a nation, and her undivided army, alike desired the regency. In fact, the listener wavered so much that, two days later, Ney and Macdonald asserted their belief that at a certain instant their cause had been won.

But at two in the morning an aide-de-camp entered and spoke a few words in Russian. The Czar gave a startled attention, and the officer repeated his words. "Gentlemen," said the monarch, "you base your claim on the unshaken attachment of the army to the imperial government. The vanguard of Napoleon's army has just deserted. It is at this moment within our lines." The news was true. The announcement of Napoleon's abdication had spread consternation among Marmont's men, and they were seriously demoralized. When a routine message came from Fontainebleau requiring Souham's presence there, his guilty conscience made him tremble; and when Gourgaud requested an interview the uneasy general foresaw his own arrest and was terror-stricken. Summoning the others who, like himself, were partly committed, he told his fears, and the soldiers were ordered under arms. Toward midnight the march began. Ignorant at first of whither they were going, the men were silent; but finding themselves before long between two Austrian lines, they hooted their officers. Thereupon they were told that they were to fight beside these same Austrians in defense of the Empire, and, believing the lie, were reconciled.

Arriving finally at Versailles, and learning the truth, they mutinied; but Marmont soon appeared, and partly cowed them, partly persuaded them to bend before necessity. After learning of Souham's deed he

CHAP. XVII 1814

had hurried to the Czar's antechamber. In an adjoining room were assembled the members of the provisional government. Like Marmont, they had learned the result of Souham's efforts and had regained their equanimity. After grasping the appalling fact that twelve thousand men, the whole sixth corps, with arms and baggage, were prisoners within the Austrian lines, of course there had been nothing left for Caulaincourt and the marshals but to withdraw. With much embarrassment the Czar promised an answer to their request on the following afternoon. All knew that the knell of the Empire had struck. To the waiting royalists it seemed a fit moment for pleasantry as the members of the embassy came filing out with stony gaze. The thwarted imperialists sternly repulsed their tormentors. Marmont breathed hard as his colleagues passed without a glimpse of recognition, and murmured: "I would give an arm if this had not happened." "An arm? Sir, say your head," rejoined Macdonald, bitterly. For some time after the first Restoration Marmont was a hero, but soon his vanity and true character combined to bring out his conduct into clear view, and from his title of Ragusa was coined the word "ragusade" as a synonym for treason. During the "Hundred Days" his name was of course stricken from the list of marshals. Loaded with honors in the second Restoration, he proved a second time faithless, and in 1830 betrayed his trust to the republicans. The people called him Judas, and he died in exile, honored by nobody.

There can be little doubt of Napoleon's conviction that his offer to abdicate would be rejected by Alexander. No sooner was it signed than, with his characteristic astuteness, he set about preparing an alternative course. At once he despatched a messenger requesting the Empress to send Champagny immediately to Dijon as an ambassador to intercede with her father. Then, on April fourth, he summoned a conclave of his officers to secure their assent to the battle which he believed inevitable. It was the call to this meeting which had stampeded Souham and his colleagues in desertion. The greater officers being absent from Fontainebleau, the minor ones were unanimous and hearty in their support of Napoleon's plans. But at the very close of the session came the news of what had happened at Essonnes. When finally assured of every detail, Napoleon took measures at once to repair as best he could the breaches in his defense, saying of Marmont quietly and without a sign of panic: "Unhappy man, he will be more unhappy

IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES

NAPOLEON'S FAREWELL TO THE IMPERIAL GUARD AT FONTAINEBLEAU, APRIL 20, 1814

FROM THE PAINTING BY EMILE-JEAN-HORACE VERNET

than I." Only a few days before he had declared to Caulaincourt: "There are no longer any who play fair except my poor soldiers and their officers that are neither princes nor dukes nor counts. It is an awful thing to say, but it is true. Do you know what I ought to do? Send all these noble lords of yesterday to sleep in their beds of down, to strut about in their castles. I ought to rid myself of these frondeurs, and begin the war once more with men of youthful, unsullied courage." He was partly prepared, therefore, even for the defection of Marmont. Next morning, on the fifth, was issued, the ablest proclamation ever penned by him; at noon the veterans from Spain were reviewed, and in the afternoon began the movements necessary to array beyond the Loire what remained of the army and rally it about the seat of imperial government. But at nine the embassy returned from Paris with its news — the Czar had refused to accept the abdication; the senate was about to proclaim Louis XVIII.; Napoleon was to reign thereafter over the little isle of Elba. To this the undaunted Emperor calmly rejoined that war henceforth offered nothing worse than peace, and began at once to explain his plans.

But he was interrupted — exactly how we cannot tell; for, though the embassy returned as it left, in a body, the memoirs of each member strive to convey the impression that it was he alone who said and did everything. If only the narrative attributed to Caulaincourt were of undoubted authenticity, cumulative evidence might create certitude; but it is not. The sorry tale of what probably occurred makes clear that all three were now royalists more or less ardent, for in passing they had concluded a truce with Schwarzenberg on that basis. Macdonald asserts that his was the short and brutal response to Napoleon's exhibition of his plans; to wit, that they must have an abdication without conditions. Ney was quite as savage, declaring that the confidence of the army was gone. Napoleon at first denounced such mutiny, but then, with seeming resignation, promised an answer next day. He did not yet know that in secret convention the generals were resolving not to obey the orders issued for the morrow; but as the door closed behind the marshals the mind so far clear seemed suddenly eclipsed, and murmuring, "These men have neither heart nor bowels; I am conquered less by fortune than by the egotism and ingratitude of my companions in arms," the great, homeless citizen of the world sank into utter dejection.

CHAP. XVII
1814

It appears to have been a fixed purpose with Napoleon never to fall alive into his enemy's hands. Although they acted under legal forms, yet some European monarchs of the eighteenth century were no more trustworthy in dealing with foes than their great prototype Julius Cæsar in his faithlessness to a certain canton of the Helvetians. They did not display sufficient surprise when enemies were assassinated. Since 1808 the European colossus had worn about his neck as a kind of amulet a little bag which was said to contain a deadly poison, one of the salts of prussic acid. During the night, when the terrors of a shaken reason overpowered him, he swallowed the drug. Whether it had lost its efficacy, or whether the agitated victim of melancholy did not take the entire dose, in either case the effects were imperfect. Instead of oblivion came agony, and his valet, rushing to his master's bedside at the sound of a bitter cry, claimed to catch the words: "Marmont has struck me the final blow! Unhappy man, I loved him! Berthier's desertion has broken my heart! My old friends, my comrades in arms!" Ivan, the Emperor's body physician, was summoned, and administered an antidote; the spasm was allayed, and after a short sleep reason resumed her seat. It is related in the memoirs of Caulaincourt, and probably with a sort of Homeric truth, that when the minister was admitted in the early morning, Napoleon's "wan and sunken eyes seemed struggling to recall the objects round about; a universe of torture was revealed in the vaguely desolate look." Napoleon is reported as saying: "God did not will it. I could not die. Why did they not let me die? It is not the loss of the throne that makes existence unendurable; my military career suffices for the glory of a single man. Do you know what is more difficult to bear than the reverses of fortune? It is the baseness, the horrible ingratitude, of men. Before such acts of cowardice, before the shamelessness of their egotism, I have turned away my head in disgust and have come to regard my life with horror. . . . Death is rest. . . . Rest at last. . . . What I have suffered for twenty days no one can understand."

What throws some shadow on this account is the fact that on the following morning Napoleon appeared outwardly well and perfectly calm when he assembled his marshals and made a final appeal. It is certain, from the testimony of his secretary and his physician, that he had been violently ill, but the sobriety of the remaining chronicle is to be doubted. Possibly, too, the empty sachet had contained a prepara-

tion of opium intended to relieve sharp attacks like that at Pirna; but in view of the second attempt at suicide made after Waterloo, this is not likely. Yet the circumstances may easily have been exaggerated; for the evident motive of what has been called the imperial legend is to heighten all the effects in the Napoleonic picture. Whatever was the truth as to that gloomy night, Napoleon's appeal next morning, though eloquent, was in vain; the marshals were unshaken in their determination, though less bitter and violent in their language. "You deserve repose," were the Emperor's last words to them; "well, then, take it." Thereupon the act of unconditional abdication was written in these words: "The allied powers having declared the Emperor Napoleon to be the sole obstacle to the reëstablishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that for himself and his heirs he renounces the thrones of France and of Italy, because there is no personal sacrifice which he is not ready to make for the welfare of the nation." These last words were, after some consideration, erased, and the phrase "in the interest of France" was substituted for them. Some think, and it may well be true, that this change of form, taken in connection with Napoleon's calmness, was another proof of his deep purpose. Unable to thwart his "growlers," he may have recollected that once before he had crossed the Mediterranean to give a feeble government full scope for its own destruction. France might easily recall her favorite son in her own interest. He was scarcely more than forty-four, a young man still, and this he probably recalled as he made ready to play a new rôle.

Armed with the document necessary to secure his pardon, Ney hurried back to the capital. The elderly, well-meaning, but obtuse Louis XVIII. was immediately proclaimed king by the senate. Having "learned nothing, and forgotten nothing," he accepted the throne, making certain concessions to the new France, sufficient, as he hoped, to secure at least the momentary support of the people. The haste to join the white standard made by men on whom Napoleon's adventurous career had heaped honor and wealth is unparalleled in history. Jourdan, Augereau, Maison, Lagrange, Nansouty, Oudinot, Kellermann, Lefebvre, Hulin, Milhaud, Latour-Maubourg, Ségur, Berthier, Belliard — such were the earliest names. Among the soldiers near by some bowed to the new order, but among the garrisons there was such wide-spread mutiny that royalist hate was kindled again and fanned to white heat by the scoffs and jeers of the outraged men. Their behavior was the

CHAP. XVII 1814

outward sign of a temper not universal, of course, but very common among the people. At Paris both the King and the King's brother were cheered on their formal entry, but many discriminating onlookers prophesied that the Bourbons could not remain long.

Fully aware that Napoleon was yet a power in France, and challenged by the marshals to display a chivalric spirit in providing for the welfare of their former monarch, Alexander gave full play to his generous impulses. His first suggestion was that his fallen foe should accept a home and complete establishment in Russia; but this would have been to ignore the other members of the coalition. It was determined finally to provide the semblance of an empire, the forms of state, and an imperial income, and to make the former Emperor the guest of all Europe. The idea was quixotic, but Napoleon was not a prisoner; he had done nothing worthy of degradation, and throughout the civilized world he was still regarded by vast numbers as the savior of European society, who had fallen into the hands of cruel oppressors. The paper which was finally drawn up was a treaty between Napoleon, for the time and purposes of the instrument a private citizen, as one party, and the four sovereign states of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and England as the other. It had, therefore, no sanction except the public opinion of France and the good faith of those who executed it, the former being bound by her allies to a contract made by them. It was France which was to pay Napoleon two millions of francs a year, and leave him to reign undisturbed over Elba; the allies granted Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla as a realm in perpetuity to Maria Louisa and her heirs, through the King of Rome, as her successors. The agreement was unique, but so were the circumstances which brought it to pass. There was but one important protest, and that was made by Castlereagh in regard to the word Napoleon and the imperial style! His protest was vain, but to this day many among the greatest of his countrymen persistently employ "Bonaparte" in speaking of the greater, and "Napoleon" in designating the lesser, of the two men who have ruled France as emperors.

Four commissioners, one from each of the powers, proceeded to Fontainebleau. They were careful to treat Napoleon with the consideration due to an emperor. To all he was courteous, except to the representative of Prussia, Count Truchsess-Waldburg, whose presence he declared unnecessary, since there were to be no Prussian troops on the southern road toward Elba. With Colonel Campbell, the British

PUBLICATION AUTHORIZED BY THE ARTIST.

THE ABDICATION, FONTAINEBLEAU, APRIL 6, 1814.

TYPOGRAVURE BOUSSOD, VALADON & CO., PARIS

commissioner, he was most friendly, conversing enthusiastically with the Scotch officer about the Scotch poet known as Ossian. What was particularly admired in his remarkable outpourings was their warlike tone. As the preparations for departure went forward, it became clear that of all the imperial dignitaries only Bertrand and Drouot would accompany the exile. The others he dismissed with characteristic and appropriate farewells: to Caulaincourt he assigned a gift of five hundred thousand francs from the treasure at Blois; Constant, the valet, and Roustan, the Mameluke, were dismissed at their own desire, but not empty-handed. For his line of travel, and for a hundred baggage-wagons loaded with books, furniture, and objects of art, Napoleon stipulated with the utmost nicety and persistence. With every hour he showed greater and greater anxiety for his personal safety. Indifferent to life but a few short days before, he was now timid and over-anxious. If he had been playing a part and pondering what in a few years, perhaps months, his life and person might again be worth in European politics, he could not have been more painstaking as to measures for his personal safety. The stoic could have recourse to the bowl, the eighteenth-century enthusiast must live and hope to the last. Napoleon seems to have struggled for the union of both characters. "They blame me that I can outlive my fall," he remarked. "Wrongfully. . . . It is much more courageous to survive unmerited bad fortune." Only once he seemed overpowered, being observed, as he sat at table, to strike his forehead and murmur: "God, is it possible?" Sometimes, too, he appeared to be lost in reverie, and when addressed started like one awakened from a dream. All was ready on the twentieth; but the Empress, who by the terms of the "treaty" was to accompany her consort as far as the harbor of St. Tropez, did not appear. Napoleon declared that she had been kidnapped, and refused to stir, threatening to withdraw his abdication. Koller, the Austrian commissioner, assured him of the truth, that she had resolved of her free will not to be present. In the certainty that all was over, the Empress had determined to take refuge with her father, and the imperial government at Blois had dispersed, Joseph and Jerome flying to Switzerland.

The announcement staggered Napoleon, but he replied with words destined to have great significance: "Very well; I shall remain faithful to my promise; but if I have new reasons to complain, I shall consider myself absolved." Further, he touched on various topics as if seeking

CHAP. XVII
1814

to talk against time, remarking that Francis had impiously sought the dissolution of his daughter's marriage; that Russia and Prussia had made Austria's position dangerous; that the Czar and Frederick William had shown little delicacy in visiting Maria Louisa at Rambouillet; that he himself was no usurper; and that he had been wrong not to make peace at Prague or Dresden. Then, suddenly changing tone and topic, he asked with interest what would occur if Elba refused to accept him. Koller thought he might still take refuge in England. Napoleon rejoined that he had thought of that; but, having always sought to do England harm, would the English make him welcome? Koller replied that, as all the projects against her welfare had come to naught, England would feel no bitterness. Finally, about noon Napoleon descended into the courtyard, where the few grenadiers of the old guard were drawn up. The officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, were called forward, and in a few touching words their former leader thanked all who had remained true for their loyalty. With their aid he could have continued the war beyond the Loire, but he had preferred to sacrifice his personal interests to those of France. "Continue to serve France," runs the Napoleonic text of this fine address: but the commissioners thought they heard "to serve the sovereign which the nation has chosen." He could have ended his life, he went on to say, but he wished to live and record for posterity the great deeds of his warriors. Then he embraced Petit, the commanding officer, and, snatching to his breast the imperial eagle, his standard in so many glorious battles, he pressed it to his lips, and entered the waiting carriage. A swelling sob burst from the ranks, and tears bedewed the weather-beaten cheeks of men who had not wept for years.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE EMPEROR OF ELBA

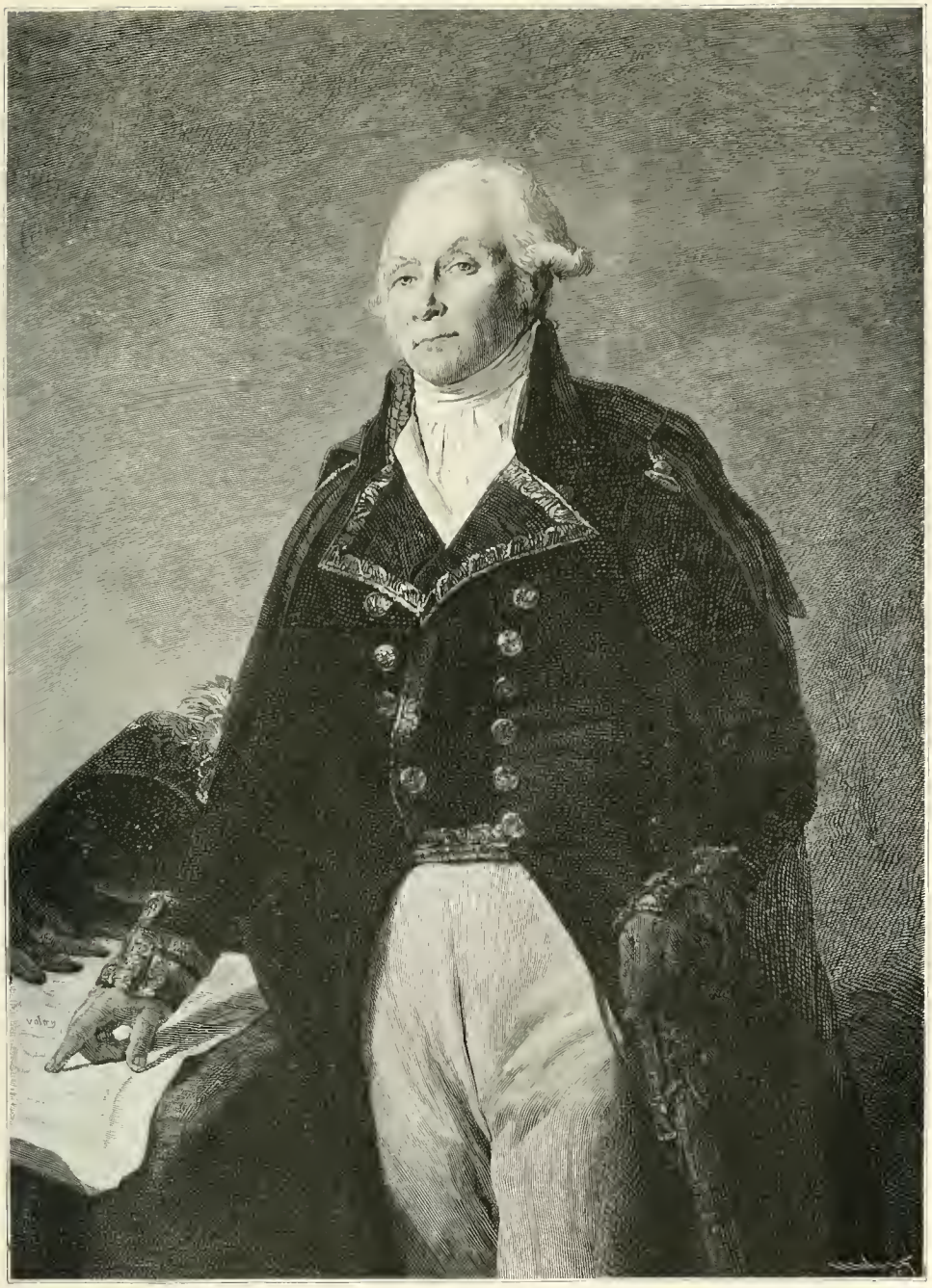
NAPOLEON AND THE POPULAR FRENZY — SERIOUS DANGERS INCURRED — THE EXILE UNDER THE BRITISH FLAG — THE VOYAGE TO ELBA — THE NAPOLEONIC COURT AT PORTO FERRAJO — MYSTERIOUS VISITORS — ESTRANGEMENT OF MARIA LOUISA — NAPOLEON'S "ISLE OF REPOSE" — THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA — ITS VIOLATION OF TREATY AGREEMENT — DISCONTENT IN FRANCE — REVIVAL OF IMPERIALISM — BITTERNESS OF THE ARMY — INTRIGUES AGAINST THE BOURBONS — NAPOLEON'S BEHAVIOR — HIS FEARS OF ASSASSINATION.

NAPOLEON'S journey to Elba was a series of disenchantments. As has been said, he had stipulated in his "treaty" that the Empress should accompany him to St. Tropez, where he was to embark. Her absence, he persisted in declaring, was explicable only by forced detention; and he again talked of withdrawing his abdication at this breach of the engagements made by the allies. But he grew more composed, and the journey was sufficiently comfortable as far as Lyons. Occasionally during that portion of it there were outbursts of good feeling from those who stopped to see his train pass by. But in descending the Rhone there was a marked change. As the Provençals had been the radicals of the Revolution, so now they were the devotees of the Restoration. The flood of disreputable calumny had broken loose: men said the Emperor's mother was a loose woman, his father a butcher, he himself but a bastard, his true name Nicholas. "Down with Bonaparte! down with Nicholas!" was too often the derisive shout as he traversed the villages. Maubreuil, the hired assassin, was hurrying from Paris with a desperate band, ostensibly to recover crown jewels or government funds which might be among Napoleon's effects. Recalling Alexander's boast that his best servants had been found among the

CHAP. XVIII 1814–15

assassins of his father, and recollecting that Francis sighed to Metternich for Napoleon's exile to a far-distant land, Elba being too near to France and to Europe, it is conceivable that Talleyrand might reckon on the moral support of the dynasties in conniving at Napoleon's assassination. Had he forgotten the murder of Enghien? Probably not; but his conscience was not over-tender. Near Valence, on April twenty-fourth, the imperial procession met Augereau's carriage. The arch-republican of Napoleon's earlier career had given in his adhesion to the new government, and had been retained in office. He alighted, the ex-Emperor likewise: the latter exhibited all the ordinary forms of politeness, the former studiously disdained them. Napoleon, with nice irony, asked if the general were on his way to court. The thrust went home, but in a gruff retort Augereau, using the insulting "thou," declared with considerable embarrassment that he cared no more for the Bourbons than for Napoleon; that he had had no motive for his conduct except love of his country.

Partly by good fortune, partly by good management, the cortège avoided the infuriated bands who, in various places, had sworn to take the fallen Emperor's life. At Avignon his escape was almost miraculous. Near Orgon a mob of royalists beset the carriage, and Napoleon shrank in pallid terror behind Bertrand, cowering there until the immediate danger was removed by his Russian escort. A few miles out he donned a postilion's uniform and rode post through the town. At Saint-Cannat he would not touch a morsel of food for fear of poison. Rumors of the bitter feeling prevalent at Aix led him for further protection to clothe one of his aides in his own too familiar garb. In that town he was violently ill, somewhat as he had been at Fontainebleau. The attack yielded easily to remedies, and the Prussian commissioner asserted that it was due to a loathsome disease. Thereafter the hounded fugitive wore an Austrian uniform, and sat in the Austrian commissioner's carriage; thus disguised, the Emperor of Elba seemed to feel secure. From Luc onward the company was protected by Austrian hussars; but in spite of these military jailers, mob violence became stronger from day to day in each successive town. Napoleon grew morbid, and the line of travel was changed from the direction of St. Tropez to that of Fréjus in order to avoid the ever-increasing danger. The only alleviation in the long line of ills was a visit from his light and giddy but affectionate sister Pauline, the Princess Borghese, who comforted him



IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES

ENGRAVED BY HENRY WOLF

MARSHAL FRANÇOIS-CHRISTOPHE KELLERMANN

DUKE OF VALMY

FROM THE PAINTING BY GEORGES ROUGET

and promised to share his exile. At length Fréjus was reached, and Napoleon resumed his composure as he saw an English frigate and a French brig lying in the harbor. Perhaps the beautiful view recalled to an outcast monarch the return, in 1799, of one General Bonaparte, who had landed on the same shore to overthrow the Directory. If not, it must have been due to unwonted dejection or dark despair.

Again Napoleon remarked a breach of his treaty. He was to have sailed from St. Tropez in a corvette; here was only a brig. Accordingly, as if to mark an intentional slight, in reality for his safety and comfort, he asked and obtained permission to embark on the English frigate, the *Undaunted*, as the guest of her captain. The promised corvette was at St. Tropez awaiting its passenger, but the hasty change of plan had made it impossible to bring her around in time. Possibly for this reason, too, the baggage of Napoleon had been much diminished in quantity; and of this he complained also, as being a breach of his treaty. His farewell to the Russian and Prussian commissioners was brief and dignified; the Austrian hussars paid full military honors to the party; and as the Emperor, accompanied by the English and Austrian commissioners, embarked, a salvo of twenty-four guns rang out from the *Undaunted*. Already he had begun to eulogize England and her civilization, and to behave as if throwing himself on the good faith of an English gentleman, exactly as a defeated knight would throw himself on the chivalric courtesy of his conqueror. This appearance of distinguished treatment heightened his self-satisfaction. His attendants said that once again he was "all emperor."

It was a serious blow when, on passing aboard ship, he discovered that the salutes had been in recognition of the commissioners, and that the polite but decided Captain Ussher was determined to treat his illustrious guest with the courtesy due to a private gentleman, and with that alone. Although chafing at times during the voyage against the restrictions of naval discipline, Napoleon submitted gracefully, and wore a subdued air. This was his first contact with English customs: sometimes they interested him; frequently, as in the matter of after-dinner amusements and Sunday observance, they irritated him, and then with a contemptuous petulance he withdrew to his cabin. In conversation with Koller, the Austrian commissioner, he once referred to his conduct in disguising himself on the road to Fréjus as pusillanimous, and admitted in vulgar language that he had made an indecent

CHAP. XVIII 1814–15

display of himself. He was convinced that all the dreadful scenes through which he had passed were the work of Bourbon emissaries. In general his talk was a running commentary on the past, a well-calculated prattle in which, with apparent spontaneity and ingenuousness, interpretations were placed on his conduct which were thoroughly novel. This was the beginning of a series of historical commentaries lasting, with interruptions, to the end of his life. There is throughout a unity of purpose in the explication and embellishment of history which will be considered later. On May fourth the *Undaunted* cast anchor in the harbor of Porto Ferrajo.

Elba was an island divided against itself, there being both imperialists and royalists among its inhabitants, and a considerable party which desired independence. By representing that Napoleon had brought with him fabulous sums, the Austrian and English commissioners easily won the Elbans to a fervor of loyalty for their new emperor. Before nightfall of the fourth the court was established, and the new administration began its labors. After mastering the resources and needs of his pygmy realm, the Emperor began at once to deploy all his powers, mending the highways, fortifying the strategic points, and creating about the nucleus of four hundred guards which were sent from Fontainebleau an efficient little army of sixteen hundred men. His expenses were regulated to the minutest detail, the salt-works and iron-mines, which were the bulwarks of Elban prosperity, began at once to increase their output, and taxation was regulated with scrupulous nicety. By that supereminent virtue of the French burgher, good management, the island was made almost independent of the remnants of the Tuileries treasure, the sum of about five million francs, which Napoleon had brought from France. The same powers which had swayed a world operated with equal success in a sphere almost microscopic by comparison. To many this appeared a sorry commentary on human grandeur, but the great exile did not intend to sink into a contemptible lethargy. If the future had aught in store for him, his capacities must have exercise and their bearings be kept smooth by use. The Princess Borghese had been separated from her second husband soon after the marriage, and since 1810 she had lived an exile from Paris, having been banished for impertinent conduct to the Empress. But she cherished no malice, and before long, according to promise, she arrived and took up her abode as her brother's companion. Madame Mère, though distant in prospe-

ity, came likewise to soothe her son in adversity. The intercepted letters of the former prove her to have been at least as loose in her life at Elba as ever before, but they do not afford a sufficient basis for the scandals concerning her relations with Napoleon which were founded upon them and industriously circulated at the court of Louis XVIII. The shameful charge, though recently revived and ingeniously supported, appears to have no adequate foundation.

Napoleon's economies were rendered not merely expedient, but imperative, by the fact that none of the moneys from France were forthcoming which had been promised in his treaty with the powers. After a short stay Koller frankly stated that in his opinion they never would be paid, and departed. The island swarmed with Bourbon spies, and the only conversation in which Napoleon could indulge himself unguardedly was with Sir Neil Campbell, the English representative, or with the titled English gentlemen who gratified their curiosity by visiting him. During the summer heat, when the court was encamped on the heights at Marciana for refreshment, there appeared a mysterious lady with her child. Both were well received and kindly treated, but they withdrew themselves entirely from the public gaze. Common rumor said it was the Empress, but this was not true; it was the Countess Walewska, with one of the two sons she bore her host, whom she still adored. They remained but a few days, and departed as mysteriously as they had come. Base females thronged the precincts of the imperial residence, openly struggling for Napoleon's favor as they had so far never dared to do; success too frequently attended their efforts.

But the one woman who should have been at his side was absent. It is certain that she made an honest effort to come, and apartments were prepared for her reception in the little palace at Porto Ferrajo. Her father, however, thwarted her at every turn, and finally she was a virtual prisoner at Schönbrunn. So manifest was the restraint that her grandmother Caroline, Queen of the Two Sicilies, cried out in indignation: "If I were in the place of Maria Louisa, I would tie the sheets of my bed to the window-frame and flee." Committed to the charge of the elegant and subtle Neipperg, a favorite chamberlain whom she had first seen at Dresden, she was plied with such insidious wiles that at last her slender moral fiber was entirely broken down, and she fell a victim to his charms. As late as August, Napoleon received impassioned letters from her; then she grew formal and cold; at last, under Metter-

CHAP. XVIII 1814–15

nich's urgency, she ceased to write at all. Her French attendant, Meneval, managed to convey the whole sad story to her husband; but the Emperor was incredulous, and hoped against hope until December. Then only he ceased from his incessant and urgent appeals.

The number of visitors to Elba was sometimes as high as three hundred in a single day. Among these were a few English, fewer French, but many Italians. As time passed the heaviness of the Austrian yoke had begun to gall the people of Napoleon's former kingdom, and considerable numbers from among them, remembering the mild Eugène with longing, joined in an extensive though feeble conspiracy to restore Napoleon to the throne of Italy. Lucien returned to Rome in order to foster the movement, and Murat, observing with unease the general faithlessness of the great powers in small matters, began to tremble for the security of his own seat. With them and others Napoleon appears to have corresponded regularly. He felt himself entirely freed from the obligations he had taken at Fontainebleau, for he was sure the people of southern France had been instigated to take his life by royalist agents, and while one term after another passed, not a cent was paid of the promised pension; his own fortune, therefore, was steadily melting away. For months he behaved as if really determined to make Elba his "isle of repose," as he designated it just before landing; but under such provocations his temper changed. The corner-stone of his treaty was his complete sovereignty; otherwise the paper was merely a promise without any sanction, not even that of international law. This perfect sovereignty had been recognized by the withdrawal of all the commissioners as such, Campbell insisting that he remained merely as an ambassador.

In a treaty concluded on May thirtieth between Louis XVIII. and the powers of the coalition, the boundaries of France were fixed substantially as they had been in 1792, and the destiny of the lands brought under her sway by the Revolution and by Napoleon was to be determined by a European congress. This body met on November first, 1814, at Vienna. It was soon evident that the four powers of the coalition were to outdo Napoleon's extreme endeavors in their reckless disposition of European territories. Before the close of the month, however, Talleyrand, by his adroit manipulations and his conjurings with the sacrosanct word "legitimacy," had made himself the moving spirit of the congress, and had so inflamed the temper of both Metternich and Castlereagh against the dictatorial attitude of Russia and Prussia as to in-

PUBLICATION AUTHORIZED BY THE ARTIST.

TYPOGRAVURE LOUSSOU, VALADON & CO., PARIS.

JOSEPHINE AT MALMAISON.

FROM THE PAINTING BY REALIER-DUMAS

duce Austria and Great Britain to sign, on January third, 1815, a secret treaty with France whereby the parties of the first part bound themselves to resist the aggressiveness of the Northern powers, and that by force if necessary. This restored France to the position of a great power. By the middle of February the Northern allies were brought to terms, and in return for their concessions it was agreed that Murat was to be deposed. This spirit of compromise menaced, or rather finally destroyed, the sovereignty of Napoleon, petty as it was. On the charge of conspiring with Murat, he could easily be removed from Elba, and deported to some more remote spot from which he could exert no influence on European politics.

From the opening sessions of the congress there had been a general consensus of opinion as to this course. As to the place opinions varied. Castlereagh favored the Azores, but others the Cape Verd islands; St. Helena, then well known as a place of call on the long voyage to the Cape, had been suggested much earlier, even before Elba was chosen, but when or by whom is not known. It is quite possible that Wellington, who succeeded Castlereagh as English plenipotentiary in February, may have mentioned the name; he had been there, and knew it as almost the remotest spot of land in the world. The formal proposition to that effect appears to have been made by the Prussian cabinet. The congress took no definite action in the matter, but the understanding was so clear and general that a proclamation to the national guard was printed in the "Moniteur" of March eighth, 1815, stating that measures had been taken at the Congress of Vienna to remove Napoleon farther away. It was easy for everybody, including the captive himself, to believe that, all the other articles of the agreement at Fontainebleau having been violated, that which guaranteed the sovereignty of Elba was equally worthless.

It cannot be doubted that Napoleon was fully aware of whatever was proposed at Vienna, and it is absolutely certain that he was thoroughly informed as to the changed state of public opinion in France. Having promised a fairly liberal constitution as the price of his throne, Louis XVIII., with colossal stupidity, undertook to ignore the past, and promulgated the charter as his own gracious act, done in the nineteenth year of his reign! The upper chamber, or House of Peers, was his creature, since he could create members at will. Feeble in mind and body, he was unable to check the reactionary assumptions of his

CHAP. XVIII 1814–15

family, who, having deserted their country, had returned to it by the aid of invaders despised and feared by the nation. These and the returning emigrants were provided with rich sinecures, and began to talk of restoring estates to their rightful owners; in some cases the possessors, on their death-beds, were intimidated into making such restitution. The extreme clerical party began even to hamper the ministry in its efforts to grant the freedom of worship guaranteed by the constitution. Secular business was forbidden on certain holy days, and funeral masses were celebrated for Pichegru, Moreau, and Cadoudal, that for the latter at the King's expense. When, finally, Christian burial was refused to an actress there were riots in Paris.

But the government continued its suicidal course; even the Vendée grew disaffected, and, the suffrage having been greatly restricted, there were murmurings about oligarchies and tyrants. At Nîmes the Protestants feared another St. Bartholomew, and said so. Even moderate royalists grew troubled, and could not retort when they heard the new order stigmatized by the fitting name of "paternal anarchy." Both veterans and conscripts deserted in great numbers from the army as they saw their officers discharged by the score to make places for the young aristocracy, or their comrades retired, nominally on half-pay, in reality to eke out a subsistence as best they could. It was not long before men showed each other pocket-pieces bearing Napoleon's effigy, whispering as watchwords, "Courage and hope," or "He has been and will be," or "Frenchmen, awake; the Emperor is waking." As early as July, 1814, rumors of his return were rife in country districts, and by autumn the longing for it was outspoken and general. In Paris there was greater caution, but as Marmont was called Judas for having betrayed his master, so Berthier was known as Peter in that he had denied him, and it was a common joke to tie a white cockade to the tail of a dog. Before the chamber met the various factions openly avowed themselves as either royalists, Bonapartists, liberals, or Jacobins. The money estimates presented made it clear that a king was more expensive than an emperor, and when the peers not only voted to indemnify the emigrants for the lands held by their families, but likewise passed a bill establishing the censorship of the press, it was common talk that the present state of things could not last.

The number of French prisoners of war and of soldiers released from the besieged fortresses in central Europe was about three hun-

dred thousand, of whom a third were veterans of the Empire. To these must be added the army which Soult, ignorant of Napoleon's abdication, had led to defeat at Toulouse, and the soldiers who had served in Italy. These men, long accustomed to much consideration, found themselves on their return to be persons of no consequence. They learned that the great officers of the Empire were everywhere treated with scant courtesy, and that the great ladies of the imperial court were now virtually driven from the Tuileries by the significant questions and loud asides of the royal personages who had supplanted them. It was told in all public resorts how Ney had resented the rude affronts put on his wife by the Duchess of Angoulême. The well-trained subordinate officers of these contingents were turned adrift by thousands on the same terms as those of Napoleon's own army, half-pay if they showed themselves good Catholics, otherwise nothing. For the most part, again, this promise was empty; young royalists were put in their places, the pay of the old guard was reduced, a new noble guard was organized, promotion was refused to those who had received commissions during the operations of war, and the asylums established for the orphans of those who had belonged to the Legion of Honor were abolished. So bitter was the outcry that the King felt compelled to dismiss his minister of war, and, not daring to substitute Marmont, who demanded the place, appointed Soult. He too was speedily discredited for harshness to Exelmans, a subordinate who was discovered to have been in correspondence with Napoleon; and by the middle of February, 1815, nearly all the soldiers were at heart Bonapartists, their friends for the most part abetting them.

In less than two months after Louis XVIII. took his seat, Talleyrand and Fouché were deep in their element of plot and intrigue. They thought of the son of Philippe Égalité as a possible constitutional ruler; they talked of reëstablishing the imperial regency; with Napoleon placed beyond the possibility of returning, the latter course would be safe. During the succeeding months they continued to juggle with this double intrigue, and around their plots clustered minor ones in mass. Lord Liverpool actually called Wellington to London for fear the duke should be seized, and Marmont put the Paris garrison under arms. On January twenty-first, 1815, the death of Louis XVI. was commemorated by the royalists with the wildest talk; and such was the general fury over Exelmans's treatment that Fouché at last stepped

CHAP. XVIII 1814–15

forward to give his conspiracy some form. Carnot and Davout were both expected to coöperate; but although they refused, enough officers of influence were secured to make a plan for an extended insurrection entirely feasible. For this all parties were willing to unite; no one knew or cared what was to supplant the existing government — anything was better than "paternal anarchy."

How accurate the information was which reached Napoleon at Elba we cannot ascertain, for his feelings were masked and his conduct was non-committal. He had entirely recovered his health, and though old in experience, he was only forty-five years of age, and still appeared like one in the prime of life. He was apparently vigorous, being short, thick-necked, and inclined to corpulence. His cheeks were somewhat heavy and sensuous, his hair receded far back on the temples, his limbs were powerful, his hands and feet were delicately formed and noticeably small. His movements were nervous and well controlled, his eye was clear and bright, his passions were strong, his self-control was apparent, and the coördination of his powers was easy. To the Elban peasant he was gracious; with his subordinates he was dignified; among his many visitors he moved with good humor and tact; his kindness to his mother and sister made both of them devoted and happy.

The only anxiety he displayed was in regard to assassination and kidnapping: the former he said he could meet like a soldier; of the latter he spoke with anxious foreboding. He had reason to fear both. Every week, either in France or Italy or both, there was a plot among fanatical royalists and priests to kill him; and though the Barbary pirates were eager to seize him and win a great ransom, they were excelled in their zeal both by Mariotte, Talleyrand's agent in Leghorn, and by Bruslart, a bitter and ancient enemy, who had been appointed governor of Corsica for the purpose. For these reasons, probably, the Emperor of Elba lived as far as possible in seclusion. As time passed he grew less intimate with Campbell, but the Scotch gentleman did not attribute the fact to discontent. Before leaving Elba, on February sixteenth, to reside for a time in Florence and perform the duties of English envoy in that place, he gave it as his opinion that if Napoleon received the pension stipulated for in the treaty he would remain tranquilly where he was.

AQUARELLE MADE FOR THE CENTURY CO.

TYPOGRAVURE BOUSSOD, VALADON & CO., PARIS.

THE "FIELD OF MAY."

CHAPTER XIX

NAPOLEON THE LIBERATOR

NAPOLEON READY TO REAPPEAR — REASONS FOR HIS DETERMINATION — THE RETURN TO FRANCE — THE NORTHWARD MARCH — GRENOBLE OPENS ITS GATES — THE LYONS PROCLAMATIONS — THE EMPEROR IN THE TUILERIES — THE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH — THE ADDITIONAL ACT — EFFECTS OF THE RETURN IN FRANCE AND ELSEWHERE — THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA DENOUNCES NAPOLEON.

IT has lately been recalled that as early as July, 1814, the Emperor of Elba remarked to an English visitor that Louis XVIII., being surrounded by those who had betrayed the Empire, would in turn probably be himself betrayed by them. For the ensuing four months, however, the exile gave no sign of any deep purpose; to those who wished to leave him he gave a hearty good-by. In December, however, he remarked to one of his old soldiers, pointedly, as the man thought: "Well, grenadier, you are bored; . . . take the weather as it comes." Slipping a gold piece into the veteran's hand, he then turned away, humming to a simple air the words, "This will not last forever." Thereafter he dissuaded all who sought to depart, saying: "Be patient. We 'll pass these few winter days as best we may; then we 'll try to spend the spring in another fashion." This vague language may possibly have referred to the Italian scheme, but on February tenth he received a clear account of what had happened at Vienna, and on the evening of the twelfth Fleury de Chaboulon, a confidential friend of Maret, arrived in the disguise of a sailor, and revealed in the fullest and most authentic way the state of France. When he heard of the plan to reëstablish the regency, Napoleon burst out hotly: "A regency! What for? Am I, then, dead?" Two days later, after long conferences, the emissary

CHAP. XIX
1814–15

was despatched to do what he could at Naples, and the Emperor began his preparations.

This was soon known on the mainland, and three days later a personage whose identity has never been revealed arrived in the guise of a Marseillaise merchant, declaring that, except the rich and the emigrants, every human being in France longed for the Emperor's return. If he would but set up his hat on the shores of Provence, it would draw all men toward it. When Napoleon turned pseudo-historian he declared in one place that the breaches of the Fontainebleau treaty and his fears of deportation had nothing to do with his return from Elba; in another he states the reverse. Since the legend he was then studiously constructing required the unbroken devotion of the French to the standard-bearer of the Revolution for the sake of consistency, he probably recalled only the feelings awakened by Fleury's report that opportunity was ripe, and that, too, earlier than had been expected. But there were other motives at the time, for Peyrusse, keeper of Napoleon's purse during the Elban sojourn, heard his master asseverate that it would be more dangerous to remain in Porto Ferrajo than to return to France. In any case, so far as France and the world at large were concerned, the contemptuous indifference of Louis and his ministers to their obligations under the treaty powerfully justified Napoleon's course. Even Alexander and Castlereagh had early made an indignant protest to Talleyrand; but the latter, already deep in conspiracy, turned them off with a flippant rejoinder.

With great adroitness and secrecy Napoleon collected and fitted out his little flotilla, which consisted of the *Inconstant*, a stout brig assigned to him at Fontainebleau, and seven smaller craft. During the preparations the French and English war-vessels patrolling the neighboring waters came and went, but their captains suspected nothing. Campbell's departure created a false rumor among the islanders that England was favoring some expedition on which the Emperor was about to embark, thus allaying all suspicion. When, on the twenty-sixth, a little army of eleven hundred men found itself afloat, with eighty horses and a number of cannon, no one seemed to realize what had happened; except Drouot, who pleaded against Napoleon's rashness, all were enthusiastic. To avoid suspicion, each captain steered his own course, and the various craft dotting the sea at irregular intervals looked no way unlike the other boats which plied those waters. Sev-

eral men-of-war were sighted, but they kept their course. As one danger after another was averted, the great adventurer's spirits rose until he was exuberant with joy, and talked of Austerlitz. It was March first when land was finally sighted from the *Inconstant;* as if by magic, the other vessels hove in sight immediately, and by four the men were all ashore on the strand of the Gulf of Jouan. Cambronne, a colonel of the imperial guards, was sent to requisition horses at Cannes, with the strict injunction that not a drop of blood be shed. As the great actor had theatrically said on board his brig, he was "about to produce a great novelty," and he counted upon dazzling the beholders into an enthusiasm they had ceased to feel for the old plays. Among others brought to Napoleon's bivouac that night was the Prince of Monaco, who had been found by Cambronne at St. Pierre traveling in a four-horse carriage, and had been taken as a prisoner into Napoleon's presence. "Where are you going?" was, according to tradition, the greeting of Napoleon. "I am returning to my domains," came the reply. "Indeed! and I too," was the merry retort.

Recalling the mortal agony he had endured on the highway through Aix but a short year before, and its causes, and having been informed how bitter was the anti-royalist feeling in the Dauphiné, Napoleon set his little army in march direct toward Grenoble. At Cannes there was general indifference; at Grasse it was found that the division general in command had fled, and there were a few timid shouts of "Long live the Emperor!" Thence to Digne on the Grenoble highway was a mountain track over a ridge twelve thousand feet above the sea. In twenty hours the slender column marched thirty-five miles. The "growlers" joked about the "little corporal" who trudged at their side, the Alpine hamlets provided abundant rations, and the government officials furnished blank passports which enabled Napoleon to send emissaries both to Grenoble and to Marseilles, where Masséna was in command. The little garrison of Digne was Bonapartist in feeling, but it was not yet ready to join Napoleon, and withdrew; that at Sisteron was kept from meddling by a body of troops which had been despatched as a corps of observation from Marseilles, while the populace shouted heartily for the Emperor. At Gap the officials strove to organize resistance, but they desisted before the menaces of the people. By this time the peasantry were coming in by hundreds. So far Napoleon's enterprise had received but four recruits: two soldiers from Antibes, a tanner from Grasse, and

CHAP. XIX 1814-15

a gendarme. Now he was so confident that he dismissed the peasantry, assuring them that the soldiers in front would join his standards.

On March seventh the head of the column of imperial adventurers reached La Mure, a short day's march from Grenoble. They were received with enthusiasm, and a bucket of the poor native wine was brought for the refreshment of the men. When all had been served Napoleon reached out for the cheap little glass, and swallowed his ration like the rest. There was wild delight among both his men and the onlookers as the "army" set out for Laffray, the next hamlet, where was a small detachment sent from Grenoble to destroy a bridge over the Drac. With inscrutable faces they stood across the highway, lances set and muskets charged, under orders to fire on Napoleon the moment he should appear. At length the critical moment arrived. "There he is! Fire!" cried a royalist officer. The soldiers clutched their arms, their faces blanched, their knees shook, and they—disobeyed. Napoleon, walking slowly, advanced within pistol-shot. He wore the old familiar gray surtout, the well-known cocked hat, and a tricolor cockade. "Soldiers of the Fifth," he said in a strong, calm voice, "behold me!" Then advancing a few paces farther, he threw open his coat and displaying the familiar uniform, he called: "If there be one soldier among you who wishes to kill his Emperor, he can. I come to offer myself to your assaults." In an instant the opposing ranks melted into a mob of sobbing, cheering men, kissing Napoleon's shoes, struggling to touch the skirts of his shabby garments. The surrounding throng crowded near in sympathy. "Soldiers," cried the magician, "I come with a handful of brave men because I count on you and the people. The throne of the Bourbons is illegitimate because it was not erected by the nation. Your fathers are threatened by a restoration of titles, of privilege, and of feudal rights; is it not so?" "Yes, yes," shouted the multitude. At that instant appeared a rider arrayed in the uniform of the national guard, but wearing a huge tricolor cockade. Alighting at Napoleon's feet, he said: "Sire, I am Jean Dumoulin the glove-maker; I bring to your majesty a hundred thousand francs and my arm." At that instant likewise an imperial proclamation denouncing traitors, and promising that under the old standards victory would return like the storm-wind, was passing from hand to hand in the garrison of Grenoble. Labédoyère, the colonel of the Seventh of the line, first announced his purpose to support his Emperor, and the royalist

officers saw the imperialist feeling spread with dismay. They arranged to evacuate the place next morning. At seven in the evening Napoleon summoned the town; the commandant, unable to resist the pressure of both soldiers and populace, fled with a few adherents, and at ten the gates were opened. The reception of the returning exile was hearty and impressive. It was with an army of seven thousand men that, after a rest of thirty-six hours, he started for Lyons.

"As far as Grenoble I was an adventurer; at Grenoble I was a prince," wrote Napoleon at St. Helena. If this were true, at Lyons he was an Emperor in fact as well as in name, that great city receiving him with plaudits as energetic as were the execrations with which they dismissed Artois and Macdonald. Recalling the lessons of his youth, some learned in Corsica, some in the Rhone valley, the returning Emperor carefully felt the pulse of public opinion as he journeyed. He found the longing for peace to be universal, and even before entering Lyons he began to promise peace with honor. But this he quickly found was not enough: it must be peace with liberty as well. The sole task before him, therefore, he declared to be that of protecting the interests and principles of the Revolution against the returning emigrants. France, restored to her glory, was to live in harmony with other European powers as long as they minded their own affairs. Napoleon, the liberator of France! To terrify foreign invaders and intestine foes a great united nation was to speak in trumpet notes. From Lyons, therefore, second city of the Empire, was summoned a popular assembly to revise the constitution. To convey the impression that Austria was in secret accord with the Emperor's course, three delegates from the eastern capital were summoned to assist at a significant ceremony which was to occur almost immediately, the coronation of the Empress and the King of Rome. Still further, a decree was issued which banished the returned emigrants and swept away the pretensions of the arrogant nobles. Talleyrand, Marmont, Augereau, and Dalberg were attainted, and the noble guard of the King was abolished. Under these influences Bonapartist feeling grew so intense and spread so widely that the army of Soult, which had been assembled in the southeast to oppose Murat, turned imperialist almost to a man. Masséna, who seems to have followed the lead of Fouché, waited to see what was coming, and remained neutral. Ney fell in with the general movement, and joined Napoleon at Auxerre. "Embrace me, my dear

CHAP. XIX 1814–15

general," were the Emperor's words of greeting. "I am glad to see you; and I want neither explanations nor justifications."

All resistance disappeared before Napoleon's advance as he passed Autun and descended the Yonne valley toward Paris. Everywhere there were dissensions among the populace, but the enthusiasm of the soldiers and their sympathizers triumphed. The troops despatched by the King's government to overpower the "usurper" sooner or later went over to the "usurper's" standards. One morning a placard was found on the railing around the Vendôme column: "Napoleon to Louis XVIII. My good brother, it is useless to send me any more troops; I have enough." Paris was in a storm of suppressed excitement. The measures of resistance were half-hearted; the King made lavish concessions and the chambers passed excellent laws without attracting any attention or sympathy; volunteers were raised, but there was no energy in their organization. When Napoleon reached Fontainebleau on the eighteenth, the reserves stationed in and near Paris on the south came over to him in a body. On the nineteenth Louis issued a despairing address to the army, and fled to Lille; on the morning of the twentieth the capital found itself without any vestige of government. The streets were thronged with people, but there was no disorder until a band of royalists attacked a half-pay officer wearing the imperial cockade. At once the city guard formed and intervened to quell the disturbance. Thereupon the imperialists endeavored to seize the Tuileries; they, too, were checked, and a double force, royalist and imperial, was set to defend that important spot. Over other public buildings the imperial colors waved alone and undisturbed. During the afternoon the crowds dispersed and the imperial officials quietly resumed their places. At nine in the evening a post-chaise rolled up to the Tuileries gate, Napoleon alighted, and the observers thought his smile was like that of one walking in a dream. At once he was caught in the brawny arms of his admirers, and handed upward from step to step, from landing to landing: so fierce was the affection of his friends that his life seemed to be in danger from their embraces, and it was with relief that he entered his cabinet and closed the door, to find himself among a few of his old stanch and tried servants, with Caulaincourt at their head. This reception had been in sharp contrast to the apathy displayed on the streets, where the people were few in number, unenthusiastic, and indifferent. "They let me come," said Napoleon to Mollien, "as they

let the other go." Finding himself unable to endure the loneliness of the Tuileries, and depressed by the associations of the familiar scenes, he withdrew in a few days to the comparative seclusion of the Élysée, then a suburban mansion dubbed by courtesy a palace.

Some portion of Napoleon's leisure in Elba had been devoted, as was mentioned in another connection, to sketching the outline of a treatise intended to prove that his dynasty was quite as legitimate as any other which had ruled over France. His illusions of European empire were dismissed either permanently or temporarily, and for the moment he was the apostle of nationality and popular sovereignty in France. Before laying his head on his pillow in the Tuileries he displayed this fact to the world in the constitution of his cabinet, which would in our day be designated as a cabinet of concentration, representative of various shades of opinion. Maret, Davout, Cambacérès, Gaudin, Mollien, Decrès, Caulaincourt, Fouché, and Carnot accepted the various portfolios; most surprising of all, Benjamin Constant, the constitutional republican, became president of a reconstructed council of state. In connection with the announcement of these names, the nation was informed that the constitution was to be revised, and that the censorship of the press was abolished. In reference to the latter, Napoleon remarked that, since everything possible had been said about him during the past year, he could himself be no worse off than he was, but the editors could still find much to say about his enemies. To Constant he frankly explained what he meant by revision. The common people had welcomed his return because he was one of themselves, and at a signal he could have the nobles murdered. But he wanted no peasants' war, and, as the taste had returned for unrestricted discussion, public trials, emancipated elections, responsible ministers, and all the paraphernalia of constitutional government, the public must be gratified. For all this he was ready, and with it for peace. But peace he could win only by victory, for, although in his conduct, in the Lyons decrees, and in casual talk, he hinted at negotiations with foreign powers, those negotiations were purely imaginary.

With a clear comprehension of the situation, the ministers went to work. On April twenty-third was promulgated the Additional Act, whereby the franchise was extended, the state church abolished, liberty of worship guaranteed, and every wretched remnant of privilege or divine right expunged. The two chambers were retained, many im-

CHAP. XIX 1814–15

perial dignitaries being assigned to the House of Peers, the Bonaparte brothers, Lucien, Joseph, and Jerome, among the number. It was, as Chateaubriand sarcastically said, a revised and improved edition of Louis's constitution. The preamble, however, was new; it set forth that Napoleon, having been long engaged in constructing a great European federal system suited to the spirit of the time and favorable to the spirit of civilization, had now abandoned it, and would henceforth devote himself to a single aim, the perfect security of public liberty. This specious representation, half true and half false, awakened no enthusiasm in France; it was accepted along with the Additional Act, by a plebiscite, but by only a million three hundred thousand votes — less than half the number cast for the Consulate and the Empire. This was largely due to a curious apathy, induced by a still more curious but firm conviction that at last France had secured peace with honor. Reference has been made to a military conspiracy fomented by Fouché in the North; before the hostile public feeling thus engendered in that quarter Louis fled to Ghent within five days after Napoleon reached Paris, and, though the royal princes were able to carry on civil war in the South a little longer, it was generally felt that the nation now had a ruler of its own choosing, and that if they attended strictly to their own affairs they would be left in peace. For considerable time there was little news from abroad, and so swift was the rush of internal affairs that no heed was given to what there was.

This was suddenly changed in April, when it was brought home to the nation that the specter of war had again been raised, and that the dynasties were finally a unit in their determination to extirpate the Napoleonic régime as a measure of self-defense. Every man with any means saw himself beggared, and every mother felt her son slipping from her arms to swim once more that sea of blood in which for a generation the hope of the nation had been submerged. The depression was general and terrible, for the prospect was appalling. England, entangled with dynastic alliances in order to preserve her prosperity and dignity, had lost most of her serious and trusted leaders, and the few who survived were so panic-stricken as to have little perspicacity. The King's illness having at last removed him from public life, he had been succeeded by the most profligate and frivolous of all the line of English kings, the Prince Regent, who was later George IV. Perceval and Liverpool were not merely conservative from principle; they were negative

IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES

ENGRAVED BY H. DAVIDSON

JOSEPH FOUCHÉ

DUKE OF OTRANTO

FROM THE PAINTING BY CLAUDE-MARIE DUBUFE

from the love of negatives. Already they had laid the basis, in their mismanagement of domestic affairs, for the social turbulence which within a short time was to compel the most sweeping reforms. Castlereagh had not even an inkling of what the treaty of Chaumont might mean to Great Britain in the end. To destroy Napoleon he was perfectly content that his own free country should support a system of dynastic politics destructive of every principle of liberty.

The Congress of Vienna represented, not a confederation of states, but a league of dynasties posing as nations and banded for mutual self-preservation. To them the permanent restoration of Napoleon could mean only one thing, the recognition of a nation's right to choose its own rulers, and that would be the end of absolutism in Europe. To Great Britain it would mean the destruction of her prosperity, or at least a serious diminution of both power and prestige. The late coalition, therefore, was re-cemented without difficulty, but on a basis entirely new. The account of Napoleon's escape reached Vienna on March sixth. Within the week Maria Louisa, now entirely under Neipperg's influence, wrote declaring herself a stranger to all Napoleon's schemes, and a few days later the French attendants of the little King of Rome were dismissed; the child's last words to Meneval were a message of affection to his father. At that time negotiations among the powers were progressing famously, each having secured its main object; on March thirteenth the Congress, under Castlereagh's instigation, publicly denounced Napoleon as the "enemy and disturber of the world's peace," and proclaimed him an outlaw. The Whigs stigmatized the paper in parliament as provocative of assassination and a disgrace to the English character, but, of all the important journals, the "Morning Chronicle" alone was courageous enough to sustain them, asserting that it was a matter of complete indifference to England whether a Bourbon or a Bonaparte reigned in France. These manly protests were unheeded, and by the twenty-fifth all Europe, except Naples, was united against France alone.

CHAPTER XX

THE DYNASTIES IMPLACABLE

THE VIENNA COALITION — ITS PURPOSE — NAPOLEON AS A LIBERAL — THE FIASCO — FRANCE ON THE DEFENSIVE — NAPOLEON'S HEALTH — WAR PREPARATIONS OF THE COMBATANTS — THEIR RESPECTIVE FORCES — QUALITIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE FRENCH — THE ARMIES OF BLÜCHER AND WELLINGTON — THE FRENCH STRATEGY — NAPOLEON'S FIRST MISFORTUNE.

CHAP. XX
1815

THE supreme effort of the dynasties to outlaw Napoleon, and restore France to the Bourbons, was made by what was nominally an alliance of eight members — Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, France, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden. The last was, however, absorbed in her struggle with Norway, and, though Spain and Portugal were signatories, the real strength of the coalition arranged at Vienna lay in a virtual renewal of the treaty of Chaumont: Austria, Prussia, and Russia were each to put a hundred and eighty thousand men in the field, and Great Britain was to continue her subsidies.

On April fourth, the sovereigns of Europe were notified that the Empire meant peace; they retorted by the mobilization of their forces, and by denouncing in a joint protocol the treaty of Paris. In his extremity Napoleon appealed to Talleyrand, but that minister knew too well the temper of the Congress at Vienna, and refused to coöperate. The versatile Fouché thereupon initiated a new plot, this time against Napoleon, and sounded Metternich; but Metternich was dumb. The other diplomats asseverated that they did not wish to interfere with the domestic affairs of France; but they prevaricated, intending nothing less than the complete restoration of the Bourbons.

Under the shadow of this storm-cloud Napoleon regulated his domestic affairs of state with intrepid calmness. He had no easy task. It was the revived hatred of the masses for priests and nobles to which

he had appealed on his progress from Grenoble, and, observing the wild outbursts of the populace at Lyons, he had whispered, "This is madness." It was with studied deliberation, therefore, that in Paris he cast himself completely upon the moderate liberals. This alienated the Jacobin elements throughout the country, and they, in turn, stirred up the royalists. When it became clear that neither Maria Louisa nor the King of Rome was to be crowned, and that there was no help in Austria, even the imperialists displayed a dangerous temper. Such was the general uneasiness about war that the first measures of army reorganization were taken almost stealthily. It was easy enough to establish the skeleton of formation, and not very difficult to find trustworthy officers, commissioned and non-commissioned; but to summon recruits was to announce the coming war. Of the three hundred thousand veterans now returned home, less than one fifth responded to the call for volunteers; the Emperor had reckoned on four fifths at least. The National Guard was so surly that many felt it would be bravado for Napoleon to review them. But he was determined to do so, and on April sixteenth the hazardous ceremony took place. Until at least half the companies had been reviewed not a cheer was heard; then there were a few scattering shouts here and there in the ranks; finally there was some genuine enthusiasm.

By the middle of May the national deputies summoned at Lyons began to arrive. They were to meet, after the fashion of Charles the Great's assemblies, in the open field. Their task was to be the making of a new constitution. It was not reassuring news that they brought from their various homes, and their accounts disturbed public opinion in Paris sadly. Before long it was known that civil war had again broken out in Vendée; the consequences would have been most disastrous had not La Rochejaquelein, the insurgent leader, been killed on June fourth. As it was, the ignoble slaughter of one of their order intensified the bitterness of the nobles. Worse still, it had been found that of the six hundred and twenty-nine deputies five hundred were ardent constitutionalists indifferent to Napoleon, and that only fifty were his devoted personal friends; there were even between thirty and forty who were Jacobins, and at Fouché's command. Under these circumstances the Emperor dared not hold the promised national congress. What could be substituted for it? The great dramatic artist was not long at a loss. He determined to summon the electoral deputies to

CHAP. XX
1815

a gorgeous open-air ceremony on June first, and have them stamp with their approval the Additional Act. A truly impressive spectacle would pass muster for the promised "field of May," and profoundly affect the minds of all present. But, unfortunately, though Ségur made the plan, and though every detail was carefully studied by Napoleon, the affair was not impressive. About eighteen thousand persons assembled on the benches, and there was a vast crowd in the field. The cannon roared their welcome, and the people cheered the imperial carriage, the marshals, the body-guard, and the procession. But when Napoleon and his brothers stepped forth, clad like actors in theatrical costumes of white velvet, wearing Spanish cloaks embroidered with the imperial device of golden bees, and with great plumed hats on their heads, there was a hush of disappointment. The populace had expected a soldier in a soldier's uniform; many had felt sure "he" would wear that of the National Guard.

There was, however, no sign of disrespect while the ministers and the reconstituted corps of marshals filed to their places. Among the latter were familiar faces — Ney, Moncey, Kellermann, Sérurier, Lefebvre, Grouchy, Oudinot, Jourdan, Soult, and Masséna. A committee of the deputies then stood forth, and their chairman read an address declaring that France desired a ruler of her own selection, and promising loyalty in the coming war. Napoleon arose, and in spite of his absurd clothes commanded attention while he set forth his reasons for offering a ready-made constitution instead of risking interminable debate. Although he declared that what was offered could, of course, be amended, there was no applause, except from a few soldiers. When the chambers met, a week later, Lanjuinais, one of Napoleon's lifelong opponents, was chosen president of the House of Deputies. The speech from the throne was clever and conciliatory, and in spite of evident distrust both houses promised all the strength of France for defense — but for defense only. The peers declared that under her new institutions France could never be swept away by the temptations of victory; the deputies asserted that nothing could carry the nation beyond the bounds of its own defense, not even the will of a victorious prince.

The anxieties and exertions of two months were manifest in Napoleon's appearance. His features, though impressive, were drawn, and his long jaws grew prominent. He lost flesh everywhere except around the waist, so that his belly, hitherto inconspicuous, looked almost pen-

BY PERMISSION OF PAUL AND DOMINIC COLNAGHI, LONDON

ENGRAVED BY R. O. TIETZE

FIELD-MARSHAL ARTHUR WELLESLEY

DUKE OF WELLINGTON

FROM THE ENGRAVING BY SAMUEL COUSINS, OF THE PAINTING BY SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE

dulous. When standing, he folded his hands sometimes in front, sometimes behind, but separated them frequently to take snuff or rub his nose. Sometimes he heaved a mechanical sigh, swallowing as if to calm inward agitation. Often he scowled, and looked out through half-closed lids as if growing far-sighted; the twitching of his eye and ear on the left side grew more frequent. With thickening difficulties and increasing annoyance, serious urinary and stomach troubles set in; there was also a persistent hacking cough. Recourse was again had to protracted warm baths in order to alleviate the accompanying nervousness; but as the ailments were refractory, a mystery soon attached to the malady, and his enemies said it was a loathsome disease. In spite of the statements both of the Prussian commissioner at Fontainebleau, Count Truchsess-Waldburg, and of Sir Hudson Lowe, it is highly improbable that Napoleon's health was undermined by sexual infection. He was surrounded all his life by malignant attendants, and among the sweepings of their minds, which in recent years have been scattered before the public, there would be some proof of the fact. In the utter absence of any reliable information, some have guessed that the trouble was the preliminary stage in the disease of which he died; and others, again, in view of his quick changes of mood, his depressions, exaltations, sharpened sensibilities, and abrupt rudeness, have explained all his peculiarities in disease and health by attributing them to a recondite form of epilepsy. Exhausted and nervous, the sufferer might well, as was the case, be found in tears before the portrait of his son; he might well lift up his voice, as he was heard to do, against the destiny which had played him false. But he was quite shrewd enough to see that during his absence no regency could be trusted, and he arranged to conduct affairs by special messengers. Joseph was to preside and give the casting-vote in the council of state; to Lucien was given a seat in the same body; but the supreme power rested in Napoleon.

When Wellington replaced Castlereagh at the Congress of Vienna, it was quickly apparent that he was greater in the field than at the council-board. Both he and Blücher desired to assume the offensive quickly; but inasmuch as Alexander was determined to retain his ascendancy in the coalition, and as each power insisted on its due share in the struggle, it was arranged to begin hostilities on June twenty-seventh, the earliest date at which the Russian troops could reach the confines of France. There were to be three armies; Schwarzenberg,

CHAP. XX 1815

with two hundred and fifty thousand men, comprising the Austrian, Russian, and Bavarian contingents, was to attack across the upper Rhine; Blücher, with one hundred and fifty thousand Prussians, was to advance across the lower Rhine; and Wellington in the Netherlands was to collect an army of one hundred and fifty thousand, compounded of Dutch, Belgians, Hanoverians, and some thirty-eight thousand British, who could be there assembled. The two latter armies were in existence by the first of June, but Wellington was dissatisfied with the quality of his motley force; even the English contingent was not the best possible, for his Peninsular veterans had been sent to find their match in Jackson's riflemen at the battle of New Orleans.

On the eve of hostilities Napoleon had one hundred and twenty-four thousand effectives, with three thousand five hundred in his camp train; Wellington had one hundred and six thousand, but of these, four thousand Hanoverians were left in garrison; Blücher had about one hundred and seventeen thousand. Neither of the two allied generals dreamed that Napoleon would choose the daring form of attack upon which he decided,— that of a wedge driven into the broken line nearly a hundred miles in length upon which his enemy lay,— for to do so he must pass the Ardennes. But he did choose it, and selected for the purpose the valleys of the Sambre and the Meuse. Allowing for the differences in topography, the idea was identical with that which, nineteen years before, he had executed splendidly in Piedmont.

The opening of the campaign was sufficiently auspicious. By a superb march during the night of June thirteenth, Napoleon's army had gained a most advantageous position. The first corps under d'Erlon was at Solre on the Sambre, the second under Reille was at Leers. The guard, the sixth corps under Lobau, the line cavalry and the third corps under Vandamme, stood in that order on a line northeasterly from Beaumont, and due east of that place were four cavalry corps; to the south lay the guard cavalry and the reserve artillery under Grouchy. In front was Charleroi, whence a broad turnpike led almost direct to Brussels, thirty-four miles due north; another turned eastward toward Liège. Thirteen miles distant on this was Sombreffe, somewhat farther on that, Quatre Bras, both on the highway running east and west between Namur and Nivelles. To have accomplished such marches as it did the French army must have been fine; to have secured such a brilliant strategic position its general must have been

almost inspired. He commanded the operating lines of both Wellington and Blücher, while they were far distant from each other, separated by serious obstacles, and instinct with a centrifugal tendency. The same high qualities which shone in their general distinguished the subordinate French commanders. Though many of the famous names are absent from the list,—Mortier, for instance, having fallen ill on the frontier,—yet Soult was present as chief of staff, and Ney was coming up to take command of the left wing. Reille, d'Erlon, and Foy were veterans of the Peninsular war; what twenty-two years of service had done for the "wild Hun," Vandamme, is known. Kellermann was made famous by Marengo, Lobau was noted for daring. Gérard had earned distinction in Russia, and though Grouchy's merit has been the theme of much discussion, yet he had been famous under Jourdan and Moreau, and nothing had occurred in the long interval to tarnish his reputation.

Nearly half of Blücher's troops were irregular reserves, and many of the regulars were recruits, but all were thoroughly drilled and well equipped. The passion of hatred which animated them was comparable only to the "French fury" with which Napoleon's army would fight for national existence. Such was the reverence for routine among the Prussian officers, and so bitter were the jealousies of the petty aristocracy from which they sprang, that the King dared not promote on any basis except that of seniority. In order to make Gneisenau second in command, York, Kleist, and Tauenzien were stationed elsewhere, and Bülow was put in command of a reserve to hold Belgium when Blücher should advance to Paris. The aged but fiery marshal had not mended his health by the self-indulgence of a year; the three division generals, Ziethen, Pirch, and Thielemann, were capable men of local renown. Gneisenau and Bülow were the only first-rate men among the Prussian commanders, but for rousing enthusiasm Blücher's name was a word to conjure with. Wellington was felt by his officers and soldiers to be a man of real power; his British recruits were well drilled, and his veterans were good. His associate generals were no more famous than those of Gneisenau, but they were, for the most part, English gentlemen with a high sense of duty and much executive ability. One of his corps was commanded by the Prince of Orange, a respectable soldier, whose name, however, was more valuable than the experience he had gained in the Peninsula as aide-de-camp; the other corps was under

CHAP. XX 1815

Lord Hill, an admirable subordinate and an excellent commander. The only English general whose name is a familiar one abroad was Picton, who died on the field. As to the quality of the respective armies, it has become the fashion of each nation to decry that of its own and overrate that of the other two. Thus they condone their own blunders, and yet heighten the renown of victory. Napoleon was superior in organization, in cavalry, and in artillery to either Wellington or Blücher, but he was inferior to both in infantry. He was in wretched health, and he had a desperate cause. Taking fully into account his consummate ability and personal prestige, it yet remains true that the odds against him were high, certainly as eight to five.

Ziethen's posts before Charleroi saw the French camp-fires in the early hours of June fourteenth; that evening they began to withdraw toward Fleurus, whither the remainder of the Prussian army was gradually set in motion. It seems incredible that this should have been the first move of the allies toward concentrating their widely scattered forces, for neither Wellington nor Blücher was completely surprised. Both commanders had for two days been aware, in a general way, of Napoleon's movements, but they were awaiting developments. It was Wellington's opinion, carefully set forth in his old age, that it would have been better strategy for the French to advance so as to turn his right, seize his munitions, and cut off his base; but as this would have rolled up the entire allied force, ready to deliver battle with odds of two to one, the statement may perhaps be accepted as an explanation, but certainly not as a justification.

In the dawn of the fifteenth a ringing, rousing proclamation, like those of the olden time, was read to the French soldiers, and it was in high spirits that the three columns began their march. The left, under Reille, dislodged the Prussian outposts from Thuin, and, forcing them back through Marchiennes, seized the bridge at that place, and crossed to the left bank of the Sambre. The movement was complete by ten in the morning. The center under Napoleon comprised the mass of the army; Pajol, Vandamme, Lobau, the guard, Excelmans, Kellermann, and Milhaud. Soult despatched his orders by a solitary aide, who broke his leg by a fall from his horse, and failed to deliver them. Though at equally critical moments before both Eylau and Wagram, Berthier had done as Soult did, with identical results, yet the latter was justly and severely blamed. Had Vandamme been found, the move-

IN THE COLLECTION OF COUNT FOY

ENGRAVED BY G. KRUELL

COUNT MAXIMILIEN-SÉBASTIEN FOY

FROM THE PAINTING BY FRANÇOIS GÉRARD

ments of the center would have been greatly accelerated, the speedy capture of Charleroi would have enabled the third corps to reach Fleurus in time to intercept Ziethen, and thus the whole course of events would have been changed. The marshal's ill success was, therefore, as Napoleon called it, a "deplorable mischance," and it was high noon before Pajol, with the van, reached Charleroi and, after a smart engagement, drove out the Prussians. The right wing, under Gérard, was in motion at five in the morning, but it also was detained by a serious disaster. Shortly after starting it was found that Bourmont, the commander of its best division, a man who had been Chouan, imperialist, and royalist by turns, had deserted with his chief of staff and eight soldiers. Having been at the council of war, he had the latest information of Napoleon's secret plans, and his treason demoralized the troops he so basely abandoned. It was long before confidence could be restored; the crossing at Charleroi had been delayed too long, and it was nightfall when Gérard at last reached Châtelet, four miles below, secured the bridge, and crossed with only half his men. The campaign opened, if not in disaster, at least with only partial success.

CHAPTER XXI

Ligny and Quatre Bras

Napoleon's Orders — Ney's Failure to Seize Quatre Bras — Wellington Surprised — Napoleon's Fine Strategy — The Meeting at Ligny — Blücher's Defeat — The Hostile Forces at Quatre Bras — Wellington Withdraws — Napoleon's Over-confidence — His Instructions to Grouchy — His Advance from Quatre Bras.

Chap. XXI — 1815

FOR four hours after his arrival at Charleroi, Napoleon, uneasy as to the whereabouts of his detachments, stood in idleness waiting for news. During this interval the Prussians reached Fleurus unmolested, all except a small body, which gathered at Gosselies, on the Brussels road, but was easily dispersed by Reille. It seemed as if the road to Quatre Bras was open, and when, at half-past four, Ney appeared, he was put in command of the left, with verbal instructions, as Napoleon asserted some years later, to seize that strategic point. Within these limits he was to act independently. If Quatre Bras were surprised, the second move could be attempted, the surprise likewise of Sombreffe. Since the highway between the two was the only line by which the allied armies could quickly unite, the possibility of attacking them separately would be assured even if the successive attacks should follow each other so closely as to be substantially one battle. Either Ney misunderstood, or Napoleon recorded what he intended to say, not what he actually said. Colonel Heymès, Ney's chief of staff, declared that the Emperor's final words were, "Go, and drive back the enemy"; the Emperor asserted that his orders were positive, to go and hold Quatre Bras.

It is also a matter of dispute whether or not Napoleon had hoped, after seizing the bridges and crossing the Sambre, to complete his move-

ment by surprising both Quatre Bras and Sombreffe on that same day, the fifteenth. Had he done so Blücher might possibly have withdrawn to effect a junction with Wellington for the decisive conflict, and have thus thwarted Napoleon's strategy; but it is not likely, for that move, as finally executed, was the work not of Blücher but of Gneisenau; at this stage of the campaign the Prussians would probably have retreated toward Namur. Whatever may have been Napoleon's intention, Ney hurried to Gosselies, stationed Reille to hold the place, and then, despatching one division to pursue the Prussians, and another, with Piré's cavalry, toward Quatre Bras, put himself at the head of the cavalry of the guard to help in seizing this latter important point. But at seven his force, to their astonishment, was confronted by a strong body of Nassauers from Wellington's army, who, having passed Quatre Bras, had seized Frasnes, a village two and a half miles in advance. These made no stand, but Ney, instead of proceeding immediately to attack Quatre Bras itself, left his men to hold the position at Frasnes, and hurried away to consult his superior. For this he had excellent reasons: his staff was not yet organized, and d'Erlon's corps was not within call; he was therefore too weak for the movement contemplated by his orders. At the same moment Napoleon, who had been in the saddle since three in the morning, and who had become convinced that the retreating Prussians would not halt at Fleurus, but would rejoin their main army, turned back to Charleroi, and, on reaching his quarters an hour later, flung himself in utter exhaustion upon his couch. In fact, he was in exquisite torture from the complication of urinary, hemorrhoidal, and other troubles which his long day's ride had aggravated, and, as he declared at St. Helena, probably with truth, he had lost his assurance of final success. The day had been fairly successful, but at what a cost of energy! No one, he least of all, could feel that there had been any buoyancy in the movements, or favoring fate in the combinations of his armies.

Throughout the day Blücher had displayed a fiery zeal. Since early in May he had had no serious consultation with Wellington, and in a general conversation held at that time there had been merely a vague understanding as to a union at some point south of Sombreffe. That town was accordingly selected by him for concentration, and in general his orders had been well executed. Why the bridges of Marchiennes and Châtelet were not undermined and blown up by the Prussians has

CHAP. XXI 1815

never been explained. Moreover, the language of Gneisenau's orders to Bülow being vague, the latter misinterpreted it, and his much-needed force was not brought in as expected. Wellington's conduct is a riddle. About the middle of the afternoon he was informed, through the Prince of Orange, as to his enemy's movements. With perfect calm, he commanded that his troops should be ready in their cantonments; at five he issued orders for the divisions to march with a view to concentration at Nivelles, the easternmost point that he intended to occupy; at ten, just as he was setting out for the Duchess of Richmond's ball, he gave definite instructions for the concentration to begin. These were his very first steps toward concentration, although twenty-seven years later he made the unsupported assertion that he had ordered the Anglo-allied army to concentrate to the left, as Blücher had ordered the Prussians to concentrate to the right. As a matter of fact he was twenty-four hours behind Blücher in ordering his first defensive movements. This is not excused by the fact that his movement of concentration was completed somewhat earlier than Blücher's. About twenty minutes after the Prince of Orange had reached the ball-room Wellington sent him away quietly, and then, summoning the Duke of Richmond, who was to have command of the reserve when completely formed, he asked for a map. The two withdrew to an adjoining room. Wellington closed the door, and said, with an oath, "Napoleon has humbugged me." He then explained that he had ordered his army to concentrate at Quatre Bras, adding, "But we shall not stop him there; and if so, I must fight him here," marking Waterloo with his thumb-nail on the map as he spoke. It was not until the next morning that he left for the front. Though Napoleon, on the evening of the fifteenth, had neither Quatre Bras nor Sombreffe, he held all the debatable ground; and if, next morning, he could seize the two towns simultaneously, the first move in his great game would be won. It seems as if he must risk everything to that end.

What passed between Napoleon and Ney from midnight until two in the morning is unknown. There is no evidence that the Emperor expressed serious dissatisfaction, although he may have been exasperated. He was not exactly in a position to give his feelings vent. Whatever was the nature of their conversation, Ney was again at his post long before dawn, and not a soldier moved from Charleroi until nearly noon! It seems that Napoleon, or Ney, or both, must have been stubbornly con-

IN THE LOUVRE.

TYPOGRAVURE ROUSSOD, VALADON & CO., PARIS.

OFFICER OF THE MOUNTED CHASSEURS CHARGING.

IMPERIAL GUARD.

FROM THE PAINTING BY GERICAULT.

vinced that Wellington could not concentrate within twenty-four hours. That Napoleon was not incapacitated by prostration is proved by his acts: about five he sent a preliminary order to Ney; very early, also, he took measures to complete Gérard's crossing at Châtelet; and then, having considered at length the alternatives of pushing straight on to Brussels, or of taking the course he did, he had reached a decision as early as seven o'clock. It seems almost certain that he delayed chiefly to get his troops well in hand, partly to give them a much needed rest. They had been seventeen hours afoot the previous day. Toward nine, believing that more of Ney's command was assembled than was yet the case, he sent a fretful order commanding the marshal to seize Quatre Bras, and stating that a semi-independent command, under Grouchy, would stand at Sombreffe, while he himself would hold Gembloux. This done, he settled into apparent lethargy. To Grouchy he wrote that he intended to attack the enemy at Sombreffe, and "even at Gembloux," and then to operate immediately with Ney "against the English." His scheme was able, for if at either salient angle, Quatre Bras or Sombreffe, his presence should be necessary, he could, at need, quickly join either Ney or Grouchy; but his senses must have been dulled. When informed that the enemy was at Fleurus in force, he hesitated long before resolving to move, behaving as if sure that the soldiers there were only a single corps of Blücher's army, which he could sweep away at his convenience. Meanwhile Vandamme had advanced. The Prussians withdrew from Fleurus, and deployed at the foot of the hillock on which the village of Ligny stands. When, about midday, Napoleon arrived at Fleurus, he had to experience the unpleasant surprise of finding a strong force ready to oppose him. Eighty-seven thousand men, all Blücher's army, except Bülow's corps and a part of Ziethen's, were drawn up in battle array to oppose him, and he was not yet ready to meet them, much as he had desired just such a contingency. He was not aware of the full strength of his enemy, but he was not sure of annihilating even those he believed to be in presence, for he had left ten thousand men at Charleroi, under Lobau, as a reserve, and the troops most available for strengthening his line were moving toward Quatre Bras.

By the independent action of their own generals a substantial force of several thousand Dutch-Belgians, virtually the whole of Perponcher's division, was concentrated at Quatre Bras early that same morn-

CHAP. XXI 1815

ing. To be sure Wellington had simultaneously determined on the same step, but it was taken long before his orders arrived. Indeed, he seems to have reached Quatre Bras before his orderly. Scarcely halting, he rapidly surveyed the situation and, leaving the troops in command of the Prince of Orange, rode away to visit Blücher. The two commanders met at about one o'clock in the windmill of Bry. They parted in the firm conviction that the mass of the French army was at Ligny, and with the verbal understanding that Wellington, if not himself attacked, would come to Blücher's support. On leaving, the English commander sharply criticized the tactical disposition of his ally's army; but Blücher, with the fixed idea that, in any case, the Duke was coming to his aid, determined to stand as he was. With similar obstinacy, Napoleon, still certain that what he had before him, although a great force, was only a screen for the retreat of the main army of the allies, now despatched an order (the second) for Ney to combine Reille, d'Erlon, and Kellermann, in order to destroy whatever force was in opposition at Quatre Bras. This was at two. The French attack was opened at half-past two by Gérard and Vandamme; the resistance was such as to leave no doubt of the real Prussian strength. This being clear, Napoleon immediately wrote two despatches of the same tenor—one he sent to Ney by an aide, and one to d'Erlon by a sub-officer of the guard. The former (the third for the same destination) urged Ney to come for the sake of France; the other summoned d'Erlon from Ney's command to the Emperor's own immediate assistance: "You will save France, and cover yourself with glory," were its closing words. This last order, the original of which has but lately been revealed, came nigh to ruining the whole day's work. Before Wellington could return to Quatre Bras, Ney's force was engaged with the Prince of Orange, and before three o'clock a fierce conflict was raging at that place. D'Erlon appears to have been in a frightful quandary as to his duty, and in his dilemma he detached his best division, that of Durutte, which did nothing to any purpose, neither assisting Ney, who did not literally obey his orders in consequence, nor coming to Napoleon's aid in time.

Blücher, who was determined to fight, come what would, had held in as long as his impatient temper permitted; but when no reinforcement from Wellington appeared, he first fumed, and then about six gave his fatal orders to prepare for the offensive. The nature of the

ground was such as necessarily to weaken his center by the initial movements. Napoleon marked this at once, and summoned his guard in order to break through. For a moment the Emperor hesitated; a mysterious force had appeared on the left; perhaps they were foes. But when once assured that they were d'Erlon's men, he waited not an instant longer; at eight the crash came, and the Prussian line was shattered. Retreat was turned into a momentary rout so quickly that Blücher could not even exchange his wounded horse for another, and in the first mad rush he was so stunned and overwhelmed that his staff gave him up for lost. The few moments before he was found were the most precious for the allies of the whole campaign, since Gneisenau directed the flight northward on the line to Wavre, a route parallel with that on which Wellington, whatever his success, must now necessarily withdraw. This move, which abandoned the line to Namur, is Gneisenau's title to fame. The lines were quickly formed to carry it out, and the rest of the retrograde march went on with great steadiness. Napoleon did not wait until d'Erlon arrived and thereupon order an immediate, annihilating pursuit, but came to the conclusion that the Prussians were sufficiently disorganized, and would seek to reorganize on the old line to the eastward. They were thus, he thought, completely and finally cut off from Wellington. It was not until early next morning that he despatched Pajol, with his single cavalry corps, to follow the foe, for he was confirmed in his fatal conjecture by the false report of five thousand Prussians having been seen on the Namur road, and exerting themselves to hold it. The Prussians seen were merely a horde of stragglers. The truth was not known until next day.

Almost simultaneously with the battle of Ligny was fought that of Quatre Bras. At eleven Ney received orders outlining a general plan for the day; about half an hour later came the specific command to unite the forces of d'Erlon, Reille, and Kellermann, and carry Quatre Bras; at five arrived in hot haste the messenger with the third order. At two o'clock there were not quite seven thousand Anglo-Belgians in Quatre Bras, but, successive bodies arriving in swift succession, by half-past six o'clock there were over thirty thousand. At two Ney had seventeen thousand men, and though he sought to recall d'Erlon, yet, owing to the withdrawal of Durutte, and to d'Erlon's indecision, he had at half-past six not more than twenty thousand. Not one of d'Erlon's men had reached him, and Gérard's division of Reille's corps had been

CHAP. XXI 1815

kept at Ligny. Had he advanced on the position the previous evening, or had he attacked between eleven and two on the sixteenth, the event of the campaign might have been different from what it was. But if he really believed, as Heymès afterward asseverated was the case, namely, that his orders were merely to push and hold the enemy, then his conduct throughout was gallant and correct. The weight of evidence favors the claim of Napoleon that the marshal was perverse in his refusal to take Quatre Bras according to verbal orders. Whatever the truth, the behavior of Ney's men was admirable when they did advance, but they were forced back to Frasnes before superior numbers.

Next morning Wellington was conversing with Colonel Bowles when a staff officer drew up, his horse flecked with foam, and whispered the news of Ligny. Without a change of countenance, the commander said to his companion: "Old Blücher has had a —— good licking, and gone back to Wavre, eighteen miles. As he has gone back, we must go, too. I suppose in England they will say we have been licked. I can't help it; as they have gone back, we must go, too." Accordingly, he issued his orders, and his army began to march at ten. On the whole, therefore, the events of June sixteenth seemed favorable to Napoleon, since, fighting at two points with inferior numbers, he had been victorious at one, and had thereby secured the other also. We, of course, know that by Gneisenau's move this apparent success was rendered nugatory. It is useless to surmise what would have happened had Bülow been with Blücher, and d'Erlon and Lobau with Napoleon, or if either of these possibilities had happened without the other; as it was, Napoleon's strategy gained both Quatre Bras and Sombreffe.

The Prussians had lost twenty thousand men, missing, wounded, and dead, and it required vigorous treatment to restore Blücher. But all night the army marched, and in the morning Bülow, having found his direction, was near Beauderet and Sauvinières, within easy reach at Gembloux. The retreat continued throughout the seventeenth. It was a move of the greatest daring, since the line was over a broken country almost destitute of roads, and, the old base of supplies having been abandoned, the men had to starve until Gneisenau could secure another by way of Louvain. The army bore its hardships well; there was no straggling or demoralization, and the splendor of success makes doubly brilliant the move which confounded Napoleon's plans. Never dreaming at first that his foe had withdrawn elsewhere than

IN THE HOHENZOLLERN MUSEUM, BERLIN

ENGRAVED BY G. KRUELL

GEBHARD LEBERECHT VON BLÜCHER

PRINCE OF WAHLSTADT

along his natural line of supply toward Liège, the Emperor considered the separation of the two allies as complete, and after carefully deliberating throughout the long interval he allowed for collecting his troops and giving them a thorough rest, he determined to wheel, join Ney, and attack Wellington, wherever found. It was serious and inexplicable slackness which he showed in not taking effective measures to determine immediately where his defeated enemy was. Being, nevertheless, well aware of the Prussian resources and character, he made up his mind to detail Grouchy, with thirty-three thousand men, for the purpose of scouring the country toward Liège at least as far as Namur. Then, to provide for what he considered a possible contingency,— viz., that which had actually occurred,— this adjunct army was to turn north, and hasten to Gembloux, in order to assure absolutely the isolation of Wellington; in any and every case the general was to keep his communications with Napoleon open.

It was eight in the morning of the seventeenth when Napoleon issued from his quarters at Fleurus. Flahaut was waiting for the reply to an inquiry which he had just brought from Ney concerning the details of Ligny. The Emperor at once dictated a despatch, the most famous in the controversial literature of Waterloo, in which his own achievements were told and Ney was blamed for the disconnected action of his subordinates the previous day; in particular the marshal was instructed to take position at Quatre Bras, "as you were ordered," and d'Erlon was criticized for his failure to move on St. Amand. The wording of the hastily scribbled order to the latter he had probably forgotten; it was: "Portez-vous . . . à la hauteur de Ligny, et fondez sur St. Amand — ou vice versa; c'est ce que je ne sais bien." ("Betake yourself . . . to the heights of Ligny, pounce on St. Amand — or the reverse; I am not quite sure which.") Further, the Emperor now declared that, had Ney kept d'Erlon and Reille together, not an Englishman would have escaped, and that, had d'Erlon obeyed his orders, the Prussian army would have been destroyed. In case it were still impossible to seize Quatre Bras with the force at hand, Napoleon would himself move thither. Then, entering a carriage, he drove to Ligny; Lobau was ordered at once to Marbais, on the road to Quatre Bras. After haranguing the troops and prisoners, Napoleon was informed, about noon, that Wellington was still in position. At once a second order was sent, commanding Ney to attack; the Emperor, it ran, was

CHAP. XXI
1815

already under way to Marbais. This was not quite true, for while he was giving detailed instructions to Grouchy before parting, that general had seemed uneasy, and had finally pleaded that it would be impossible further to disorganize the Prussians, since they had so long a start. These scruples were peremptorily put down, and the chief parted amicably from his subordinate, but with a sense of uneasiness, lest he had left nice and difficult work in unwilling hands. Scouts soon overtook him, and expressed doubt as to the Prussians having gone to Namur. In case they had not, Grouchy must act cautiously. Accordingly, positive instructions were then dictated to Bertrand, and sent to Grouchy, whose movements were now doubly important. The latter general was to reconnoiter toward Namur, but march direct to Gembloux; his chief task was to discover whether Blücher was seeking to join Wellington or not. For the rest, he was free to act on his own discretion.

Napoleon then entered his carriage, and drove to Quatre Bras. Mounting his horse, he led the pursuit of the English rear. Indignant that Ney had lost the opportunity to overwhelm at least a portion of Wellington's force, he exclaimed to d'Erlon, "They have ruined France!" But he said nothing to Ney himself. So active and energetic was the Emperor that he actually exposed himself to the artillery fire with which the English gunners sought to retard the pursuit. It was not an easy matter for Grouchy to carry out his instructions; at two o'clock began a steady downpour, which lasted well into the next morning; the roads to Gembloux were lanes, and the rain turned them into sticky mud. Not until that night was Grouchy's command assembled at Gembloux; it was ten o'clock before the leader gained an inkling of where the Prussians were, and then, though uncertain as to their exact movements, he immediately despatched a letter, received by Napoleon at two in the morning. The marshal explained that he would pursue as far as Wavre, so as to cut off Blücher from Brussels, and to separate him from Wellington. Some hours later, when finally convinced that the Prussians were retiring on Wavre, Grouchy set his columns in motion in a straight line toward that place by Sart-à-Walhain, choosing, with very poor judgment, to advance by the right bank of the Dyle, and thus jeopardizing the precious connections he had been repeatedly and urgently instructed to keep open.

CHAPTER XXII

THE EVE OF WATERLOO

WELLINGTON'S CHOICE OF POSITION — STATE OF THE TWO ARMIES — THE ORDERS OF NAPOLEON TO GROUCHY — GROUCHY'S INTERPRETATION OF THEM — NAPOLEON SURPRISED BY THE PRUSSIAN MOVEMENTS — HIS INACTIVITY — THE BATTLE-FIELD — WELLINGTON'S POSITION — NAPOLEON'S BATTLE ARRAY — HIS PERSONAL HEALTH — HIS PLAN.

ON the night of June seventeenth Wellington's army reached the heights at Mont St. Jean, on the northern edge of what was destined to be the most-talked-of battle-field in modern times. His retreat, masked by a strong body of cavalry, with some horse-artillery, and a single infantry division, had been slow and regular, being retarded somewhat by the heavy rain. Ney had held his position at Frasnes, well aware that what was before him was far more than a rear-guard — in fact, owing to the arrival of strong reinforcements during the night, it was the larger portion of the Anglo-Belgian army. But the instant the French marshal was informed of his enemy's retrograde movements he threw forward a strong force of cavalry to coöperate with Napoleon. When reunited, the French army numbered seventy-one thousand five hundred men, and two hundred and forty guns, excluding Gérard's division of the second corps, which had been left at Ligny to coöperate with Grouchy. That Wellington was far on his way to the defensive position chosen by himself was probably in accord with Napoleon's calculations; his only fear was lest his foe should have withdrawn behind the forest of Soignes, where free communication with Blücher and the junction of the two allied armies would be assured, as would not be the case at Mont St. Jean.

This anxiety was set at rest by a cavalry reconnaissance, and at

CHAP. XXII 1815

dusk the French van bivouacked at Belle Alliance, separated by a broad, shallow vale from their foe. The rest of the army followed with great difficulty, some by the road, some through plowed or swampy fields, wading the swollen tributaries of the Dyle, and floundering through the meadows on their banks. The army of Wellington had seized, in passing, what provisions and forage they found, and they had camp-fires to comfort them in the steady rain. The French had scanty or no rations, and lay throughout the night in the grain-fields, without fire or shelter. All told, Wellington had sixty-eight thousand men; ten miles on his right, at Hal, lay eighteen thousand more; ten miles on his left, twelve from his headquarters at Waterloo, was Blücher. Wellington, who had informed the Prussian commander that unless support reached him he would fall back to Brussels, at two o'clock in the morning had assurance of Blucher's coöperation. There is an unsupported statement of Napoleon's that he twice sent to Grouchy on the night of the seventeenth, by two separate officers, a definite order to detach seven thousand men from his camp at Wavre (where the Emperor affected to believe that Grouchy was), and make connection by St. Lambert with the right of the main army. This would entirely cut off Blücher from Wellington. The motive of this statement is transparent — with the allies separated, they were outmanœuvered; with the possibility of their union, and an understanding between them to that effect, he was himself outmanœuvered.

Grouchy denied having received this order; neither of the officers intrusted with it ever revealed himself; the original of it has never been found; and in subsequent orders issued next day there is no mention of, or reference to, any such message. Either the declaration, twice made at St. Helena, was due to forgetfulness, being an account of intentions not carried out, or else it was put forward to explain the result of the campaign as due to his lieutenant's inefficiency. Grouchy must have had an uneasy conscience, since for thirty years he suppressed the text of the Bertrand order, which was not on the order-book because it had not been dictated to Soult; and when, after falsely claiming for the duration of an entire generation that he had acted under verbal instructions, he did publish it, he gave, at the same time, a mutilated version of his own report from Gembloux, sent on the night of the seventeenth, changing his original language so as to show that he had never looked upon the separation of the allies as his chief

IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES

ENGRAVED BY HENRY WOLF

MARSHAL EMMANUEL, MARQUIS DE GROUCHY

FROM THE PAINTING BY JEAN-SÉBASTIEN ROUILLARD

task, but that what was uppermost in his mind was an attack on the Prussians. CHAP. XXII 1815

It was two in the morning of the eighteenth when the letter of Grouchy, written about four hours earlier, arrived at Napoleon's headquarters. Both the Emperor and Soult knew by that time that the whole of Blücher's army was moving to Wavre; yet they did not give this information, nor any minute directions, to the returning messenger. Grouchy, therefore, was left to act on his own discretion, his superior doubtless believing that the inferior would by that time himself be fully informed, and would hasten to throw himself, like an impenetrable wall, between the Prussians and the Anglo-Belgian army. By the defenders of Napoleon Grouchy is severely criticized for not having marched early in the morning of the eighteenth to Moustier, where, if energetic, he could have carried over his army to the left bank of the river by eleven o'clock, thus placing his force within the sphere of Napoleon's operations. Perhaps he would have been able to prevent the union of the opposing armies, or, if not that, to strengthen Napoleon in his struggle. It is proved by Marbot's memoirs that this is what Napoleon expected. On the other hand, excellent critics present other very important considerations: the line to Moustier was over a country so rough and miry that after a torrential rain the artillery would have been seriously delayed, and Prussian scouts might well have brought down a strong Prussian column in time to oppose the crossing there or elsewhere. Grouchy, moreover, could not know that Wellington would offer battle in front of the forest of Soignes — a resolution which, in the opinion of Napoleon and many lesser experts, was a serious blunder. He appears to have been positive that the two armies were aiming to combine for the defense of Brussels; finally, when from Walhain the sound of the firing at Waterloo was distinctly heard, and Gérard fiercely urged an immediate march toward the field of battle, Grouchy was acting strictly within the limits of the Bertrand order, and according to what he then held to be explicit instructions, when he pressed on to concentrate at Wavre, and thus, if Napoleon had already defeated Wellington, to prevent any union between Wellington and the Prussian army. It is almost certain that Grouchy would in no way have changed the event by marching direct to Mont St. Jean, for the cross-roads were soaked, his troops were already exhausted, and the distance was approximately fourteen and a half miles as the crow flies; the previous

CHAP. XXII 1815

day he had been able to make somewhat less than half that distance in nine hours.

Napoleon himself did not apparently expect the Prussians to rally as they did. He spent the hours from dawn, when the rain ceased, in careful reconnoitering. The mud was so thick in places that he required help to draw his feet out of his own tracks. At breakfast, according to a contemporary anecdote, he expressed himself as having never been more favored by fortune; and when reminded that Blücher might effect a union with the English, he replied that the Prussians would need three days to form again. This opinion is in accord with his exaggerated but reiterated estimates of the disaster produced in Blücher's ranks after Ligny, and taken in connection with the difficulty of moving artillery, which is not a sufficient explanation in itself, affords the only conceivable reason for his delay in attacking on the eighteenth. It also explains his remissness in leaving Grouchy to exercise full discretion as to his movements. At eight the plan of battle was sketched; at nine the orders for the day were despatched throughout the lines; about ten the weary but self-confident Emperor threw himself down and slept for an hour; at eleven he mounted, and rode by the Brussels highway to the farm of Belle Alliance. It was probably during the Emperor's nap that Soult forwarded to Grouchy a despatch, marked ten in the morning, instructing that general to manœuver toward the main army by way of Wavre. Although, according to Marbot, Napoleon expected Grouchy in the afternoon by way of Moustier, at one o'clock a second despatch, of which the Emperor certainly had cognizance, was forwarded to Grouchy, expressing approval of his intention to move on Wavre by Sart-à-Walhain, but instructing him "always to manœuver in our direction." The postscript of this second order enjoins haste, since it was thought Bülow was already on the heights of St. Lambert.

The one central idea of Napoleon and Soult was clearly to leave a wide discretion for Grouchy, provided always that he kept his communications with the main army open, and that his general direction was one which would insure easy connection, in order either to cut off or check the Prussians. But, however this may be, the hours of Napoleon's inactivity were precious to his enemies; by twelve Bülow was at St. Lambert, and at the same hour two other Prussian corps were leaving Wavre. These movements were apparently tardy, but Gnei-

senau, feeling that Wellington had been a poor reliance at Ligny, and very much doubting whether he really intended to stand at Waterloo, was unwilling that Blücher should despatch his troops until it was certain that the Prussian army would not again be left in the lurch. Should the Anglo-Dutch retreat to Brussels, the Prussians must either retreat by Louvain, or be again defeated. Anxiety was not dispelled until the roar of cannon was heard between eleven and twelve. Then the Prussians first exerted themselves to the utmost; it was about four when they were within striking distance, ready to take Napoleon's army on its flank. When Grouchy reached Wavre, at the same hour, he found there but one of Blücher's corps, the rear under Thielemann. CHAP. XXII 1815

From Belle Alliance Napoleon returned, and took his station on the height of Rossomme. In front was a vale something less than a mile in width. The highway stretched before him in a straight line until it skirted the large farmstead of La Haye Sainte on the opposite side; then, ascending by a slant to the first crest, it passed the hamlet of Mont St. Jean, only to ascend still higher to the top of the ridge before falling again into a second depression. At Mont St. Jean was Wellington's center. The road from Nivelles to Brussels crosses the valley about a quarter of a mile westward, and on it, midway between the two slopes, lay another farmhouse, with its barns, that of Hougomont. More than half a mile eastward, in the direction from which the Prussians were expected, lay scattered the farm buildings of Papelotte, La Haye, Smohain, and Frischermont. The valley was covered with rich crops. Unobstructed by ditches or hedges, it was cut longitudinally about the middle by a cruciform ridge, with spurs reaching toward Belle Alliance on one side, and past Hougomont on the other; the road passed by a cut through the longitudinal arm. Hougomont was almost a fortress, having strong brick walls and a moat; it stood in a large orchard, which was surrounded by a thick hedge. The house at La Haye Sainte was brick also, and formed one side of a quadrangle, inclosed further by two brick barns and a strong wall of the same material; though not as large or solid as Hougomont, it was a strong advance redoubt for Mont St. Jean.

The right and center of Wellington were thus well protected, the left was admirably screened by the places already enumerated. His army was deployed in three lines, the front plainly visible to the French, the second partly concealed by the crest of the hill, and the

LOUVAIN
BRUSSELS
Laeken
Jette
Schaarbeek
Woluwe
Sterrebeek
Berthem
Heverlé
Lubbeek
Etterbeek
Ixelles
Anderlecht
Uccle
Tervueren
Bierbeek
Weert St. Georges
R. Dyle
Boitsfort
Leeuwe St. Pierre
Senne
Loth
Grœvandael
Overyseeke
Hamme
River
Heersel
Forest of Soignes
Grez
HAL
Forsthaus
WATERLOO
La Hulpe
Ransbeeck
Le Roussart
Terlaye
Del Brie
Chambre
Louis Dalaet
Gastuche
Biez
Jodoigne
Lembecq
Le Mesnil
Le Strayo
Mont St. Jean
Obain
Ruisansart
WAVRE
Bas Wavre
Cheremont Farm
Braine l'Alleud
Merbe Braine
Lyraumont
Bourgeois
Fromont
Bierge
Mill of Bierge
Braine le Chateau
Pospol
Beau Chene
Limale
Chaumont
Hougomont
Smohain
St. Lambert
Rofte Sart
Dion le Mont
Louvrange
La Belle Alliance
Limelette
l'Autel
Mon Plaisir
Les Jafs
Plancenoit
Pinchare
Ottignies
Cocqueroux
La Baraque
Thorembais
Rossomme
Maison du Roi
Moustier
Mont St. Guibert
Nil St. Vincent
Court St. Etienne
Sart a Walhain
Walhain
Perwez
MARCH OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE
Baulers
NIVELLES
Genappe
La Roche
Chastre
Sauvemere
Arquennes
Houtain le Val
Banterlez
Villers la Ville
Gentinnes
QUATRE BRAS
Sart Dame Avelines
Gembloux
Dhuy
Gemioncourt
La Thile
Tilly
Louzee
Marbais
Marbioux
Senefle
Frasnes
Sombreffe
Potty
Mazy
St. Denis Bovesse
Lutire
Wagnee
Bry
Tongrinne
Point du Jour
Pamillerieux
St. Amand la Haye
LIGNY
Manage
Gouy le Pieton
ROMAN ROAD
St. Amand
Balaise
Rhisne
Vedrin
Fleurus
Wanersee
Velaine
Temploux
Marjemont
Trazegnies
Gosselies
Wagnee
Courcelles
Ramsart
Jemeppe
NAMUR
Carmeres
Jumet
Limbusart
Anveling
Lodelinsart
Sambre R.
Pieton
Roux
Forchies
Tammes
Floreffe
Anderlues
Marchiennes
CHARLEROI
Gilly
Montigny le Tilleul
Pont du Loup
Fontaine l'Eveque
Charleneau
Vespé R.
Couillet
Chatelet
Fosse
Loobes
Jamioulx
Profondeville
Thuin
Acoz
St. Gerard
Anhevoy
Gozee
Gemmines
Ham
Nalinnes
Biesme
Meuel
Bierree
Thuilles
Berzee
Laneffe
Walcourt
CAMPAIGN OF 1815.
JUNE 15TH TO 19TH
FRENCH LINES OF MARCH
ALLIES
FRENCH
ALLIES
CAVALRY
INFANTRY
ENGLISH MILES
J. HART NUTLEY N. J.

BY PERMISSION OF THE BERLIN PHOTOGRAPHIC CO.

COPYRIGHT, 1895, BY THE PHOTOGRAPHISCHE GESELLSCHAFT

NAPOLEON AND THE OLD GUARD BEFORE WATERLOO

FROM THE PAINTING BY ERNEST CROFTS

third entirely so. His headquarters were two miles north, at Waterloo; his lines of retreat, though broken by the forest of Soignes, were open either toward Wavre or toward the sea. The latter line was well protected by the troops at Hal. Uneasy about the character of his Dutch-Belgian troops, the duke had carefully disposed them among the reliable English and Germans, in order to preclude the possibility of a panic.

In the foreground of Napoleon's position was the French army, also deployed in three lines. The front, extending from the mansion of Frischermont to the Nivelles road, consisted of two infantry corps, one on each side of Belle Alliance, and of two corps of cavalry, one on the extreme right wing, one on the left; of this line Ney had command. The second was shorter, its wings being cavalry, and its center in two divisions, of cavalry and infantry respectively. The third, or reserve, was the guard. Each of the lines had its due proportion of artillery, stationed in all three along the road. This disposition gave the French array, as seen from beyond, a fan-like appearance, the sticks, or columns, converging toward the rear. The array was brilliant; every man and horse was in sight; the number was superior by about four thousand to that of the enemy; the ground was, by eleven, almost dry enough to secure the fullest advantage from superiority in artillery; deserters from the foe came in from to time. Surely the moral effect of such a scene upon the somewhat motley throng across the valley must be very powerful. Yet the road to Charleroi was the single available line of retreat, and it passed through a deep cut; the soldiers were tired and not really first-rate, fifty per cent. of the line being recruits, and nearly a quarter of the guard untrained men; the tried officers had all been promoted, and those who replaced them needed such careful watching that deep formations had been adopted, and these must not merely diminish the volume of fire, but present vulnerable targets; the cavalry had been hastily gathered, and was far from being as efficient as the British veterans or the German legion.

For some moments after reaching his position Napoleon stood impassive. He was clad in his familiar costume of cocked hat and gray surtout. Throughout his lines he had been received with enthusiasm, and his presence was clearly magnetic, as of old. The direction of affairs in this momentous crisis was his, and he dreamed of two implacable enemies routed, of appeasing the two who were less directly

CHAP. XXII 1815

interested, of glory won, of empire regained. Reason must have told him how empty was such a vision; for, since the armistice of Poischwitz, Austria and Russia had been quite as bitter, and more tortuous, than the other powers. His expression mirrored pain, both physical and intellectual; his over-confidence and consequent delay were signs of degenerate power; his exertions for three days past had been beyond any human strength, especially when the faculties of body and mind had previously been harassed for more than two months, as his had been.

It was the first day of the week, but there was a calm more profound than that of the Sabbath; the sky was dull, the misty air was heavy with summer heat; but there was the expectant silence of a great host, the deep determination of two grim and obstinate armies. Wellington, with his western lines protected, would be safe when the Prussian army should appear where he knew its van already was, and he must manœuver eastward to keep in touch. Napoleon must crush the British center and left, and roll up the line to its right, in order to separate the parts of his dual foe. To this end he had determined to make a feint against Hougomont; should Wellington throw in his reserves at that point on his right, one strong push might create confusion among the rest, and hurl the whole force westward, away from Brussels. It was a simple plan, great in its simplicity, as had been every strategic conception of Napoleon from the opening of the campaign. But its execution was like that of every other movement attempted since the first great march of concentration — tardy, slack, and feeble. Personal bravery was abundant among the French, but the orderly coöperation of regiment, division, and corps in all the arms, the courage of self-restraint, and the self-sacrifice of individuals in organized movement, with the invigorating ubiquity of a master mind— these were lacking from the first.

LIGATION AUTHORIZED BY THE ARTIST.

TYPOGRAVURE HOSTEIN, LAMOUR & CO., PARIS.

CHAPTER XXIII

WATERLOO

HOUGOMONT—LA HAYE SAINTE—D'ERLON REPULSED—NEY'S CAVALRY ATTACK—NAPOLEON'S ONE CHANCE LOST—PLANCENOIT—UNION OF WELLINGTON AND BLÜCHER—NAPOLEON'S CONVULSIVE EFFORT—CHARGE OF THE GUARD—THE ROUT—NAPOLEON'S FLIGHT.

NAPOLEON'S salute to Wellington was a cannonade from a hundred and twenty guns. The fire was directed toward the enemy's center and left, but it was ineffectual, except as the smoke partially masked the first French movement, which was the attack on Hougomont by their left, the corps of Reille. This was in three divisions, commanded respectively by Bachelu, Foy, and the Emperor's brother Jerome, whose director was Guillemenot. Preceded by skirmishers, the column of Jerome gained partial shelter in a wood to the southwest of their goal, but the resistance to their advance was vigorous; on the skirts of the grove were Nassauers, Hanoverians, and a detachment of the English guards, all picked men, and behind, on higher ground, was an English battery. The two other divisions pressed on behind, and for a time their gains were apparently substantial. But, checked in front by artillery fire, and by a murderous fusillade from loopholes cut in the walls of Hougomont, the besiegers hesitated. Their fiery energy was not scientifically directed; but such was their zeal, and so great were their numbers, that one brigade doubled on the rear of the fortalice, drove back the English guards from before the entrance to the courtyard on the north, and charged for the opening. Some of the French actually forced a passage, and the success of Napoleon's first move was in sight when five gallant Englishmen, by sheer physical strength, shut the stout gate in the face of the assailants. A fearless French grenadier scaled the wall, but he and his

CHAP. XXIII 1815

comrades within were killed. A second assault on the same spot failed; so, too, a third from the west, and still another from the east, all of which were repelled by the English guards, who moved down from above, and drove the French into the wood, where they held their own. These close and bloody encounters were contrary to Reille's orders, but in the thick of combat his various detachments could not be restrained.

The second division of the battle was the main attack on Wellington's left by d'Erlon's corps. Between twelve and one a Prussian hussar was captured with a message from Blücher to Wellington announcing the Prussian advance. At once the postscript was added to the second despatch to Grouchy, already mentioned, and Napoleon made ready for his great effort. Unable to sit his horse, he had dismounted, and, seated at the table on which his map was spread, had been frequently seen to nod and doze. Ney and d'Erlon, left to their own judgment, had evolved a scheme of formation so complex that when tried, as it now was, it proved unworkable. The confusion was veiled by a terrific, continuous, and destructive artillery fire. After some delay, and a readjustment involving preparations against the possible flank attack of the Prussians, d'Erlon's corps advanced in four columns, under Donzelot, Allix, Marcognet, and Durutte respectively. Opposed was Picton's decimated corps, with Bylandt's Dutch-Belgian brigade, which had been all along a target for the strongest French battery, one of seventy-eight guns, and was now to bear the first onset of the French troops. Bylandt's men had stood firm under the awful artillery fire, but their uniforms were like those of the French, and in a mêlée this fact might draw upon them the fire of their own associates, as later in the day at Hougomont it actually did, and they grew very uneasy. Durutte, on the extreme right, seized Papelotte, but lost it almost immediately. The conflict then focused about La Haye Sainte, where the garden and orchard were seized by an overwhelming force. The buildings had been inadequately fortified, but Major Baring, with his garrison, displayed prodigies of valor, and held them.

The assailants, supported hitherto by batteries firing over their heads, now charged up the hill; as they reached the crest, their own guns were silenced, but their yells of defiance rent the air. The Dutch-Belgians of the first rank harkened an instant, and, followed by the jeers and menaces of the British grenadiers and Royal Scots, fled

ENGRAVED BY R. A. MULLER

SIR THOMAS PICTON

FROM THE ENGRAVING BY C. TURNER OF THE PORTRAIT BY M. A. SHEE

incontinently until they reached a place of safety, when they reformed and stood. Picton was thus left unsupported, but at that decisive moment Donzelot tried the new tactics again, and his ranks fell into momentary confusion. Picton charged, the British artillery opened, and though the English general fell, mortally wounded, his men hurled back the French. This first success enabled Wellington to bring in his infantry, and to throw in his cavalry against a body of French riders, under Roussel, which, having swept the fields around La Haye Sainte, was now coming on. His order was for Somerset and Ponsonby to charge. The shock was terrific, the French cavalry yielded, and the whole of d'Erlon's line rolled back in disorder. Efforts were made by the daring Englishmen to create complete confusion, but they were not entirely successful, for Durutte's column maintained its formation. This ended the effort upon which Napoleon had based his hope of success; there was still desultory fighting at Hougomont, and the Prussians, though not visible, were forming behind the forest of Paris.

There was a long and ominous pause before the next renewal of conflict. Wellington used it to repair his shattered left, Napoleon to form a corps, under Lobau, intended to repel the flank attack of the Prussians. Ney was determined to redeem his repulse by a second front attack, and Napoleon, either by word or silence, gave consent. While the batteries kept up their fire, the marshal gathered in the center the largest mass of horsemen which had ever charged on a European battle-field — twelve thousand men, light and heavy cavalry. His aim was to supplement Reille, still engaged at Hougomont, and dash in upon the allied right center. Donzelot's column, now reformed, was hurled directly against La Haye Sainte, and the mass of the cavalry surged up the hill. The gunners of Wellington's artillery, unprotected even by breastworks, stood to their pieces until the attacking line was within forty yards; then they delivered their final salvo, and fled. Wavering for an instant, the French advanced with a cheer. Before them stood the enemy in hollow squares, four ranks deep, the front kneeling, the second at the charge, the two others ready to fire. The horsemen dared not rush on those bristling lines. In and out among the serried ranks they flowed and foamed, discharging their pistols and slashing with their sabers, until, discouraged by losses and exhausted by useless exertion, their efforts grew feeble. Dubois's brigade, according to a doubtful tradition, dashed in ignorance over the

CHAP. XXIII 1815

brow of a certain shallow ravine, men and horses rolling in horrid confusion into the unsuspected pit. The hollow was undoubtedly there at the time, although it has since been filled up, and, it is believed, was likewise the grave of the fifteen hundred men and two thousand horses that were eventually collected from round about. The British reserve cavalry, supported by the infantry fire and a few hastily collected batteries, completed the defeat of Ney's first charge. A second was repulsed in the same way. The undaunted marshal then waited for reinforcements. No fewer than thirty-seven squadrons came in, Napoleon sending Kellermann's heavy dragoons as a last resort. Guyot's division of the heavy cavalry of the guard was also there — some say they had been summoned by Ney, others that they came of their own accord; the question arises because, in the next stage of the battle, their absence from the station assigned to them was a serious matter. Another time, and still another, this mighty force moved against the foe. Pouring in and out, backward and forward, among the squares, they lost cohesion and force until, in the very moment of Wellington's extremity, they withdrew, as before, exhausted and spent.

The energy and zeal of the English commander were in strange contrast to Napoleon's growing apathy; but Wellington was now at the end of his resources. It was six, and to his repeated messages calling for Blücher's aid there had been no response. He was face to face with defeat. Baring had held La Haye Sainte with unsurpassed gallantry; his calls for men had been answered, but his requisitions for ammunition were strangely neglected. Ney, seeing how vain his cavalry charges were, withdrew before the last one took place, arrayed Bachelu's division, collected a number of field-pieces, and fell furiously, with cannonade and bayonet charge, upon the farm-house. His success was complete; the garrison fled, his pursuit was hot, and, leading in person, he broke through the opposing line at its very heart. Had he been supported by a strong reserve, the battle would have been won. Müffling, Wellington's Prussian aide, dashed away to the Prussian lines, and as he drew near the head of Ziethen's division shouted: "The battle is lost if the corps do not press on and at once support the English army." Ney's adjutant, demanding infantry to complete the breach he had made, was received by Napoleon with petulance. One brigade from Bülow's corps had attacked at about half-past four; repulsed at first, their onset was growing fiercer, for two other brigades had come in.

Soult had opposed Ney's waste of cavalry. But the latter was desperate, and with the other generals was displaying a wilfulness bordering on insubordination. A portion of the guard had just been detached for Lobau's support. To Ney's demand for infantry the Emperor replied: "Where do you expect me to get them from? Am I to make them?" Had the old Bonaparte spirit moved the chieftain to put himself at the head of what remained of the guard infantry, and to make a desperate dash for Ney's support, a temporary advantage would almost certainly have been won; then, with a remnant flushed by victory, he could have turned to Lobau's assistance before the main Prussian army came in. Thus was lost Napoleon's one chance to deal Wellington a decisive blow. CHAP. XXIII 1815

It was to prevent a dangerous flank movement of the enemy — the advance, namely, of Bülow, with the cavalry corps of Prince William, upon Planeenoit — that Napoleon had detached the young guard, under Duhesme, a third of his precious reserve, for the support of Lobau's right; Durutte being in the rear of his left, that portion was already as strong as it could be made. Nevertheless the Prussians seized Planeenoit; at once the French rallied, and drove them out; Blücher threw in eight fresh battalions, and these, with the six already engaged, dashed for the ravine leading to the village. The passage was lined with French, and for a time it was like the valley of Hinnom; but the Prussians pressed on, and the young guard reeled. Napoleon sent in two battalions of the old guard, under Morand; their firmness restored that of their comrades, and the place was cleared, two thousand dead remaining as the victims of that furious charge and countercharge. At seven Bülow was back again in his first position, awaiting the arrival of Pirch's corps to restore his riddled ranks. Napoleon had now left only twelve of the twenty-three battalions of the guard reserve, less than six thousand men. Wellington had repaired the breach made by Ney, and, though still hard pressed on his right, Ziethen had made good the strength of his left, some of his cavalry having been detached to repair other weak spots in the line. At this moment Ziethen conceived that Bülow was further giving way, and hesitated in his advance. The brief interval was noted by Durutte, and with a last desperate effort he carried Papelotte, La Haye, and Smohain, hoping to prevent the fatal juncture. It was half an hour before Ziethen retrieved his loss, and thus probably saved Wellington's left. By that time Pirch had

CHAP. XXIII 1815

come up, and with this reinforcement Bülow, behind the heavy fire of his powerful batteries, charged Lobau, and advanced on the guard at Plancenoit. Lobau, the hero of Aspern, stood like a rock until Durutte's men and the remnants of d'Erlon's corps, flying past his flank, induced a panic in his ranks. Thereupon the whole French right fell into confusion: all except the guard, who stood in the churchyard of Plancenoit until surrounded and reduced in number to about two hundred and fifty men; then, under Pelet's command, they formed a square, placed their eagle in the midst, drove off the cavalry which blocked their path, and reached the main line of retreat with scarcely enough men to keep their formation.

Before the combined armies of Wellington and Blücher the French could not stand; but, in spite of inferior numbers and the manifest signs of defeat, General Bonaparte might have conducted an orderly retreat. The case was different with Napoleon the Emperor, even though he were now a liberator; to retreat would have been merely a postponement of the day of reckoning. Accordingly, the great adventurer, facing his destiny on the height at Rossomme, determined, in a last desperate effort, to retrieve the day, and stake all on a last cast of the dice. For an instant he appears to have contemplated a change of front, wheeling for that purpose by Hougomont, where his resistance was still strong; but he finally decided to crush the Anglo-Belgian right, if possible; roll up both armies into a confused mass, so that, perchance, they might weaken rather than strengthen each other; and then, with Grouchy's aid, strike for victory. Though indifferent to Ney's demands, he had set in array against Bülow the very choicest troops of his army; surely they might stand firm while his blow elsewhere was delivered. But he did not reckon in this with Wellington's reserve power; though the dramatic stories of the Duke's mortal anxiety rest on slight foundation, there is no doubt that he felt a great relief when the Prussians entered the combat, for immediately he turned his attention, not to rest, but to the reforming of his line. Officers and men, English or German, knew nothing of Bülow's or Blücher's whereabouts when Napoleon took his resolution; but, sensible of having been strengthened, they displayed at half-past seven that evening the same grim determination they had shown at eleven in the morning. Though Wellington's task of standing firm until Blücher's arrival was accomplished, and though, perhaps, his soldiers

PUBLICATION AUTHORIZED BY THE ARTIST

THE RAVINE AT WATERLOO

FROM THE PAINTING BY U. CHECA

heard the distant firing of the Prussian guns, yet nothing could be seen across the long interval, the noise attracted little attention, and neither he nor they could know what was yet before them. It was, therefore, splendid courage in general and army which kept them ever ready for any exertion, however desperate. CHAP. XXIII 1815

Against this army, in this temper, Napoleon despatched what was left of that force which was the peculiar product of his life and genius, the old and middle guard. Most of its members were the children of peasants, and had been born in ante-Revolution days. Neither intelligent in appearance nor graceful in bearing, they nevertheless had the look of perfect fighting-machines. Their huge bearskin caps and long mustaches did not diminish the fierceness of their aspect. They had been selected for size, docility, and strength; they had been well paid, well fed, and well drilled; they had, therefore, no ties but those to their Emperor, no homes but their barracks, and no enthusiasm but their passion for imperial France. They would have followed no leader unless he were distinguished in their system of life; accordingly, Ney was selected for that honor; and as they came in proud confidence up the Charleroi road, their Emperor passed them in review. Like every other division, they had been told that the distant roar was from Grouchy's guns; when informed that all was ready for the finishing-stroke, that there was to be a general advance along the whole line, and that no man was to be denied his share in certain victory, even the sick, it is said, rose up, and hurried into the ranks. The air seemed rent with their hoarse cheers as their columns swung in measured tread diagonally across the northern spur of the cruciform elevation which divided the surface of the valley.

Wellington, informed of the French movement, as it is thought by a deserter, issued hurried orders to the center, ordered Maitland's brigade to where the charge must be met, and posted himself, with Napier's battery, somewhat to its right. While yet his words of warning were scarcely uttered, the head of the French column appeared. The English batteries belched forth a welcome; but although Ney's horse, the fifth that day, was shot, the men he led suffered little, and with him on foot at their side they came steadily onward. The British guards were lying behind the hill-crest, and the French could discern no foe —only a few mounted officers, of whom Wellington was one. Astonished and incredulous, the assailants pressed steadily on until within

CHAP. XXIII 1815

twenty yards of the English line. "Up, guards! make ready!" rang out the duke's well-known call. The British jumped up and fired · about three hundred of Ney's gallant soldiers fell. But there was no confusion; on both sides volley succeeded volley, and this lasted until the British charged. Then, and then only, the French withdrew. Simultaneously Donzelot had fallen upon Alten's division; but he was leading a forlorn hope, and making no impression.

As Ney fell back, a body of French cuirassiers advanced upon the English batteries. Their success was partial, and behind them a second column of the guard was formed. Again the assault was renewed; but the second attempt fared worse than the first. To the right of Maitland, Adam's brigade, with the Fifty-second regiment, had taken stand; wheeling now, these drove a deadly flank fire into the advancing French, while the others poured in a devastating hail of bullets from the front. The front ranks of the French replied with spirit, but when the British had completed their manœuver, Colborne gave the order, his men cheered in response, and the countercharge began. "Vive l'Empereur!" came the responsive cheer from the thinning ranks of the assailants, and still they came on. But in the awful crash they reeled, confusion followed, and almost in the twinkling of an eye the rout began. A division of the old guard, the two battalions under Cambronne, retreated in fair order to the center of the valley, where they made their last gallant stand against the overwhelming numbers of Hugh Halkett's German brigade. They fought until but a hundred and fifty survived. From far away the despairing cry of "Sauve qui peut!" seemed to ring on their ears. To the first summons of surrender the leader had replied with dogged defiance; the second was made soon after, about three in the afternoon, and to this he yielded. He and his men filed to the English rear without a murmur, but in deep dejection. This occurrence has passed into tradition as an epic event; what Cambronne might well have said, "The guard dies, but never surrenders," was not uttered by him, but it epitomizes their character, and in the phrase which seems to have been shouted by the men themselves in their last desperate struggle, they and their leader have found immortality.

The last charge of what remained of the guard took place almost at the moment when Durutte was finally routed. Wellington then sent in the fresh cavalry brigades of Vivian and Vandeleur against

PUBLICATION AUTHORIZED BY B., V. & CO.

TYPOGRAVURE ROUSSOD, VALADON & CO., PARIS

the column of Donzelot and the remnants of the French cavalry. These swept all before them, and then the duke gave the order for a general advance. The French left fell into panic, and fled toward Belle Alliance. Before La Haye Sainte stood two squares of French soldiers, the favored legion chosen to protect the imperial headquarters. In the fatal hour it splendidly vindicated the choice, and amid the chaos stood in perfect order. Throughout the famous charge of his devoted men Napoleon rode hither and thither, from Rossomme to Belle Alliance. His looks grew dark, but at the very last he called hoarsely to the masses of disorganized troops that came whirling by, bidding them to stand fast. All in vain; and as the last square came on he pressed inside its serried wall. It was not too soon, for the Prussians had now joined the forward movement, and in the supreme disorder consequent the other square dissolved. Napoleon's convoy withstood the shock of a charge from the Twelfth British light dragoons, and again of a Prussian charge at Rossomme, where Gneisenau took up the fierce pursuit. Though assaulted, and hard beset by musketry, the square moved silently on. There were no words except an occasional remark addressed by Napoleon to his brother Jerome, or to one of the officers. At eleven Genappe was reached; there, such was the activity of the pursuers, all hope of an orderly retreat vanished, and the square melted away. Napoleon had become an object of pity —his eyes set, his frame collapsed, his great head rolling in a drowsy stupor. Monthyon and Bertrand set him as best they could upon a horse, and, one on each side, supported him as they rode. They had an escort of forty men. At Quatre Bras they despatched a messenger to summon Grouchy, bidding him to retire on Namur. The Prussians were only one hour behind. At daybreak the hunted Emperor reached Charleroi, but his attendants dared not delay; two rickety carriages were secured, and it was not until the wretched caravan reached Philippeville that the fugitives obtained a few hours' repose.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE SURRENDER

NATURE OF NAPOLEON'S DEFEAT—ITS POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES—NAPOLEON'S FATAL RESOLUTION—THE STATE OF PARIS—NAPOLEON AT THE ÉLYSÉE—HIS DEPARTURE FOR ROCHEFORT—THOUGHTS OF RETURN—PROCRASTINATION—WILD SCHEMES OF FLIGHT—A REFUGE IN ENGLAND—HIS ONLY RESOURCE—THE WHITE TERROR AND THE ALLIES.

CHAP. XXIV
1815

THE battle of Waterloo is so called because Wellington's despatch to England was dated from his headquarters at that place. It was not great by reason of the numbers engaged, for on the side of the allies were about a hundred and thirty thousand men, on the other seventy-two thousand approximately; nor was there any special brilliancy in its conduct. Wellington defended a strong position well and carefully selected. But he wilfully left himself with inferior numbers; he did not heartily coöperate with Blücher; both were unready; Gneisenau was suspicious; and the battle of Ligny was a Prussian blunder. Napoleon committed, between dawn and dusk of June eighteenth, a series of petty mistakes, each of which can be explained, but not excused. He began too late; he did not follow up his assaults; he did not retreat when beaten; he could attend to only one thing at a time; he failed in control of his subordinates; he was neither calm nor alert. His return from Elba had made him the idol of the majority in France, but his conduct throughout the Hundred Days was that of a broken man. His genius seemed bright at the opening of his last campaign, but every day saw the day's task delayed. His great lieutenants grew uneasy and untrustworthy, though, like his patient, enduring, and gallant men, they displayed prodigies of personal valor. Ney and Grouchy used their discretion, but it was the discretion of caution, most unlike

IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES

ENGRAVED BY E. HEINEMANN

MARSHAL GUILLAUME-MARIE-ANNE, COUNT DE BRUNE

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY BATTAILLE, AFTER MME. BENOIST

that of Desaix at Marengo, or of Ney himself at Eylau. Their ignorance cannot be condoned; Grouchy's decision at Walhain, though justified in a measure by Soult's later order, was possibly the immediate cause of final disaster. But such considerations do not excuse Napoleon's failure to give explicit orders, nor his nervous interference with Ney's formation before Quatre Bras, nor his deliberate iterations during his captivity that he had expected Grouchy throughout the battle. Moreover, the interest of Waterloo is connected with its immediate and dramatic consequences rather than with its decisive character. If Napoleon had won on that day, the allies would have been far from annihilation; both Wellington and Blücher had kept open their respective lines of retreat. The national uprising of Europe would have been more determined than ever: 1815 would have been but a repetition of 1814. Finally, the losses, though terrible, were not unparalleled. Grouchy won at Wavre, and, hearing of the disaster at Mont St. Jean, first contemplated falling on the Prussian rear as they swept onward in pursuit. But he quickly abandoned this chimerical idea, and on receipt of Napoleon's order from Quatre Bras, withdrew to Namur, and thence, by a masterly retreat, conducted his army back into France. Including those who fell at Wavre, the allies lost about twenty-two thousand five hundred men, of whom seven thousand were British and a like number Prussians. The records at Paris are very imperfect, but they indicate that the French losses were about thirty-one thousand.

The booty captured after Waterloo was unimportant; but the political spoils were immense, and they belonged to the Prussians. Their high expectation of seizing Napoleon's person was disappointed; but the one great result—the realization, namely, of all the tyrannical plans formed at Vienna for the humiliation of liberal France—that, they secured by their instant, hot pursuit. It is hard to discern the facts in the dust of controversy. Prussia, Austria, Russia, and Great Britain have each the national conviction of having laid the Corsican specter; France is still busy explaining the facts of her defeat; the most conspicuous monument on the battle-field is that to the Dutch-Belgians!

After a short rest at Philippeville, Napoleon composed the customary bulletins concerning his campaign, and despatched them to the capital, together with a letter counseling Joseph to stand firm and keep the legislature in hand. If Grouchy had escaped, he wrote, he could already array fifty thousand men on the spot; with the means at hand,

CHAP. XXIV 1815

he could soon organize a hundred and fifty thousand; the troops in regimental depots, together with the national guard, would raise the number to three hundred thousand. These representations were based on a habit of mind, and not on genuine conviction. He believed Grouchy's force to have been annihilated, and though he paused at Laon as if to reorganize an army, he went through the form of consulting such officers as he could collect, and then, under their advice, pressed on to Paris. The officers urged that the army and the majority of the people were loyal, but that the aristocracy, the royalists, and the liberal deputies were utterly untrustworthy. "My real place is here," was the response. "I shall go to Paris, but you drive me to a foolish course." This was the voice of reason, but he obeyed the behest of inclination. Yet he halted at the threshold, and, entering the city on the night of June twenty-first, made no public announcement of his presence. On the contrary, he almost slunk into the silent halls of the Élysée, where a sleepy attendant or two received the unexpected guest without realizing what had happened. He must have felt that the moral effect of Waterloo had been his undoing; unlike any other of his defeats, it had not ruined him as general alone, nor as ruler alone: his prestige as both monarch and soldier was gone.

The news of Ligny had been received in the city with jubilations; at the instant of Napoleon's arrival the truth about Mont St. Jean was passing all too swiftly on the thousand tongues of rumor from quarter to quarter throughout the town, creating consternation everywhere. Early in the morning, Davout, fully aware of public sentiment, and true to his instincts, advised the shrinking Emperor to prorogue the chambers, and throw himself on the army; Carnot believed the public safety required a dictatorship, and urged it; Lucien was strongly of the same opinion. But the old Napoleon was no more; vacillating almost as if in partial catalepsy, murmuring empty phrases in quick, indistinct utterance, he refused to decide. Members of the Council began to gain admittance, and, waxing bolder as Napoleon grew more silent, the word "abdication" was soon on every tongue. At last a decision was taken, and such a one! Lucien was sent to parley with the chambers, and Fouché was summoned. The latter, with insidious eloquence, argued that in the legislature alone could Napoleon find a support to his throne. The talk was reported, as if by magic, in the assembly halls, and Lafayette, supported by Constant, put through a

PUBLICATION AUTHORIZED BY THE ARTIST

AN EPISODE OF THE "WHITE TERROR," 1815

FROM THE PAINTING BY LOUIS-FERDINAND PELEZ DE POBRON

motion that any attempt to dissolve the chambers would be considered treason. Lucien pleaded in vain for a commission to treat with the invaders in his brother's name; the deputies appointed a committee of public safety, and adjourned. CHAP. XXIV 1815

Broken in spirit, Napoleon spent the evening in moody speculation, weighing and balancing, but never deciding. Should he appear at dawn before the Tuileries, summon the troops already in Paris, and prorogue the hated chambers, or should he not? The notion remained a dream. Early in June the court apothecary, Cadet de Gassicourt, had been ordered by the Emperor to prepare an infallible poison. This was done, and during this night of terrible vacillation the dose was swallowed by the desperate fugitive. But as before at Fontainebleau, the theory of the philosopher was weaker than his instincts. In dreadful physical and mental agony, the would-be suicide summoned his pharmacist, and was furnished with the necessary antidotes. But the morning brought no courage, and when the chambers met at their accustomed hour, on the motion of an obscure member they demanded the Emperor's abdication. The message was borne by the military commander of the Palais Bourbon, where the legislature, which had now usurped the supreme power, was sitting, and he asserted of his own motion, that, if compliance were refused, the chambers would declare Napoleon outlawed. The Emperor at first made a show of fierce wrath, but in the afternoon he dictated his final abdication to Lucien. No sooner was this paper received than the wild excitement of the deputies and peers subsided, and at once a new Directory, consisting of Carnot, Fouché, Caulaincourt, and Quinette, took up the reins of government. The city acquiesced, and hour after hour nothing interrupted the deep seclusion of the Elysée, except occasional shouts from passing groups of working-men, calling for Napoleon as dictator.

But there was a change as the stragglers from Waterloo began to arrive, vowing that they still had an arm for the Emperor, and denouncing those whom they believed to have betrayed him. The notion of sustaining Napoleon by force began to spread, and when the soldiers who were coming in, after suppressing the insurrection in Vendée, added their voices to those of their comrades from Waterloo, the new authorities feared Napoleon's presence as a menace to their power. Davout had been the first to suggest an appeal to force, but when Napoleon recurred at last to the idea, the marshal opposed it. On June

CHAP. XXIV 1815

twenty-fifth, therefore, the fallen man withdrew to Malmaison; where, in the society of Queen Hortense and a few faithful friends, during three days he abandoned himself for long intervals to the sad memories of the place. But he also wrote a farewell address to the army, and, in constant communication with a committee of the government, completed a plan for escaping to the United States, "there to fulfil his destiny" as he himself said. For this purpose two frigates were put at the disposal of "him who had lately been Emperor." All was ready on the twenty-ninth. That day a passing regiment shouted, "Long life to the Emperor," and, in a last despairing effort, Napoleon sent an offer of his services, as a simple general, to save Paris, and defeat the allies, who, though approaching the capital, were now separated. Fouché returned an insulting answer to the effect that the government could no longer be responsible for the petitioner's safety. Then, at last, Napoleon knew that all was over in that quarter. Clad in civilians' clothing, and accompanied by Bertrand, Savary, and Gourgaud, he immediately set out for Rochefort. General Becker led the party as commissioner for the provisional government.

It was the exile's intention to hurry onward, but at Rambouillet he halted, and spent the evening composing two requests, one for a supply of furniture from Paris, the other for the library in the Petit Trianon, together with copies of Visconti's "Greek Iconography," and the great work on Egypt compiled from materials gathered during his ill-starred sojourn in that country. Next morning a courier arrived from Paris with news. "It is all up with France," he exclaimed, and set out once more. Crowds lined the highways; sometimes they cheered, and they were always respectful. Such was the enthusiasm of two cavalry regiments at Niort that Becker was induced to send a despatch to the government, pleading that an army, rallied in Napoleon's name, might still exert an important influence in public affairs. Just as the general was closing the document there arrived the news of the cannonade heard before the capital on the thirtieth. Napoleon dictated a postscript: "We hope the enemy will give you time to cover Paris and bring your negotiations to an issue. If, in that case, an English cruiser stops the Emperor's departure, you can dispose of him as a common soldier."

By a strange coincidence, English cruisers had, as a matter of fact, appeared within a few days in the offing before Rochefort. Whatever the relation between this circumstance and his suggestion, Napoleon

IN THE CORCORAN GALLERY OF ART

THE LAST DAYS OF NAPOLEON

FROM THE STATUE BY VINCENZO VELA

studied every possible means of delaying his journey, and actually opened a correspondence with the commanders in Bordeaux and the Vendée, with a view to overthrowing the "traitorous" government. It was July third when he finally reached Rochefort. Again for five days he procrastinated. But the allies were entering Paris; Wellington was bringing Louis XVIII. back to his throne; in forty-eight hours the monarchs of the coalition would arrive. Blücher had commissioned a Prussian detachment to seize and shoot his hated opponent, wherever found. On the eighth, therefore, the outcast Emperor embarked; but for two days the frigates were detained by unfavorable winds. On the tenth, English cruisers hove in sight, and on the eleventh Las Cases, who had been appointed Napoleon's private secretary, was sent to interview Captain Maitland, of the *Bellerophon*, concerning his instructions from the British government. The envoy returned, and stated that the English commander would always be ready to receive Napoleon, and conduct him to England, but he could not guarantee that the ex-Emperor could settle there, or be free to betake himself to America.

This language was almost fatal to the notion of a final refuge in England, which Napoleon had begun to discuss and consider during the days spent in Rochefort, and Las Cases sought a second interview. According to his account, Maitland then changed his tone, remarking that in England the monarch and his ministers had no arbitrary power; that the generosity of the English people, and their liberal views, were superior to those entertained by sovereigns. To the speaker this was a platitude; to the listeners it was a weighty remark. A prey to uncertainty, Napoleon entertained various schemes. He bought two small, half-decked fishing-boats, with a view to boarding a Danish ship that lay outside, but the project was quickly dropped. Two young officers of the French frigate suggested sailing all the way to New York in the little craft. Napoleon seriously considered the possibility, but recalling that such vessels must get their final supplies on the coasts of Spain or Portugal, rejected the plan, for he dared not risk falling into the hands of embittered foes. Word was brought that an American ship lay near-by, in the Gironde. General Lallemand galloped in hot haste to see whether an asylum for the outlawed party could be secured under her flag. He returned with a reply that the captain would be "proud and happy to grant it."

But in the interim Napoleon had determined to throw himself on

CHAP. XXIV 1815

the "generosity of England." On the thirteenth Gourgaud was sent to London, with a request to the Prince Regent that the Emperor should be permitted to live unknown in some provincial English place, under the name of General Duroc. On the fifteenth Napoleon embarked on the *Bellerophon*, where he was received with all honors; next day the vessel sailed, and on the twenty-fourth she cast anchor in Torbay. During the voyage the passenger was often somnolent, and seemed exhausted; but he was affable in his intercourse with the officers, and to Maitland, who unwisely yielded the expected precedence. To his kindly keeper, in a sort of beseeching confidence, the prisoner showed portraits of his wife and child, lamenting with tender sensibility his enforced separation from them. The scenes in Torbay were curious. Crowds from far and near lined the shores, and boats of all descriptions thronged the waters; the sight-seers dared everything to catch a glimpse of the awful monster under the terrors of whose power a generation had reached manhood. If, perchance, they succeeded, the air was rent with cheers. After two days the ship was ordered round into Plymouth Sound, but the reckless sensation-seekers gathered there in still greater numbers.

Many have wondered at Napoleon's surrender of his person to the English. There was no other course open which seemed feasible to a broken-spirited man in his position. His admirers are correct in thinking that it was more noble for him to have survived his greatness than to have taken his own life. To have entered on a series of romantic adventures such as were suggested—concealment on the Danish vessel, flight in open boats, concealment in a water-cask on an American merchantman, and the like—would have been merely the addition of ignominy to his capture; for his presence under the American flag would have been reported by spies, and at that day the standard of the United States would have afforded him little immunity. It is possible that on the morrow of Waterloo Napoleon might, with Grouchy's army, the other survivors, and the men from Vendée, have reassembled an army in Paris, but it is doubtful. Nothing in Revolutionary annals can equal in horror the royalist frenzy, known as the White Terror, which broke out in Provence and southern France on receipt of the news from Waterloo. The ghastly distemper spread swiftly, and when Napoleon embarked the tricolor was floating only at Rochefort, Nantes, and Bordeaux; his family was proscribed, Ney

and Labedoyère were imprisoned and doomed to execution. To have surrendered either to Wellington or Blücher would have been seeking instant death; to have collected such desperate soldiers as could be got together would have been an attempt at guerrilla warfare. To take refuge with the officers of England's navy was the only dignified course with any element of safety in it, since Great Britain was the only land in Europe which afforded the privileges of asylum to certain classes of political offenders. Naturally, the negotiators did not proclaim their extremity. Considering the date of Gourgaud's embassy, it is clear they were in no position to demand formal terms, and Maitland's character forbids the conclusion that he made them. It is unfortunate that he did not commit to writing all his transactions with Lallemand, Savary, and Las Cases; perhaps he was injudiciously polite, but it is certain that, contrary to their representations, he made no promise, even by implication, that under England's flag Napoleon should find a refuge, and not a prison.

CHAPTER XXV

ST. HELENA

EMBARRASSMENT OF THE ENGLISH MINISTRY — A STRANGE EMBASSY — NAPOLEON'S ATTITUDE — THE TRANSPORTATION — THE PRISON — AND ITS GOVERNOR — OCCUPATIONS OF THE PRISONER — NAPOLEON'S HISTORICAL WRITINGS — FAILING HEALTH AND PREPARATIONS FOR DEATH — HIS LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT — THE END.

CHAP. XXV
1815–21

THE ministry of Lord Liverpool, though ultra-Tory, was nevertheless embarrassed by the course of affairs. On June twentieth the premier wrote to Castlereagh that he wished Napoleon had been captured by Louis XVIII., and executed as a rebel. This amazing suggestion was the result of the progress made within a year by the doctrine of legitimacy. Although Talleyrand had observed the Hundred Days from the safe seclusion of Carlsbad, and was coldly received by his "legitimate" sovereign when he returned to Paris under Wellington's ægis, yet there was no one equally able to restore a "legitimate" government, and, with the aid of Wellington, who assumed without question the chief place in reconstructing France, he was soon in full activity. In strict logic, the allies reasoned that Napoleon was their common prisoner, and, as the chief malefactor, he should meet the fate which was to be Ney's, and later that of Murat. By long familiarity with such notions, the Czar had finally been converted to the once abhorrent idea of legitimacy, and was hatching the scheme of the Holy Alliance; even he would have made no objection. But English opinion, however irritated, would not tolerate the idea of death as a penalty for political offenses. Whatever ministers felt or said, they dared consider no alternative in dealing with Napoleon, except that of imprisonment. Accordingly, St. Helena, the spot suggested at Vienna as being the most remote in the habitable world, was designated; the island was

PUBLICATION ACTHORIZED BY THE FINE ART SOCIETY.

TYPOGRAVURE BOUSSOD, VALADON & CO., PARIS.

NAPOLEON ON BOARD H.M.S. BELLEROPHON, JULY, 1815.

borrowed from the East India Company, and acts of Parliament were passed which established a special government for it, and cut it off from all outside communication, "for the better detaining in custody Napoleon Bonaparte." The Continental allies, therefore, on August second, declared the sometime Emperor to be their common prisoner. To England they yielded the right to determine his place of detention, but to each of themselves — Austria, Russia, and Prussia — was reserved the right of sending thither a commissioner who should determine the fact of actual imprisonment. CHAP. XXV 1815

It was in Torbay that the newspapers brought on board the *Bellerophon* first announced what was under consideration. On July thirty-first, with inconsistent ceremony, the determination was formally announced by an embassy consisting of Lord Keith, the admiral; Sir Henry Bunbury, an under-secretary of state, and Mr. Meike, secretary to the admiral. To whom did this highest official authority address itself? To General Bonaparte, a private citizen! Their message was read in French, and Napoleon displayed perfect self-control. Asked if he had anything to say, the ex-Emperor, without temper or bitterness, appealed against the judgment both to posterity and to the British people. He was, he said, a voluntary guest; he wished to be received as such under the law of nations, and to be domiciled as an English citizen (*sic*). During the interval before naturalization he would dwell under superintendence anywhere in England, thirty leagues from any seaport. He could not live in St. Helena; he was accustomed to ride twenty miles a day; what could he do on that little rock at the end of the world? He could have gone to his father-in-law, or to the Czar, but while the tricolor was still flying he had confided in British hospitality. Though defeated, he was still a sovereign, and deserved to be treated as such. With emphasis he declared that he preferred death to St. Helena.

The embassy withdrew in silence from the moving scene. Lord Keith had previously expressed gratitude to Napoleon for personal attentions to a young relative who had been captured at Waterloo. Him, therefore, the imperial prisoner now recalled, and asked if there were any tribunal to which appeal might be made. The answer was a polite negative, with the assurance that the British government would mitigate the situation as far as prudence would permit. "How so?" said Napoleon. "Surely St. Helena is preferable to a smaller space in

CHAP. XXV 1815

England," answered Keith, "or being sent to France, or perhaps to Russia." "Russia!" exclaimed Napoleon, taken off his guard. "God preserve me from it!" This was the only moment of excitement; the witnesses of the long and trying scene have left on record the profound impression made on them by Napoleon's dignity and admirable conduct throughout. Subsequently the prisoner composed a written protest appealing to history. An enemy who for twenty years had waged war against the English people had come voluntarily to seek an asylum under English laws; how did England respond to such magnanimity? In his own mind, at least, he instituted a comparison between himself and Themistocles, who took refuge with the Persians, and was kindly treated. The parallel broke down in that the great Greek had never forced his enemy into entangling alliances, as Napoleon had forced England into successive coalitions for self-preservation. Moreover, his surrender was not voluntary: his life would not have been worth a moment's purchase either in France or elsewhere on the Continent; to have fled by sea would have been to invite capture. "Wherever," as he himself repeatedly said—"wherever there was water to float a ship, there was to be found a British standard." Still there were many in England who took his view; much sympathy was aroused, and some futile efforts for his release were made.

For the journey to St. Helena Napoleon was transferred to Admiral Cockburn's ship, the *Northumberland*. The suite numbered thirty, and was chosen by Napoleon himself. Its members were Bertrand, Montholon, and Las Cases, with their families, together with Gourgaud and a Polish adjutant, Prowtowski. There were sixteen servants, of whom twelve were Napoleon's. The voyage was tedious and uneventful. The admiral adhered to English customs, and discarded the etiquette observed toward crowned heads; but he remained on the best of terms with his illustrious prisoner. There were occasional misunderstandings, and sometimes ill-natured gossip, in which the admiral was denounced behind his back as a "shark"; but such little gusts of temper passed without permanent consequences. Napoleon had secured the excellent library he desired, and every day read or wrote during most of the morning; the evenings he devoted to games of hazard for low stakes, or to chess, which he played very badly. He was careful as to his diet, took abundant regular exercise, and, since his health was excellent, he appeared in the main cheerful and resigned.

The island of St. Helena is the craggy summit of an ancient volcano, rising two thousand seven hundred feet above the sea, and contains forty-five square miles. Its shores are precipitous, but it has an excellent harbor, that of Jamestown, which was then a port of call on the voyage from England, by the Cape of Good Hope, to India, four thousand miles from London, one thousand one hundred and forty from the coast of Africa, one thousand one hundred and eighty from the nearest point in South America. There were a few thousand inhabitants of mixed race, and the climate, though moist and enervating, is fairly salubrious. Under the act passed by Parliament, England increased the territorial waters around the island to a ring three times the usual size, and policed them by "hovering" vessels, which made the approach of suspicious craft virtually impossible. This, with numerous other precautionary measures of minor importance, made St. Helena an impenetrable jail. It was October sixteenth, 1815, when Napoleon landed on its shores.

The residence provided for the imperial captive was a substantial farm-house in the center of the island, on a plateau two thousand feet high. The grounds were level, and bounded by natural limits, so that they were easy to guard, and could be observed in all their extent by sentries; eventually a circuit of twelve miles was marked out, and within this the prisoner might move at will; if he wished to pass the line, he must be attended by an English officer. Considering the conceptions of state and chivalry then prevalent, the place was mean; even now, when enlarged and repaired, the house is thought not unsuitable for the entertainment of an imprisoned Zulu chieftain. Longwood, for this is the familiar name, might at a pinch have sufficed for the lodging of General Bonaparte; it was certainly better than a dungeon; but its modest comfort was far from the luxurious elegance which had become a second nature to the Emperor Napoleon. Such as it was to be, however, it was still uninhabitable in October, and its destined occupant was, until December ninth, the guest of a hospitable merchant, Mr. Balcombe, at his villa known as The Briars. The sentinels and patrols remained six hundred paces from the door during the day; at night the cordon of guards was drawn close around the house; twice in twenty-four hours the orderly must assure himself of the prisoner's actual presence, and human ingenuity could devise no precaution which was not taken by land and sea to make impossible any

CHAP. XXV 1816

secret communication, inward or outward. Cockburn's serene good-nature rendered it out of the question for the captive to do more than declare his policy of protest and exasperation, until April, 1816, when the admiral departed, and was replaced by Sir Hudson Lowe. The latter was a vulnerable foe. A creature of routine, and fresh from a two years' residence as English commissioner in Blücher's camp, he had thoroughly absorbed the temper both of the Tory ministry and of the Continental reactionaries. Neither irascible, severe, nor ill-natured, he was yet punctilious, and in no sense a match for the brilliant genius of his antagonist. With the arrival of this unfortunate official properly begins the St. Helena period of Napoleon's life—a period psychologically as instructive as any other, but, as regards its futile calculations, comparable only to that of his ineffectual agitations in Corsica.

Napoleon, the prisoner, had a double object — release and self-justification. The former he hoped to gain by working on the feelings of the English Liberals; the latter by writing an autobiography which, in order to win back the lost confidence of France, should emphasize the democratic, progressive, and beneficent side of his career, and consign to oblivion his tyrannies and inordinate personal ambitions. The dreary chronicle of the quarrel between a disarmed giant and a potent pygmy is uninteresting in detail, but very illuminating in its large outlines. The routine of a court was instituted and for a time was rigidly observed at Longwood. The powerless monarch so successfully simulated the wisdom and judgment of a chastened soul that the accounts which reached the distant world awakened a great pity among the disinterested. As on shipboard and at The Briars, he gave his mornings to literature, clad in a studied, picturesque dishabille. The afternoon he devoted to amusement and exercise; but a distaste for more physical exertion than was actually essential to health grew steadily, until he became sluggish and corpulent. At table he was always abstemious; his sleep was irregular and disturbed. The evenings he spent with favorite authors, Voltaire, Corneille, and Ossian; frequently, also, in reading the Bible. The opinions he expressed were in the main those of his pseudo-scientific days; among other questions discussed was that of polygamy, which he upheld as an excellent institution theoretically. Much time was spent by the household in abusing Longwood, and so effectually, that a wooden mansion was constructed in England, and erected near-by; but

ENGRAVED BY R. A. MULLER

SIR HUDSON LOWE

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY FREMY

the prisoner made difficulties about every particular, and never occupied it. There were continuous schemings for direct intercourse with friends in France, and partial success ended in the dismissal of Las Cases. Gourgaud, too, departed, ostensibly because of a quarrel with Montholon, really to agitate with Alexander, Francis, and Maria Louisa for Napoleon's release. The exile confessed, in an unguarded moment, that no man alive could have satisfied him in the relation of governor of St. Helena, but yet he was adroit and indefatigable in his efforts to discredit Lowe. The "Letters from the Cape of Good Hope," published in England anonymously, but now incorporated in the official edition of Napoleon's works as the thirty-first volume, abuse the climate of St. Helena, depict the injustice of the imprisonment, and heap scorn on the governor. The book was widely read, and furnished the Whigs in Parliament with many shafts of criticism. This success emboldened the author, and further compositions by his hand were mysteriously published in Europe.

For three years Napoleon's self-appointed task as a historian was unremittingly pursued, and the results, while he had the assistance of Las Cases and Gourgaud, were voluminous; thereafter the output was a slender rill. Most of the volumes which record his observations and opinions bear the names of the respective amanuenses, Montholon, Las Cases, Gourgaud, O'Meara, and Antommarchi, the two latter his attendant physicians. The period he took pains to elucidate most fully in these writings was that between Toulon and Marengo. Over his own name appeared monographs on Elba, the Hundred Days, and Waterloo. His professional ability is shown by short studies on the "Art and History of War," on "Army Organization," and on "Fortification"; likewise by his full analyses of the wars waged by Cæsar, Turenne, and Frederick the Great. These are not unworthy of the author's reputation; his versatility is displayed in a few commonplace notes — some on Voltaire's "Mahomet," some on suicide, and others on the second book of the Æneid. A widely circulated treatise, the "Manuscrit de Ste. Hélène," which warped the facts of history much in his style, and was long attributed to him, he repudiated. It was written in the Bourbon interest, by an unknown hand.

For nearly four years Napoleon's health was fair. O'Meara, the physician appointed to attend him, was assiduous and skilful, but when he became his patient's devoted slave he was dismissed by Lowe.

CHAP. XXV
1815-21

Thereupon certain disquieting symptoms, which had been noted from time to time, became more pronounced, and the prisoner began to brood and mope in seclusion. In the autumn of 1819, Dr. Antommarchi, a Corsican physician chosen by Fesch, was installed at Longwood. For a time he had some success in ameliorating the ex-Emperor's condition, and to their confidential talks we owe our knowledge of Napoleon's infancy. But from month to month the patient's strength diminished, and the ravages of his mysterious disease at length became very apparent. The obstinacy of Lowe in carrying out the letter of his instructions, by intruding on the sufferer to secure material for a daily report, seriously aggravated Napoleon's miseries. Two priests accompanied Antommarchi, and after their arrival mass was celebrated almost every morning in the chapel adjoining the sick-room. "Not every man is an atheist who would like to be," was a remark Napoleon dropped to Montholon. Yet, though preparing for death, he was making ready simultaneously to speed his Parthian arrow.

His testament displays his qualities in their entirety. The language sounds simple and sincere; there is a hidden meaning in almost every line. His religion had been, at best, that of a deist; at the last he professed a piety which he never felt or practised. During his life France had been caressed and used as a skilful artificer caresses and uses his tools; the last words of his will suggest a passionate devotion. To his son he recommended the "love of right, which alone can incite to the performance of great deeds"; for his faithless wife he expressed the tenderest sentiments, and probably felt them. It was his hope that the English people would avenge itself on the English oligarchy, and that France would forgive the traitors who betrayed her — Marmont, Augereau, Talleyrand, and Lafayette — as he forgave them. Louis he pardoned in the same spirit for the "libel published in 1820; it is full of falsehoods and falsified documents." The blame for Enghien's murder he took to himself. The second portion of the document is a series of munificent-sounding bequests to a list of legatees which includes every one who had done the testator any important service since his earliest childhood. France under the Bourbons confiscated the imperial domain of about a hundred and eighty millions, which Napoleon had estimated at over two hundred and twenty. When the nation passed again under the Bonapartes it appropriated eight millions toward the unpaid legacies. In the end his executors collected three

IN THE COLLECTION OF W. [illegible] CRANE

COUNT EMMANUEL-AUGUSTIN DIEUDONNÉ DE LAS CASES

FROM THE LITHOGRAPH [illegible] IN POSSESSION OF CHARNLEY.

and a half millions of francs wherewith to pay bequests amounting on their face to over nine and a half. In a codicil he remembers a certain Cautillon, who had undergone trial for an alleged attempt to assassinate Wellington. "Cautillon had as much right to assassinate that oligarch as he [Wellington] to send me to the rock of St. Helena to perish there." Such was the nature and substance of an appeal to a generous, forgiving nation, and to posterity, by one who wrote in the same document that he wished to die in the bosom of the Christian church, whose central doctrine is love, and whose ethic is forgiveness of enemies.

"I closed the abyss of anarchy and brought order out of chaos. I cleansed the Revolution, ennobled the people, and made the kings strong. I have awakened all ambitions, rewarded all merit, and enlarged the borders of glory." These were the words of Napoleon in 1816; he lived in this hallucination to the end. In the autumn of 1820 he realized his condition, and throughout the winter he was feeble and depressed. In February, 1821, he began to fail rapidly, and the symptoms of his disease, cancer in the stomach, multiplied; but, in spite of feebleness, he faced death with courage. On May third two English physicians, recently arrived, came in for consultation; they could only recommend palliatives, and under the influence of that treatment the imperial patient kept an uncertain hold on his faculties. Two days later a violent storm of wind and rain set in. A spreading willow, under which Napoleon had spent many hours, was overturned; the trees planted by his hands were uprooted; and a whirlwind devastated the garden in which he had worked for exercise. The death of the sufferer was coincident, and scarcely less violent. The last words uttered were caught by listening ears as the sun rose; they were "*Tête . . . armée.*" Mme. Bertrand and her children were present; at the sight of their friend's suffering the boy fainted and the little girls broke into loud lamentation. At eleven in the morning the supreme agonies began; a little before six in the evening the heart put forth its last convulsive effort, and ceased to beat. The mournful band of watchers within bowed their heads. Without the door another watch was set—that of the orderly. During the first outburst of grief among those at the bedside two officers entered silently, felt the cold limbs, marked the absence of life, and left without a word. England's prisoner had escaped.

CHAPTER XXVI

SOLDIER, STATESMAN, DESPOT

QUESTIONINGS — THE INDUSTRIOUS BURGHER — THE INDUSTRIOUS SOVEREIGN — END OF THE MARVELOUS — PUBLIC VIRTUE AND PRIVATE WEAKNESS — THE MAN AND THE AGE — LATIN AND GERMAN — FIRST STRUGGLES — USURPATION OF POWER — POLITICAL THEORIES — THE NAPOLEONIC SYSTEM — ITS FOUNDATION — STIMULUS TO DESPOTISM — THE SURRENDER OF FRANCE — THE MASTER SOLDIER.

CHAP. XXVI
Review

THE tomb of Erasmus in Basel is marked by a stone slab on which are an epitaph, an effigy and then the pathetic word "Terminus." Should these fateful syllables be written over the mortal remains of Napoleon Bonaparte? No. Beyond his death there was more; far more than the work he wrought during his life. Men ever love a seeming mystery, and while they do, a favorite theme of speculation will be the career of the great Corsican in its historical aspect. Before our long study can be brought to a close two questions must be considered, or rather two sides of one question must be viewed. Why did he rise, and what did he accomplish? The answers will be as various as the investigators who give them. But the man as seen in the preceding pages certainly displays these recognizable characteristics: he was a man of the people, he had a transcendent military genius, he was indefatigable, and he had unsurpassed energy.

No mere man, even the most remarkable, can climb without supports of some kind, however unstable they may be. Napoleon Bonaparte did not soar, he rose on the ladder of power by stages easily traceable: first by the protection of the Robespierres; then by the necessities and velleities of Barras and the Directory; afterward by the encouragement of all France, which was sick of the inefficient Directory; and still later by the army, which adored a leader who

AQUARELLE MADE FOR THE CENTURY CO.

TYPOGRAVURE BOUSSOD, VALADON & CO., PARIS.

LAS CASAS AND HIS SON WRITING THE HISTORY OF NAPOLEON

UNDER HIS DICTATION

frankly repaid devotion in the hard cash of booty, and bravery in the splendid rewards of that glory which was a national passion. With such opportunities Bonaparte unfolded what was certainly his supereminent quality—the quality which endeared him to the French masses as did no other, the quality which above all others distinguished him from the hated tyrants under whom they had so long suffered, the quality which even the meanest intellect could mark as distinctively middle-class, in opposition to its negation in the upper class — the quality, namely, of untiring industry; laborious, self-initiated, self-guided, self-improving industry. This burgher quality Napoleon possessed as no burgher ever did. It was no exaggeration, but the simple truth, when he said to Roederer: "I am always working. I think much. If I appear always ready to meet every emergency, to confront every problem, it is because, before undertaking any enterprise, I have long considered it, and have thus foreseen what could possibly occur. It is no genius which suddenly and secretly reveals to me what I have to say or do in some circumstance unforeseen by others: it is my own meditation and reflection. I am always working—when dining, when at the theater; I waken at night in order to work." How profoundly this was impressed upon those intimately associated with Napoleon can be traced in their memoirs on many a page. It was Soult who said, most sapiently: "What we call an inspiration is nothing but a calculation made with rapidity."

Generally there is no mystery in the power of domination: he rules who is indispensable. The Jacobins needed a man, they found him in the unscrupulous Bonaparte: the Directory needed a man, they found him in the expert artillerist: France needed a man, she found him in the conqueror of Italy. And having risen, he did not intermit his industry for a moment. Rehearsing his coronation by means of puppets, or studying with painful care the complicated accounts of his fiscal officers, or absorbing himself in whatever else it might be, he was always the man who knew more about everything than any one else. Throughout his reign he was the fountain-head of every governmental activity: the council of state sharpened not their own, but his thoughts; his secretaries were his pocket note-book; his ministers were the executors of his personal designs; pensions and presents were given by him to his friends, and not to those who served the state as they themselves thought best; every French community received his

CHAP. XXVI — Review

personal attention, and every Frenchman who came to his general receptions was treated with rude jocularity. In all this he was perfectly natural. At times, however, he felt compelled to attitudinize; perhaps, in the theatrical poses which he assumed for self-protection or for the sake of representing a personified, unapproachable imperial majesty, he copied Talma, with whom he cultivated a sort of intimacy. Possibly, too, his violent sallies were considered dramatic by himself. "Otherwise," he once said, "they would have slapped me on the shoulder every day." "It is sad," remarked Roederer, apropos of a certain event. "Yes, like greatness," was Napoleon's rejoinder.

Napoleon's preëminence lasted just as long as this effective personal supremacy continued. When his faculties refused to perform their continuous, unceasing task, he began to decline; when the material of his calculations transcended all human power, even his own, the descent grew swifter; and the crash came when his abilities worked either intermittently or not at all. Ruin was the consequence of feebleness; the imagination of the world had clothed him with demoniac qualities, but it ceased so to do just in proportion as his superiority to others in plan and execution began to diminish. "There is no empire not founded on the marvelous, and here the marvelous is the truth." These were the words of Talleyrand, addressed to the First Consul on June twenty-first, 1800, just after the news of Marengo had reached Paris. The marvel of the absolute monarchy was the divine right of kings: when men ceased to hold the doctrine, the days of absolutism were numbered. The marvel of Napoleon was his unquestioned human supremacy: when that declined his empire fell.

In the truest sense of that word so dear to modern times, Napoleon was a self-made man. By his extraordinary energy he made a deficient education do double duty; and those of his natural gifts which, in a sluggish man, would have been mediocre, he paraded so often, and in such swift succession, that they appeared miraculous. This fiery energy, it cannot too often be repeated, was the man's most distinctive characteristic; when it failed he was undone. Was consistency, as generally understood, to be expected in this personage; is it, indeed, found in most great men? Nowhere does the theory of evolution writhe to sustain itself more than in psychology; nowhere does it discover a greater complexity—a complexity which makes doubtful its sufficiency. Admitting that Napoleon was selfish; that he was lustful;

DRAWING MADE FOR THE CENTURY CO. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH LENT BY L. O. BILLINGS

"LONGWOOD," NAPOLEON'S RESIDENCE AT ST. HELENA

FROM THE DRAWING BY HARRY FENN

that once, at least, he was criminal; that at various times—yes, even frequently—he was unpopular, and dared not in extremity call for a national uprising to sustain his cause; that he had the most pitiful limitations in dealing with religion, politics, and finance; supposing him to have displayed on occasion the qualities of a resurrected medieval freelance, or of the Borgias, or of other historical monsters; confessing that he was launched upon the fiery lake of revolution by the madness of extreme Jacobinism; sustaining the awful indictment in each detail — was there no reverse to the medal, no light to the shadow, no general result except negations? Was the work of Alexander the Great worthless because of his debaucheries? Was Catharine II. of Russia a mere damned soul because of her harlotries? Did Talleyrand's duplicity and meanness render less valuable or permanent the work he did in thwarting the coalition at Vienna? The answer of history is plain: what the great of the earth have wrought for others or against them is to be recorded and judged with impartiality; how they sinned against themselves is to be told as an awful warning, and then to be left for the decision of the Great Tribunal. Modern philosophy requires such complicated and yet such minute knowledge in every department of science that the specialist has supplanted the general scholar and the system-maker; the man who aspires to create a plan displaying the unity of either the objective or the subjective world, or any harmony of one with the other, is generally regarded as either an antiquated imbecile or a charlatan. Yet in the examination of historical characters a symmetrical consistency capable of being grasped by the meanest intellect is imperiously demanded by all readers and critics. This is natural, but not altogether reasonable: symmetry cannot be found in the commonest human being on our globe, much less in those who rise supereminent. The greater the man, the more impossible to connect in a mathematical diagram the different phases of his conduct. The search for mediocre consistency in the character of Napoleon is like the Cynic philosopher's quest for a man.

This personage strove, and with considerable success, to think and act for an entire nation—ay, more, for western Europe. In order to render this conceivable, he first took command of his own body—sleeping at will, and never more than six hours; eating when and what he would, but always with extreme moderation; waking from profound slumber and rousing his mind instantaneously to the highest pitch, so

CHAP. XXVI Review

that he then composed as incisively as in the midst of active ratiocination. He was able to train his secretaries and servants into instruments destitute of personal volition—even his great generals, who were taught to act for themselves within certain limits, never transcended the fixed boundary, and grew inefficient when deprived of his impulse. He never failed to reward merit or to gratify ambition for the sake of securing an able lieutenant, and nascent devotion he quickened into passion by the display of suitable familiarity. A thoughtful, self-contained, self-sufficient worker, he was sometimes a trifle uneasy in social intercourse, perhaps always so at bottom; but he played his various rôles in public with consummate skill, except that he made nervous movements with his eyes, hands, and ears. His little tricks of rolling his right shoulder, tugging at his cuffs, and the like; his inability to write, and his generally clumsy movements when irritated, were due to deficient training in early childhood. Forbidding in his intercourse with ambitious women and other self-seekers, he was considerate with the suffering, and found it difficult, if not impossible, to refuse the petitions of the needy. Loving rough ways in those busied about his person—as, for instance, when his valet rubbed him down of a morning with a coarse towel,—he was yet so sensitive that he had to have his hats worn by others before he could set them on his own head. It is useless to seek even homely physical consistency in a man thus constituted.

It is equally useless to ask whether Napoleon could have been as great a man in another epoch as he was in his own. In any epoch of warfare he would have been great; it is likely that in any epoch of peace he would have reached eminence as a legislator and administrator. The real historical question is this: How did he, being what he was, and his age, being what it was, interact one upon the other; and what was the resultant? There was as little consistency in his age as in himself; the sinuosities of each fitted strangely into those of the other, and the result was a period of twenty years on which common consent fixes the name of the Napoleonic age. Does his personality throw any light on the antecedent period — does his career influence the succeeding years?

The age of the Revolution has such intimate connection with the movements of French society that it is very generally called in other countries the French Revolution. But while the movement developed

IN THE HOTEL DE VILLE, AJACCIO

ENGRAVED BY M. HAIDER

CARDINAL JOSEPH FESCH

FROM THE PAINTING BY JEROME MAGLIOLI

itself more easily and took more radical forms in France than elsewhere, it was due to the condition of civilization the world around. France has been in a peculiar sense the teacher of Europe; for in language, literature, laws, and institutions she is the heir of Rome. In spite of Roman Catholicism, or perhaps in consequence of the Roman hierarchy, her inheritance has been pagan rather than Christian; her ethics have been Hellenic, her literature Augustan, her laws imperial, her temperament a combination of the Stoic and Epicurean which is essentially Latin, her language elegant, elliptical, and precise like that of Livy or Tacitus. The Teuton in general, the Anglo-Saxon in particular, may give his days and nights to classical studies: he is never so imbued with their spirit as the Gaul. "It is with his Bible in one pocket and his Shakspere in another," said an eminent Frenchman not long since, "that the Anglo-Saxon goes forth to reduce the world in the interests of his commerce, his civilization, and his religion. The most enlightened has neither the cold worldliness of Horace nor the calculating zeal of Cæsar, but he has the persistency of faith in himself and his nation which, whatever may be his personal belief, is a constituent element in his blood, or, better still, the controlling member of that complex organism to which he belongs." I venture to believe, on the other hand, that the Frenchman espouses his cause from an unselfish impulse begotten of pure reason, an ethereal ichor percolating through society by channels of sympathy, which diminishes the historic pressure for continuous national consistency and natural unity, but emphasizes the great uplifting movements of society. The French armies of the Revolution went forth to scour Europe for its deliverance from feudalism, absolutism, and ecclesiasticism, because the French people had renewed their youthful and pristine vigor in their enthusiasm for pure principle without regard to experience or expediency. Napoleon Bonaparte had all their doctrine, with something more: a consuming ardor unconscious of any physical limitations to the nervous strength of himself or others, and a readiness for any fate which would transmute his dull, unsuccessful, commonplace existence into excitement. When he found his opportunity to heap Pelion upon Ossa, to supplement himself by the splendors of French devotion, he did indeed come near to transcending even the Olympians and storming the seat of Kronos.

It was a long, discouraging, heartbreaking struggle by which he

CHAP. XXVI — Review

gained his first vantage-ground. This was no exceptional experience; for every adventurer knows that it is more troublesome to make the start than to continue the advance. It is harder to save the first small capital than to conduct a prosperous business. It is more difficult, apparently, in human life to overcome the inertia of immobility than that of motion; at least psychological laws seem in this respect to contravene those of physics. It is not true that the armies of the Republic were those of the Bourbons: the transition may have been gradual, but it was radical. It is also untrue that the armies of Napoleon were those of the Revolution: they differed as the zenith from the nadir, being recruited on a new principle, animated by new motives, and led by an entirely different class of men. A supreme command having been attained by means curiously compounded of chivalric romance and base scheming, the man of action did not hesitate a moment to put every power in motion. Throwing off all superior control, he set himself to every task in the revolution of Italy — conquest, political and religious; constructive politics and administration; social and financial transformation. Winning the devotion of his troops by intoxicating successes, as a leveler he was permanently successful; but this typical burgher had no permanent success in building up a democratic-imperial society out of the royal, princely, and aristocratic elements which had so long monopolized the ability of the peninsula; what he wrought outlasted his time, but the country had to undergo another revolution before its middle classes were ready for the heavy burden of independence and self-government. Yet the struggle for what was accomplished appears to have created a climacteric in the doer. Before the days of Italy his ambitions were petty enough: employment in the service of Russia or England, supremacy in Corsica or military promotion in France; but afterward they enlarged by leaps and bounds: Italian principalities, Austrian dukedoms, Lombard confederations, the primacy of France in some form, Oriental dominion — one such concept took form in the morning, to be swept away at night and replaced by ever more luxurious growths of fantasy. The realization of these dreams was still more amazing than their misty formation. The Revolutionary doctrines of the passing age had stimulated France to over-exertion; her leaders were discredited, her people exhausted. The same agitation had stupefied the Italians; but whatever their political disintegration may have been, the Roman chair and

throne retained its moral influence as the bond and mainspring of society throughout the whole peninsula: and now the successor of St. Peter was humbled to the dust, willing to escape with the mere semblance of either secular or ecclesiastical independence. It was an exceptional moment, a vacillating, retrogressive hour in the history of Austria, of France, and of Italy. The exceptional man, the vigorous citizen of a new political epoch, the inspired strategist of a new military epoch, the unscrupulous doubter of a new religious epoch—this typical personage was at hand to take advantage of the situation; and he did so, hastening the disintegrating processes already at work, seizing every advantage revealed by the crumbling of old systems, and reaping the harvest of French heedlessness. The opportunity gave the man his chance, but the chance once seized, the man enlarged his sphere with each successive year.

This he did by means which were as remarkable as the personage who devised them—and remarkable, too, not for their negative, but for their constructive quality. Broadly stated, the Revolution utterly expunged all the governmental and social guarantees of the preceding monarchy, destroying not merely the absolute power of one man with its sanction of divine right, but all the checks upon it to be found either in the ancient traditions of the people or in their ancient institution of parliaments. It will be clear to the careful student of the Revolutionary governments that while there was a gradual clarifying of opinion antecedent to the Consulate, and a vague longing for guarantees of individual rights higher than the acts of any assembly, however representative it claimed to be, nevertheless great ideas, great conceptions, great outlines, had all remained in their inchoate state, and that of the several succeeding constitutions each had been more worthless than the one before. Almost any kind of a constitution will serve an enlightened nation which has confirmed political habits, if it chooses to support a fundamental law not hostile to them; and none, however ingenious, can stand before recalcitrant populations. The Revolutionary constitutions of France, excepting perhaps that of 1791, were alike feeble; and in the stress applied to the one democratic land of Europe by her dynastic enemies all around, they were not worth the paper and ink used to record them. Under each had developed a pure despotism of one kind or another, on the plea that in war there must be a single head, either an executive committee or an executive

CHAP. XXVI Review

man. These persons or person had, on pleas of necessity or expediency, gradually arrogated to the executive all the powers of government, befooling the people more or less completely by the specious formalities of various kinds through which the popular will was supposed to find expression. No one understood this fact better than Napoleon Bonaparte; and since it seemed that the supreme power had to be in the hands of some one man or clique, he was easily tempted to grasp it for himself when it became clear that the profligate and dishonest Directory had run its course. He did not make the situation, but he used it. History does not record that the French nation was shocked or discouraged by the events of the eighteenth of Brumaire; on the contrary, the occurrences in Paris and at St. Cloud seemed commonplace to a storm-tossed people, and the results were welcomed by the majority in every class.

The reasons for this general satisfaction varied, of course; for the conservative and progressive royalists, the conservative and radical republicans of every stripe, had widely different expectations as to the next act in the drama. But the chief actor was concerned only for himself and the nation; partizans he neither honored nor feared, except as he was anxious not to be identified with them. To him, as a man of the people, it seemed that in the Revolution the third estate had asserted itself; that the third estate must be pacified; that the third estate must be prosperous; that the third estate, for all these purposes, needed only to be confirmed in their simple theory of government, which was that the power could be delegated by them to any one fit to wield it, and this once done, the delegate might without harm to the state be left undisturbed to manage the public business, while the people gave their undivided attention to their private affairs. How successful the Consulate was in this respect is universally known and admitted. With consummate cleverness the First Consul summoned to his assistance all the giants of his time, whether they were scholars with their theories and knowledge, administrators with their tact and experience, political managers with their easy consciences and oiled feathers, or skilful demagogues with their greedy followers and insatiate self-interest. These he either enticed or bullied into his service, according as he read their characters; a few — a very few — like Barère, he found obdurate, and drove into provincial exile. At no time did he make a finer display of his astounding capacity for molding strong

IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES

ENGRAVED BY T. JOHNSON

MARIE-LAETITIA RAMOLINO BONAPARTE

—"MADAME MÈRE"—MOTHER OF NAPOLEON I

men by his still stronger will than during the early days of the Consulate; and the manifest reason for his success was that he had a fine instinct for character and for putting the right man in the right place.

What he thus accomplished has been told. The foundations he then laid rest solid to-day; the now antiquated edifice he erected on them, though altered and repaired, still retains its identity. The Revolution had overthrown the old régime completely, and the ruins of society were without form and void. From this chaos Napoleon painfully gathered the substantial materials of a new structure, and out of these reconstructed the family, the state, and the church. He revived the domestic spirit, made marriage a solid institution, and reëstablished parental authority while destroying parental despotism. In civil society he restored the right of property and fixed the sanctity of contract, thus assuring respect for the individual and the ascendancy of the law. The finances he reformed by an equitable system of taxation, and by the establishment of an ingenious treasury system comparable to that devised by Alexander Hamilton for the United States. In the Concordat he went as far, probably, as France could then go in emancipating religion and the church; Protestantism has prospered under the regulations he laid down, and by his treatment of the Jews they have been changed from despised and down-trodden social freebooters into prosperous and patriotic citizens. Upon every class of men then living he imposed by an iron will a system of his own. The leading survivors of Jacobinism, extreme royalists, moderate republicans, proscribers and proscribed, men of the bourgeoisie—all bowed to his sway and accepted his rewards. It is said that they yielded to the superior force of his police and his pretorians. Be it so. The fivefold police system he established was a system of checks and counter-checks within itself, within the administration, and even within the army — a body without which, as he firmly believed, the beginnings of social transformation could not be made. He professed, and no doubt honestly, that he would divest himself of this police service as opportunity served, and deluded both himself and his followers into the belief that the process was almost complete before the close of his era. Through the perspective of a century we can see the faults of Napoleon's plan. The Gallic Church is still Roman, in spite of his intention that the Roman Church should become French; the extreme centralization of his administrative system still

CHAP. XXVI Review

throttles local free government and makes both oligarchic rule and political revolution easier in France than in any other free land; the educational scheme which he formed, although more fully changed than any other of his institutions, and but recently embarked, let us hope, on a course for ultimate independence, nevertheless suffers in its present complete dependence on state support, and in the consequent absence of private personal enthusiasm which might make its separate universities and schools rich in opportunities and strong in the loyalty of their sons. But we must remember that the Consulate was a hundred years since, and that for its day it wrought so beneficently that Bonaparte, First Consul, remains one of the foremost among all lawgivers and statesmen. And that, too, precisely for the reasons which some cite as his condemnation. He took the Revolutionary ideas of political, civil, and religious emancipation: with these he commingled both his own sound sense and the experience of advisers from every class, realizing as much of civil liberty and good order as appears to have been practical at the moment.

But in one respect he failed miserably, and that failure vitiated much of the substantive gain which seemed to have been made. He failed in curbing his own ambition. The majestic ridge of his achievement was the verge of the precipice over which he fell. In the first place, his signal success as a lawgiver was due entirely to the dazzling splendors of his victories. Marengo was the climax to a series of such achievements as had not so far been wrought on the tented field within the bounds of French history. It is easy to assert that the French were intoxicated because they were French: there is not the slightest reason to suppose that any other nation under similar circumstances would have behaved differently. The Seven Years' War turned the heads of the English people completely, and they lost their American colonies in consequence; Rome lost her political liberty when she became mistress not only of the Latin, but of the Greek and Oriental shores of the Mediterranean; the distant military expeditions of Alexander the Great prepared the fall of his ill-assorted empire. In each case the careful student will admit that social exaltation was the forerunner of division and of subsequent despotism in some form. Even in the little states of Greece and southern Italy the tyrants always arose from the disintegration of legal government, and by the assertion of some form of power—mind, money, or military force.

It was, therefore, as a military despot that the First Consul promulgated beneficent codes, founded an enduring jurisprudence, created an efficient magistracy, and established social order. In this process he completed the work of the Revolution by exalting the third estate to ascendancy in the nation. The whole work, therefore, was not only recognized as his in the house of every French burgher; he was considered at every fireside to be the consummator of the Revolution for which France had so long suffered in an agony of bloody sweat. Was it therefore any wonder that not only he himself, but even the most enlightened leaders of European thought, considered the safety and renovation of European society to depend upon the extension of his work? It is hard for us to appreciate this, because in France Napoleon's institutions have remained almost as he left them, and well-nigh stationary, while for a century the processes of ruthless reform have been continuously working in other European lands, and some neighboring peoples have outstripped the French in the matter of a national unity consistent with local freedom. The First Consul felt that in order to become great he had been forced to become strong; we can understand that he could easily deceive himself into concluding that in order to be greater he must become stronger. It was in these days that he exclaimed, in the intimacy of familiar intercourse: "I feel the infinite in me." Thereafter democracy in any form, even the mildest, was offensive. Such men as Roederer were sent to Naples, Berg—anywhere out of France. The times were not far removed from those of the beneficent despots, except that this one ruled, not by hereditary divine right, but by military force. Bonaparte's imperfect training in politics and history made it possible for such visions as those which now arose to haunt his brain. The beneficence he had displayed already; for despotism he had had the finest conceivable training, first among the sluggish populations of the Italian states which he had reorganized, then in the myth of Egyptian conquest which he had created and felt bound to maintain, and lastly in the national disorders of a France shuddering at the possibility of a return either to the hideous excesses of the Terror or to the intolerable abuses of ecclesiasticism and absolute monarchy.

Among other dreadful curses incident to revolution and civil war is the stimulation of fanaticism. In his seizure of the supreme power the purpose of the First Consul was justified to himself, and his pro-

CHAP. XXVI
Review

cedure was rendered tolerable to the nation at large by the scandalous intrigues and complots which were hatched like cockatrices' eggs in every foul cranny of the land. The conspirators stopped at nothing: bad faith, subornation, murder of every variety, from the dagger to the bowl. This gave the First Consul his chance to become himself the arch-intriguer, and as such he overmatched all his opponents, ultramontanes, radicals, and royalists. Finally only a few unreconstructed reactionaries were left from each of these classes, who, though exhausted and panting, still had the strength to be noisy, and occasionally to make a feint of activity. But in the various localities and classes of France each of the factions had numerous silent and inactive sympathizers who had surrendered only as they felt unable to keep up the uneven conflict. The flames of the volcano were quenched, and the gulf of the crater was bridged by a crust, but the lava of sedition boiled and seethed below. It is a well-known nostrum for civil dissension to stir up foreign conflict, and then to call upon the patriotism of men from all parties. To this the First Consul dared not openly resort. In fact, the indications are that if his enemies in France and his foes abroad had consented peaceably to the fulfilment of his now manifest ambitions, he would himself have been glad enough to secure without further fighting what he had gained by war, and to extend the influence of a Bonapartist France by steady encroachments rather than by exhausting hostilities. The word of every man has exactly the value which his character gives it, and treaties are worth the good faith of those who make them, not a tittle more. Neither of the parties to the general peace was exhausted, neither was really earnest. It was a bellicose age: war was then in the air, as peace is now. The rupture of the treaty made at Amiens was quite as much the work of George III. as it was of Bonaparte the First Consul, and the two nations over which they ruled were easily led to renew the struggle. Nothing goes to prove that there was long premeditation on the part of either; but at the time and since, were it not for the wide-spread distrust in Bonaparte's character, popular opinion would have put the blame of renewed war more upon his opponent than on him. Thus far the angel and devil which struggle for possession of every man had waged a fairly even conflict, and the blame and praise of what is stigmatized as Bonaparte's conduct must be meted out to his foes in even measure. He and

IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES

ENGRAVED BY M. HAIDER

MARIE-PAULINE BONAPARTE

MADAME LECLERC, PRINCESS BORGHESE

FROM THE PAINTING BY ROBERT LEFEVRE

his times had interacted one upon the other to a remarkably even degree. But once launched on the career of personal aggrandizement, every hindrance to consuming ambition was ruthlessly cast aside. Until 1812 the responsibility for inordinate bloodshed is all his own.

It is needless to dwell upon the period of the Empire in order to study Napoleon's character. It shines forth effulgent, but noxious. He remained personally what he had always been — imperious, laborious, unprincipled; but, on the other hand, kindly, generous, sensitive to the popular movements. His thirst for power became predominant; his lavish contempt for men and money displayed the abandon of a desperate parvenu; his passion for war burst all its bounds. Personal ambition eclipsed principle, expediency, shrewdness — in short, every quality which makes for self-preservation. The reason was not conscious despair, but unconscious desperation. Politically he had fought and won an easy but a decisive battle. Imperialism was firmly seated. The behavior of the French people was natural enough, but they lent themselves to his purposes with complete surrender. In this the world learned a lesson which should never be forgotten: that democracy is an excellent work-horse, but a poor charger; a good hack, but an untrustworthy racer. The interest of the plain man is in his daily life, his family, his business, his advancement. He cannot be an expert in foreign or domestic politics, in public law, or in warfare; expertness requires the exclusive devotion of a lifetime. Make the common person a theorist, and he is an ardent democrat, but a poor administrator. Hence the necessity in transition epochs for a wise constitution. It was not difficult to convince the French burgher that, all other forms of democratic administration having had a chance and having failed in times of war, the only one so far untried — that of delegating power to a single superior man — should have a fair trial, the more as the excellent man was at hand. Even in times of peace the hard-worked citizen either neglects his political duties altogether, or, performing them in a thoughtless routine, longs for some one he can trust to do his thinking and acting; in war, as far as we have had the opportunity to observe in ancient and modern times, his imperialism is avowed, and he demands a dictator. We have no reason to suppose that there is any democracy which could outlast twenty years of a herculean struggle for national life or death,

CHAP. XXVI Review

and such the Franco-English wars which introduced this century seemed to the Frenchman of that time to be.

From the soldier's point of view, Napoleon had likewise such an easy triumph as has fallen to the lot of few commanders. His opponents were so conservative that their ideas were antiquated, his own strategy was so new and revolutionary that it dumfounded them. A favorite method of detraction is illustrated by the familiar story of Columbus's egg. What is once done, anybody can do. The strategic reputation of Frederick the Great is in our day first attacked by the so-called comparative method — that is, by comparing it with the achievements and system, not of his contemporaries, but of Napoleon, his successor; and then the strategic reputation of Napoleon is diminished by sneering at that of Frederick, with whose antiquated method the new one came into comparison and contact, to the complete disaster of the former. This vicious circle may be dismissed with contempt. Napoleon's strategic genius was, unlike any other talent he possessed, constructive and original. No doubt he studied Cæsar; no doubt he studied Maillebois; no doubt he studied the work of Turenne and of the great Frederick; no doubt he was a pupil of the giant soldiers who inaugurated and carried on the wars of the Revolution; but while others had pursued the same studies, it remained for him to devise and put into operation a strategy based upon past experience, but subversive of accepted dogmas, new, adapted to its ends, and founded on theories which, though modified in practice by the discoveries of an intervening century, have, when properly understood, never, not even to-day, been shaken in principle. His triumphs as a soldier, therefore, are his own; and it was not until all Europe had learned the lessons which he taught her generals by a series of object demonstrations lasting twenty years, that the teacher began to diminish in success and splendor. The persistent critics of Frederick have been asking and reiterating questions such as these: Why did not the king begin early in July, 1756? Why did he not storm the camp of Pirna? Why did he not continue the war in October? Why did he not renew hostilities the following year until forced to it? And so on, and so on. By this method they have shrunk the horizon to their own dimensions, and have imprisoned their victim within the pale of his faults; but a wider view and the historic background display his strategy in large outline, as illuminated by the light of his age; and thus the defeats of

PUBLICATION AUTHORIZED BY THE ARTIST.

TYPOGRAVURE BOUSSOD, VALADON & CO., PARIS.

NAPOLEON AT ST. HELENA.

FROM THE PAINTING BY L. KRATKE.

Kolin and Kunersdorf, as well as the victories of Leuthen, Rossbach, Zorndorf, and Torgau, exhibit the Prussian general as the great genius which he was. It was not until Napoleon had taught his rivals what fighting ought to be that men could also pick and nag at him by asking why Waterloo did not begin four hours earlier, why more explicit directions were not given to Grouchy, why in 1814 the desperate man chose to cut off the line of his enemies' communications rather than withdraw into Paris and call the nation to arms; and so on, to infinity. Judged either historically or theoretically, the strategy of Napoleon is original, unique, and unexcelled. It is his greatest achievement, because his most creative.

CHAPTER XXVII

NAPOLEON'S PLACE IN HISTORY

EXHAUSTION—THE CHANGE IN NAPOLEON'S VIEWS—INTERMITTING POWERS—THEIR EXTINCTION—COMMON SENSE AND IDEALISM—THE MAN AND THE WORLD—THE PHILOSOPHY OF EXPEDIENCY—A MEDIATING WORK—FRENCH INSTITUTIONS—TRANSFORMATION OF FRANCE—NAPOLEON AND ENGLISH POLICY—HIS WORK IN GERMANY—FRENCH INFLUENCE IN ITALY AND EASTERN EUROPE—NAPOLEON AND THE WESTERN WORLD.

CH. XXVII
Summary

IF Napoleon's qualities as usurper, statesman, and warrior be as remarkable as they appear, why was his time so short, what were the causes of his decline, and what is his place in history? The causes of his decline may be summed up in a single word—exhaustion. There exists no record of human activity more complete than is that of Napoleon Bonaparte's life. In its beginnings we can see this worshiper of power stimulating his immature abilities in vain until, with reckless desperation, he closed the period of training and made his scandalous bargain with Barras; then, grown suddenly, inexplicably rich, becoming with better clothing, food, and lodging physically more vigorous, he seems mercilessly to drive the rowels into his own flanks until initiative, ingenuity, and ruthlessness are displayed with apparently superhuman dimensions. The period of achievement is short, but glorious in politics; the age of domination is long and exciting. Throughout both there is the same reckless physical excess and intellectual dissipation. Then comes the turn. Every human age has in it the germs of the next; we begin to die at birth, and the characteristic qualities and powers of one period diminish as those of the next increase. So it was with Napoleon. He compressed so much, both as regards the number and importance of events,

ENGRAVED BY HENRY WOLF

DEATH OF NAPOLEON I

FROM THE PAINTING BY CHARLES, BARON DE STEUBEN

into so short a space that his times are like those wrinkled Japanese pictures which are made by shriveling a large print into a small compass — intense and deep, but unreal. To change the metaphor, he found the ship of state dashing onward, with her helm lashed and no one daring to take the task of the steersman in hand. He cut the lashings and laid hold. His unassisted efforts as a pilot gave the vessel a new course; but he had no steam or other mechanical power, no *deus ex machinâ*, to aid him; and as exhaustion followed, he seemed to be steering when, in reality, his actions were under the compulsion of events he was not controlling; and this continued until the wreck.

But the inertia of his powers resembled their rise so perfectly as to represent continuous growth, and thus to deceive observers: in a few years he had ordered the Revolutionary chaos of Western Europe to his liking, and the resultant organization worked by the principles he had infused into it. As he saw his imperfect and shallow theories of society successively confounded, he had no vigor left to reconstruct them and adapt himself to new situations. His efforts at the rôle of liberator throughout the Hundred Days deserve careful study. He simply could not yield or adapt himself, except in non-essentials. The shifts to which he had resort would have been ridiculous had they not been pathetic. The governmental forms attempted by the Revolution had been successively destroyed by the furious energy of Jacobinism: the Directory was but a compromise, and when it took refuge for safety in the army its performances seemed to the masses sure to bring back the Terror; the Consulate was only a disguised monarchy founded on military force; and as royalism was impossible, there seemed to vast numbers no other alternative than the Empire. That there was no other alternative was due to Napoleon's imperious character, now developed to its utmost extent. He was selfish, hardened, and, though active like his symbolic bee, without capacity for further development. His mother knew that he could not hold out; she said it, and saved money for a rainy day. He himself had haunting premonitions of this truth. His passion to perpetuate himself by founding a dynasty was the real basis for his warlike ardor. Profoundly moved, in fact awe-stricken, by the imperishable hatred of the older dynasties, and yet reveling in his military genius, he waged war ruthlessly and with zest, enjoying the discomfiture of his foes, and delighting in the

Ch. XXVII Summary

exercise of his powers. But, after all, war was but a means. He frequently dwelt on the advantages of hereditary succession; he lingered with suspicious frequency over the satisfaction a dynastic ruler must feel in the devotion or, if not that, in the submissiveness of his people; he was hypersensitive to the slightest popular disturbance; and he must have foreboded his own fall, since he was accustomed to wear poison in an amulet around his neck, so that when the great crisis should arrive he might take his own life. "Ah! why am I not my grandson?" he longingly ejaculated.

This single cause of Napoleon's fall can be better seen in the record of his second captivity than in any other portion of his life. There is no such thing as absolute exhaustion short of death. But intermittent and flickering exertion is symptomatic of failing powers in a jaded horse; it forebodes the end in a worn-out man. Cheerful and busy at first, because recruited by a long and favorable sea-voyage, he set out in St. Helena at a racing gait to write history and mold the public opinion of Europe. Playful and energetic, he caught together the scanty remnants of his momentary grandeur, and emulated the masters of ceremony at the Tuileries in organizing a court and issuing edicts for the conduct of its little affairs. His life was to be that of a caged lion —caged, but yet a lion. The plan would not work. In the affairs of Longwood there were, as everywhere, hitches and irregularities. To Napoleon these soon became not the incidents, but the substance of life. With the departure of his secretaries the business of biographical composition became first irksome, then impossible, and the poor muse of history was finally turned out of doors. To regular exercise succeeded spasmodic over-exertion; complaint became the subject-matter for the exercise of both mind and tongue; daily association with kindly but second-rate persons checked the flow of great ideas; the combinations of Austerlitz and Wagram gave place to the small moves in a game of spite with a bureaucratic British governor. From the days of his boyhood until his alliance with Barras the exile had been a dreamy, vague, indefinite, unsuccessful fellow; his powers were not quickly developed. While he had France and Europe to work upon, he showed the extraordinary qualities repeatedly outlined, mind and hand, thought and deed, working together. Already jaded, his stupendous capacity became intermittent after the fatal armistice of Poischwitz; but it worked, for it still had the raw material of grand

strategy and great politics to work on. This continued until after Waterloo. That battle, not a great one in itself, was nevertheless epic, both in its effects upon the world and in its ruin of the brains which had swayed the destinies of Europe for twenty years. Between the flight to Charleroi and the escape to the *Bellerophon*, Napoleon shows no pluck and no brains.

In actual captivity his mind was without a sufficient task and under no pressure from necessity. It consequently, though somewhat invigorated at first, intermitted more and more toward the close, working, when it did work, awkwardly and with friction, until the physical collapse came, and the end was reached. The attempts to remodel history, the efforts to delineate his own and others' motives, the specious summaries of his career and its epochs, the fragmentary expositions of his philosophy in ethics, politics, and psychology — all the stately volumes which bear his name, his literary remains, in fact, present a pitiful sight when closely examined. They are but the scoriæ of a burnt-out mind, but dust and ashes; a splendid mass, but an extinct volcano. It was only natural that his successors and admirers should seek to erect a more enduring foundation for his fame by collecting and carefully editing what he had written when at his best, when acting according to his momentary, normal impulse, and when, therefore, he had the least pose and the greatest sincerity. But it is a proof of their shrewdness that they selected and published less and less after Erfurt, and that out of the voluminous pen-product of St. Helena they chose a hundred and fifty pages which the "Correspondence," intended to be the most splendid monument to the Emperor's glory, could present as authentic biographical material.

If, then, Napoleon was after all but a plain man, how did he become a personage? Simply because he was the typical man of his day, less the personal mediocrity; the typical burgher in personal character, the typical soldier in war, the typical despot in peace, and the typical idealist in politics; capable in all these qualities of analysis; capable, consequently, of being understood; capable of exhaustion and of being overwhelmed by combinations. In other words, he was really great because he was the shrewd common-sense personage of his age, considering the ideal social structure as a level of comfort in money, in shelter, in food, in clothes, in religion, in morality, in decency, in domestic good-nature, in the commonplace good things fairly divided as

CH. XXVII
Summary

far as they would go round. This was the side of his nature which in a period of social exhaustion planted him four-square as a social force, presented him to France as the rock against which the "red foolfury" of Jacobinism had dashed itself to pieces, and gave him for a time command of all hearts. Thus established, he at once fell heir to French tradition—that is, to the continuous policy of the nation in foreign and domestic affairs; which was that France should be the Jupiter in the Olympus of European nations by reason of her excellence both in beauty and in strength. Here was a temptation not to be resisted, the superlative temptation like that of the serpent and the woman, the chance to transcend by knowledge, the opportunity to "hitch his wagon to a star," to commingle the glory of France with his own until the elements were no longer separable. Into this snare, great as he was in his representative plainness, he fell, and in the ensuing confusion he not only destroyed himself, but brought the proud and splendid nation which had cherished him to the very verge of destruction. He could not sway one emancipated people without swaying an emancipated Europe, and this after Austerlitz he determined to do. Then he lost his head: his wisdom turned out to be nothing but adoration of mere expediency; his strength proved weakness when, with his imperial idealism, he braved in Spain the idealism of a true nation; his vaunted physical endurance disappeared with self-indulgence, the golden head and brazen loins fell in a crash as the feet of clay disintegrated before the storm of national uprisings.

This being true, we have in his career every element of epic greatness: a colossal man, a chaotic age, the triumph of principle, the reestablishment of historical equilibrium by means of a giant cast away when no longer needed. And this epic quality, which is not in the man alone nor in the age alone, appears when the two are combined, and then only. Looking at him in our cold light, he has every attribute of the commonplace adventurer; looking at the France of 1786 with our perspective, the people and the times appear almost mad in their frantic efforts to accomplish the work of ages in the moments of a single lifetime. Yet combine the two, and behold the man of the third estate rising, advancing, reflecting, and then planting himself in the foreground as the most dramatic figure of public life, and you have a scene, a stage, and actors which cannot be surpassed in the range of history. To the end of the Consulate the action is powerful, because

IN THE LOUVRE. ENGRAVED BY T. JOHNSON

HENRI-GRATIEN, COUNT BERTRAND

FROM THE PAINTING BY PAUL-HIPPOLYTE DELAROCHE

it represents reality: a nation unified, a people restored to wholesome influences, peace inaugurated, constitutional government established. There is so far no tawdry decoration, no fine clothes, no posing, no rant. But with the next scene, that of the Empire, the spectator becomes aware of all these annoyances, and more. The leading actor grows self-conscious, identifies himself with the public interest for personal ends and to the detriment of the nation, displays no moral or artistic self-restraint, and soon arranges every element so as to make his studied personal ambitions appear like the resultants of ominous forces which act from without, and against which he is donning the armor of despotism for the public good. The play becomes a human tragicomedy, and, verging to its close, ends like the tragedies of the Greeks, with a people betrayed and the force of the age chained to a horrid rock as the sport of the elements.

Was this the end, and did Napoleon have no place in history, as many historians have lately been contending? Far from it. From his couch of porphyry beneath the gilded dome on the banks of the Seine, "the" Emperor, though "dead and turned to clay," still exercises a powerful sway. The actual Napoleonic Empire had, as we have before remarked, a striking resemblance to those of Alexander and Charlemagne. Based, as were these, upon conquest, and continued for a little life by the idealism of a single person, it seemed like a brilliant bubble on the stream of time. But Alexander hellenized the civilization of his day, and prepared the world for Christianity; Charlemagne plowed, harrowed, and sowed the soil of barbaric Europe, making it receptive for the most superb of all secular ideals, that of nationality; Napoleon tore up the system of absolutism by the roots, propagated in the most distant lands of Europe the modern conception of individual rights, overthrew the rotten structure of the German-Roman empire, and in spite of himself regenerated the long-abused ideas of nationality and fatherland. It must be confessed that his own shallow political science, the second-hand Rousseauism he had learned from his desultory reading, had little to do with this, except negatively. One by one he saw his faiths made ridiculous by the violent phases of Jacobinism after it took control of the Revolutionary movement. His heart, his conscience, his intellect, all undisciplined, then revolted against the metaphysic which had misled him, and "ideologist" became his most contemptuous epithet. Controlled by

CH. XXVII
Summary

instinct and ambition, he nevertheless remained throughout his period the one thorough idealist among the men of action, Goethe being the superlative, transcendent genius of idealism among the thinkers. Each successive day saw his scorn of physical limitations increase, his impatience of language, customs, laws, of local attachment, personal fidelity, and national patriotism grow. The result was a fixed conviction that for humanity at large all these were naught. At last he planted himself upon the burgher philosophy of utility and expediency, putting his faith in the loyalty of his family, in homely dependence upon matrimonial alliance, in the passion of humanity for physical ease and earthly well-being. This was the concert by which he sought to create a federation of beneficent kingdoms that would win all men to the prime mover. Space and time rebelled; the lofty ideals of humanity and philosophy would not down; selfishness proved impotent as a support; the dreamer recognized that again he had been deceived. Haggard and exhausted, he finally turned, in the rôle of Napoleon Liberator, to the notion of nationality and of government swayed by popular will in all its phases. But it was too late. Instead of being the leader of a van, he had forgotten, in his own phrase, to keep pace with the march of ideas, and was a straggler in the rear, without a moral status or a devoted following.

All this is true; but it is equally true that much of his work endured both in France and in the civilized world. In France, indeed, the work he did has been in some details only too enduring. History is there to tell us that the test of high civilization is not necessarily in great dimensions. Those histories of the ancient world in which humanity seems strange and distasteful, of Egypt, Phenicia, Babylon, and Assyria, were wide in extent and long in duration: those of Greece and Rome, whose poets, statesmen, legislators, and warriors are our despair, were small in proportion and comparatively short in duration, while they were normal and healthy; the world-empires of both were neither natural nor admirable. It will not do, therefore, to judge Napoleon by the length of his career, or by the standards of other times and different circumstances. The centralization of administration in the commonwealth which he rescued from the clutches of anarchy was probably essential to the rescue; the expediency which he deliberately cultivated in the Concordat, in the laws of the family and inheritance, and in the fatal Continental system, was possibly a

statesman's palliative for momentary political disease. His artificial aristocracy, his system of great fiefs, his financial shifts—who dares to say that these institutions did not meet a temporary want? Moreover, it is worth considering whether a direct reaction to moderate, sane republicanism from extreme and furious Jacobinism was possible at all, and whether a reaction from Napoleon's imperial democracy was not easier and the results more permanent. In other words, is it likely that the third French republic could have been the direct successor of the first? The question is certainly debatable. No pen can delineate the sufferings of France under Napoleonic institutions as that of Taine has so ably and scathingly done; his wonderful etching powerfully exhibits painful truths. But who is to blame if a nation is hampered by its administration, by a centralization it no longer needs, by social regulations which it has outgrown, by political habits which do not suit the age? Not alone the man who inaugurated them, for ends partly selfish but also partly statesmanlike; the people who timidly endure are responsible for the doom which will certainly overtake any nation living in a social and political structure antiquated and unsuitable.

One thing at least the new France has done with magisterial style: she has introduced into her political machinery respect for political habit. The French government of to-day is distinctly an outgrowth of conditions, and not of theories. Its constitution has none of the fatal marks of completeness which her other republican constitutions have borne; on the contrary, there never was a period in modern times when to the outsider French institutions seemed as cresceive as they do to-day. And they have abundant material on which to work. There are signs that the system of nations as armed camps, for which Napoleon set the example, is breaking by its own weight; modern armies are mostly national schools controlled by scientific inquisitiveness and permeated by a civic spirit; the pacific federal system of the great European powers sometimes seems feeble and rickety, but it is in existence. Alliances are now federations for peace; the Triple Alliance is or was a federation for peace; so too the Sextuple Alliance, so energetic and persistent in its support of Turkey, has been a federation for peace. Perhaps the day is nearer than we think when a working system of international understandings, without appeal to war, whatever name be given to the practice, will be devised. Then

CH. XXVII Summary

certainly, but long before, let us hope, France may anchor her liberties in a bill of rights, destroy judicial inquisition, begin to slacken the bonds of her prefectoral system, emancipate her universities and academies, regenerate public feeling as to the increase of population by modifying her laws of the family, and go on not only to populate her own fertile fields, but to make the magnificent colonies which she has acquired the future homes of countless children, a field for exerting her superfluous energy — in short, when she may slough off her now superfluous Napoleonic institutions.

It would be utterly unjust, however, to plead a justification of Napoleon solely by such a monumental fact as that he was in all likelihood the forerunner of modern France. Even when the country adopted him, his positive, direct influence for good was great. The Concordat, whatever its faults, partly secured a free church and a free state, separating thus what God had never joined together in holy wedlock; his splendid codes — for no matter who pondered and shaped them, they were his in execution — have guaranteed the perpetuity of civil equality not only in France, but, as the sequel has shown, throughout great expanses of Europe; the questions of a nation's right to its chosen ruler and government, agitated in a new form during the Hundred Days, were those with which succeeding generations were concerned until they were answered in the affirmative. The difference between the France of 1802 and that of 1815 is on one side painful, but on another side it is remarkably significant. The former was transitional and chaotic; the latter had that amazing but completed social union, stronger than any ever known in history, which has saved the country in succeeding storm-periods. In it there was respect for persons, for contract, for property; the administration was unitary, homogeneous, and active; the finances, though not regulated, were restored to vigor; and the processes were inaugurated by which the great cities of France have become healthful and beautiful, while at the same time the internal improvements of the country have been systematized and rendered splendid in their efficiency. Revolutionary concepts were so modified and assimilated that the efforts of the dynasties, when put to the test of public opinion, failed because they were felt to be absurd by the masses. It was one of Napoleon's aphorisms that "to have the right of using nations, you must begin by serving them well." Like a good burgher, he made his servants comfortable and happy. His ex-

IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES

TYPOGRAVURE BOUSSOD, VALADON & CO, PARIS.

THE FUNERAL CORTÈGE OF NAPOLEON IN THE PLACE DE LA CONCORDE,

ample, moreover, was reflected abroad throughout Europe; and to the millions of plain and not very shrewd inhabitants of other lands, the Revolution, as Napoleon had shaped it, lost many of the horrors with which Jacobinism, to the everlasting damnation of both the thing and its name, had clothed it. It is a question whether there was in existence a strong liberal France, such as idealists depict, that could pacifically have done this wonderful work. Examining and duly weighing the desperation of dynastic absolutism, it looks as if nothing but the counter-poison of Napoleon's militarism could have prevented its annihilating French liberalism. Without Napoleon the conservative liberalism of to-day would have been impossible.

Turning to the field of general history, there are certain facts, admittedly Napoleon's doing, which quite as certainly are among the most important factors of contemporary politics. Of themselves these would suffice to give him a high place in constructive history. In the first place, he deprived England of the monopoly in what had long been essentially and peculiarly her political ideal. What was the basis of the long conflict between England and France to which Napoleon fell heir? Was the struggle of these two glorious and enlightened sister nations a struggle for territorial ascendancy in Europe? Not entirely. Was it a life-and-death struggle for ascendancy in the Western World? No. The Seven Years' War had decided that question against France, and the American war for independence had in a sense evened the score in its decision against England; for the prize had been awarded to a new people. No; the conflict did not rage over this. What, then, was the cause? Nothing less than a passion for the ascendancy of one of these highest forms of civilization throughout the globe, including both Europe and America. This Anglo-Saxon, political, commercial religious, and social conception was after the Napoleonic wars no longer confined to Great Britain. Thence onward the great powers of Europe have been chiefly concerned, aside from their care for self-preservation, in partitioning Africa and Asia among themselves; and this process is no sooner complete than they begin to murmur about the Monroe doctrine and to cast longing eyes toward Central and South America. The state system which was once European has become coextensive with the sphere on which we live, and this notion of world-domination so denounced when held by Napoleon has become the motive-power of every great modern civilization.

CH. XXVII — Summary

If we consider the national politics of Europe beyond the boundaries of France, history again becomes a record of influences started by Napoleon's works, either of commission or of omission. Russia's grandeur as a European power appears to be largely due to the temporary extinction of Poland's hope for national resurrection. Had Napoleon, instead of playing his doubtful game with the grand duchy of Warsaw, turned into an autonomous permanency the scarcely known provisional government of Poland, which he actually inaugurated and which worked for a considerable time, and had he restored to its sway both the Prussian and Austrian shares in the shameless partition, we might have seen quite another result to the military migration of 1812. We can scarcely doubt, moreover, that Poland, restored under French protection, would have been a buffer state between Russia, Prussia, and Austria, rendering the crushing coalition an impossibility in 1813, while in 1814 the allies could probably never have crossed the French frontier, if indeed they had dared to go even so far in their march across Europe. But his positive achievement was quite as important. The Germany of to-day is a great federal state guided, but not dominated, by Prussia. What are its other important members? Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden — all three in their present extent and influence the creations of Napoleon; the nice balance of powers in the German Empire is due to his arrangement of the map. There is even a sense in which all Germany, as we know it, sprang full armed from his head. He not merely taught the peoples of central Europe their strategy, tactics, and military organization: it was he who carried the standard of enlightenment (in his own interest, of course, but still he carried it) through the length and breadth of their territories, and made its significance clear to the meanest intellect of their teeming millions. Thereafter the longings for German unity, for German fatherland, for the organization of German strength into one movement, could never be checked. The swarm of petty tyrants who had modeled their life and conduct on the example of Louis XIV., and who in struggling to vie with his villainies had debauched themselves and their peoples, was swept away by Napoleon's ruthlessness, to give place to the larger, more wholesome nationality of this century, which was destined in the end to inspire the surrounding nations with the new concept of respect, not alone for one's own nationality, but for that of others.

What French influence effected in Italy is a topic so recondite as to

require separate discussion; for the results were not so immediate or so dramatic as they were in Germany. But the destruction of petty governments was as ruthless as in the north; the ideas which marched in Bonaparte's ranks found at least a large minority of intelligent admirers among the invaded; and Italian unity, though won by a family he feared and abused, is in no doubtful sense indebted for its existence, not merely to Napoleon's age, but to the ideas he disseminated and to the efforts at a practical beginning which he made. As to Austria-Hungary, the new historical epoch which makes her essentially the empire of the lower Danube takes its rise from Napoleon's time and influence. The relaxation of her grasp on Italy has thrown her across the Adriatic for the territorial expansion essential to her position as a great power. It has been her mission to rescue by moral influence some of the fairest lands in the Balkan peninsula from waste and anarchy. Mere proximity is a powerful factor; the turbulence of Austrian local patriotism has been the seed of wholesome discontent among the Christian populations of Turkey, whose first awakening was largely due to the emissaries sent by Napoleon to fire the hearts of the oppressed and suffering subjects of that distracted land. Servia is one example of this; and in a sense the national awakening of Greece began with the hopes similarly aroused.

Another page of history which remains to be written is that which shall record the influence of Napoleon, direct and indirect, upon the destinies of the United States. The astounding magic of his name in our country is partly due to a quality of the American mind which makes its possessor the passionate and indiscriminating adorer of greatness in every form. The Americans are more French than the French in their admiration of power. But after all this is not the main reason for their interest in Napoleon. They are, dimly at least, aware of certain facts which have determined their history and made them an independent nation. Their first war for independence left them tributary to the mother-country both industrially and commercially. It was Napoleon who pitilessly, though slyly and indirectly, launched them into the second war with Great Britain, from which they emerged with some glory and some sense of defeat, but, after all, with the tremendous and permanent gain of absolute commercial independence. In the second place, their purchase of Louisiana, though understood by only a few at the moment, revolutionized their system both inside and outside.

CH. XXVII Summary

That momentous step destroyed the literal interpretation of the constitution, hitherto enslaving a congeries of jarring little commonwealths in the bondage of verbalism, because, though manifestly beneficent and necessary, it could be justified before the law only by an appeal to the spirit and not to the letter. Thenceforward Americans have steadily been enlarging their constitutional law by interpretation, and the apparent timidity of amendment which they display is simply due to the absence of necessity for revision as long as expansion by interpretation continues. But certainly quite as important as this was also the displacement, by the acquisition of that vast territory, of what may be called the national center of gravity. Until then the aspirations of Americans had been toward Europe; the public opinion of the country had until then demanded the largest possible intercourse with that continent compatible with freedom from political entanglement. Thereafter there was a change in their spirit: a continent of their own was open to their energies. For two generations their history has been concerned with exploration, with mechanical invention, and with solving the great problem of how to prevent an extension of slavery corresponding to the extension of territory. But nevertheless, steadily and vigorously two correlated concepts were propagating themselves: neglect of Europe, in order to expand and assimilate their recent acquisition; industrial exclusiveness, for the sake of this great home market which immigration, settlement, and the formation of new commonwealths was creating, not at the front door, but in the rear of the States stretching along the Atlantic. This resulted in a temporary "about-face" of the nation; and it is only now, when the prize of material greatness and of territorial unity has been secured, that the nation turns once more toward the rising sun, in order to get from older lands everything germane to its own civilization, and to assimilate these acquisitions, if possible, in realizing its own ideals of moral grandeur.

THE END.

FROM PHOTOGRAPH IN THE COLLECTION OF DR. CHARLES J. COOPER

NAPOLEON I

FROM THE BUST BY CHAUDET, AFTER THE DEATH-MASK

The bust marks the place where stood the bed on which Napoleon died

HISTORICAL SOURCES

In making this book I have had access to the following original sources:

I. Unpublished Documents: *a*, The papers of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the years of Napoleon's life, including those of the "Fonds Napoléon." *b*, The unpublished correspondence of Napoleon kept in the French Ministry of War, including the "Volumes Rouges" and the "Dossier de l'Empereur." This is as voluminous at least as the published correspondence, but of personal and technical rather than political interest. I have also consulted the archives of the General Staff in the same building concerning many events connected with Napoleon's career. *c*, The papers of Napoleon's youth known as the Ashburnham papers, but now owned by the Italian government, and kept in the Laurentian library at Florence. Since I used them they have been published by Masson and Biagi, but the editors have corrected the text to an extent which is in our day not considered scientific. *d*, The despatches of American diplomatists resident abroad during Napoleon's career. *e*, Certain papers from the Record Office in London relating to Napoleon's surrender and his life in St. Helena. *f*, Certain papers of Henri Beyle containing characterizations of Napoleon and contemporary anecdotes concerning him. These were translated by Jean de Mitty from a cipher manuscript in the public library at Grenoble. *g*, A considerable number of Napoleon's letters kindly put at my disposal by various collectors.

II. Published Official Papers. Within the last few years original documents concerning the Napoleonic epoch have been printed very extensively. Nearly all the important books are based on archival research, and the respective authors generally print a certain number of despatches or reports in justification of their conclusions. The following collections are the most important: *a*, The Correspondence of Napoleon. *b*, Official Papers of the Helvetic Republic. *c*, Diplomatic Correspondence between Prussia and France, 1795–97. *d*, Lord Whitworth's despatches. *e*, Ducasse's Supplement to Napoleon's Correspondence. *f*, The Papers of Gentz and Schwarzenberg. *g*, The Papers of Metternich. *h*, Napoleon's Letters to Caulaincourt.

i, Napoleon's Letters to King Joseph. *j*, The Letters of King Jerome, Queen Catharine, and King Frederick of Würtemberg. *k*, The Papers of Castlereagh, Banks, Jackson, and other English statesmen of the time. *l*, Diplomatic Correspondence between Russia and France. *m*. The Archives of Count Woronzoff. *n*, Diplomatic Correspondence of the Sardinian ambassadors at St. Petersburg. *o*, Diplomatic Correspondence of the ministers of the republic and kingdom of Italy. *p*, Lecestre's Unpublished Letters of Napoleon. This list might be extended almost indefinitely by adding such collections as Ducasse's Memoirs of King Joseph, Napoleon's Letters to Josephine, the Correspondence of Eugène, etc., etc.; but these older books are too well known to require enumeration, and, though authentic, are only semi-official or personal publications.

III. Contemporary Memoirs. Those titles given in the bibliography are, with a few exceptions, the most valuable. The positive, literal truth of the so-called memoirs attributed to Bourrienne, Constant, Caulaincourt, Barras, Fouché, and Avrillon is very slender. They are all made by skilful patchwork, and must be read with the utmost caution. In fact, it is doubtful whether, with the exception of Barras's scandalous record, they have, strictly speaking, any right to the names they bear. This much negative value they have: that they show how history can be falsified in one interest or another. In this they resemble what was Napoleon's own literary bequest, the Memorial and other dictations written down at St. Helena.

The list of books appended makes no pretense to completeness. It contains, however, the titles of such volumes as will assure the reader a complete view of Napoleon and his times from the best sources.

My thanks for special courtesies are due to the officers of the Bibliothèque Nationale of France, to Messrs. Girard de Rialle and Louis Farge of the French Foreign Office, to Commander Margueron and M. Brun of the French War Department, to Mr. Hubert Hall of the Record Office in London, and to Mr. Albert Vignaud, Secretary of the American Embassy in Paris. To Mr. Eustis and Mr. Bayard, American ambassadors in Paris and London respectively, I am indebted for the courtesies shown me by the French and English officials, unknown to me either personally or by name, who opened the doors of their archives to a stranger.

It will be understood that the absence of references, notes, and discussions throughout the preceding pages is due to the publishers' plan, which, in deference to what seems to be the present taste of the reading public, excluded them as interfering with the course of the narrative.

WM. M. SLOANE.

Princeton, August 1, 1897.

Abdurrahman Gabarti. Journal pendant l'occupation française en Egypte, suivi d'un Précis de la même campagne par Mou'allem Nicolas-El-Turki, tr. de l'arabe par A. Cardin. Par., 1838. 8°.

Abell, Mrs. L. E. B. Recollections of the emperor Napoleon during the first three years of his captivity. Lond., 1845. 12°.

Abell, Mrs. L. E. B. Recollections of the emperor Napoleon on the Island of St. Helens. 3d ed., rev. by her daughter, Mrs. C. Johnston. Lond., 1873. 12°.

Adam, A. Aus dem Leben eines Schlachtenmalers, Selbstbiographie nebst e. Anh. Hrsg. v. H. Holland. Stuttg., 1886. 8°.

Adolphus, J. History of England from the accession to the decease of king George III. Lond., 1840–45. 7 v. 8°.

Alison, Sir A. History of Europe from the commencement of the French Revolution, in 1789, to the Restoration of the Burbons, in 1815. Par., 1841–42. 10 v. 8°.

Alison, Sir A. Lives of Lord Castlereagh and Sir Charles Stewart, the 2d and 3d marquesses of Londonderry; with annals of contemporary events. Edinb., 1861. 3 v. 8°.

Allonville, Comte d'. Mémoires secrets de 1770 à 1830. Par., 1838–45. 6 v. 8°.

Amtliche Sammlung der Acten aus d. Zeit d. Helvetischen Republik (1798–1803) im Anschluss an d. Sammlung d. ältern. eidg. abschiede. Hrsg. auf Anordng. d. Bundesbehörden. Besrb. v. J. Strickler. Bern., 1886–89. 3 Bde. 4°.

Angeberg, d'. Le Congrès de Vienne et les traités de 1815, précédé et suivi des actes diplomatiques, avec intr. hist. par M. Capefigue. Par., 1864. 2 v.

Anglemont, E. d'. Le Duc d'Enghien, histoire-drame. Par., 1832. 8°.

Anti-Jacobin, or Weekly Examiner. 1st ed. Lond., 1797–98. 2d ed., 1799.

Arnault, A. V. Souvenirs d'un sexagénaire. Par., 1833. 4 v. 8°.

Artaud de Montor, F. Histoire des souverains pontifes romains. Par., 1847–49. 8 v. 12°.

Ashton, J. English caricature and satire on Napoleon I. Lond., 1884. 2 v. New ed., 1888.

Antommarchi, F. Mémoires: ou, Les derniers moments de Napoléon. Brux., 1825. 2 v. 8°.

Aster, K. H. Gefechte u. Schlachten bei Leipzig im October, 1813. 2 Ausg. Dresd., 1852–53. 2 Bde. 8°.

Aster, K. H. D. Kriegsereignisse zwischen Peterswalde, Pirna, Königstein u. Priesten im Aug., 1813, u. die Schlacht bei Kulm. Dresd., 1845. 8°.

Aster, K. H. Schilderung d. Kriegsereignisse in und vor Dresden, vom 7 März bis 28 August, 1813. 2 Ausg. Lpz., 1856. 8°.

Aubenas, J. A. Histoire de l'Impératrice Joséphine. Par., 1857–58. 2 v. 8°.

Auckland. Journal and correspondence of William, Lord Auckland. Lond., 1861. 4 v. 8°.

Aucoc, L. Conférences sur l'administration et le droit administratif, faites à l'École des ponts et chaussées. 3 éd. Par., 1885–86. 2 v. 8°

Aucoc, L. Le conseil d'Etat avant et depuis 1789, ses transformations, ses travaux et son personnel: Étude hist. et bibliographique. Par., 1876. 8°.

Audiffret-Pasquier, E. D., Duc d'. Histoire de mon temps: mémoires publ. par le Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier. 5 éd. Par., 1894. 6 v. 8°.

Audiffret-Pasquier, E. D., Duc d'. History of my time, memoirs: ed. by the Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier, tr. by C. E. Roche. The Revolution, the Consulate, the Empire. N. Y., 1893–94. 3 v. 8°.

Aulard, F. A. Le Directoire exécutif, in Rambaud et Lavisse, Histoire générale. t. VIII. Par., 1898. 8°.

Avrillon, Mme. Mémoires sur la vie privée de l'Imp. Joséphine, sa famille, et sa cour. Par., 1833. 2 v. 12°.

Baader, J. Streiflichter auf die Zeit d. tiefsten erniedrigung Deutschlands oder die Reichsstadt Nürnberg in d. Jahren 1801–1806. Nürnberg, 1878.

Bailac, J. B. Nouvelle chronique de la ville de Bayonne, par un Bayonnais. Bayonne, 1827–28. 2 v. 8°.

Bailleu, P. Preussen und Frankreich von 1795 bis 1807: diplomatische Correspondenzen. Lpz., 1881–87. 2 v. 8°. (Publ. a. d. K. preuss. Staatsarchiv. Bde. 8, 29.)

Barante, A. G. P. Brugière de. Études historiques et biogrsphiques. Nouv. éd. Par., 1858. 2 v. 18°.

Barante, A. G. P. Brugière de. Histoire du Directoire de la République française. Par., 1855. 3 v. 8°.

Barante, A. G. P. Brugière de. Souvenirs, 1782–1866. Publ. par son petit-fils C. de Barante. Par., 1890–95. 5 v. 8°.

Barbé Marbois, F. de. Journal d'un déporté non jugé, ou Déportation, en violation des lois, decrétée le 18 Fructidor an V. (4 Sept., 1797). Par., 1834. 2 v. 8°.

Barni, J. Napoléon I. et son historien M. Thiers. Par., 1865. 12°.

Barral, Georges. L'épopée de Waterloo: narration nouvelle des cent jours et de la campagne de Belgique en 1815. Par., 1895. 8°.

Barral-Montferrat, Marquis de. Dix ans de psix armée entre la France et l'Angleterre 1783–1793. 1er v. Par., 1893. 8°.

Barras, P. F. J. N., Comte de. Mémoires; pub. avec une introduction générale, des préfaces et des appendices par G. Duruy. Par., 1895. 4 v. 8°.

Batjin, N. Histoire de l'Empereur Napoléon Ier. Lond., 1867. 2 v. 8°.

Baudouin, A. Anecdotes historiques du temps de la Restauration, suivies de recherches sur l'origine de la presse, son développement, son influence sur les esprits, ses rapports avec l'opinion publique, les mesures restrictives apportées à son exercice. Par., 1853. 12°.

Baudus. Études sur Napoléon. Par., 1841. 2 v. 8°.

Baumgarten, H. Geschichte Spaniens vom Ausbruch d. französisch. Revolution bis auf unsere Tage. Lpz., 1865–71. 3 v. 8°. (Staatengesch. d. neuesten Zeit. Bde. 9, 17.)

Bausset, L. F. J. de. Mémoires anecdotiques sur l'intérieur du palais. 1805–14. 2 éd. Par., 1827. 4 v. 8°.

Beauchampe, A. de. Histoire des campagnes de 1814–15. Par., 1815–17. 4 v. 8°.

Beauharnais, le prince **Eugène de.** Mémoires et correspondance politique et militaire. Publ., annotés et mis en ordre par A. Du Casse. Par., 1858–60. 10 v. 8°.

Beaulieu-Marconnay, Karl Frhr. v. Karl v. Dalberg u. seine Zeit, zur Charakteristik d. Fursten Primas. Weimar, 1879. 2 Bde. 8°.

Beer, A., Geschichte des Welthandels im XIX Jahrhunderte, Wien. 1864–84. 2 Bde.

Beer, A. Zehn Jahre österreichischer Politik. 1801–1810. Lpz., 1877. 8°.

Beer, A. D. Orientalische Politik Oesterreichs seit 1774. Prag. 1883. 8°.

Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Feldzüge v. 1813–14, von e. Offizier d. alliirten Armee. Berl., 1815. 8°.

Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Feldzüge 1814–15 in Frankreich, in besond. Beziehung auf d. Commando d. Kronprinzen v. Würtemberg, herausg. v. d. Offizieren d. Würtemb. Gen. Quart. Staabs. Stuttg., 1818. 3 Hefte, mit 12 plän.

Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Franzos-russ. Feldzugs im Jahre 1812. Bresl., 1814. 8°.

Beiträge zur Geschichte d. Jahres 1813, von einem höhern Offizier d. Preuss. Armee. Potsdam, 1843. 2 Bde. mit Beilagen.

Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Krieges von 1806–07, oder Bemerkk. Berichtigungen u. Zusätze zu d. in Theile des Werkes: Gesch. d. Kriege in Europa seit d. Jahre 1792 als Folgen d. Staatsveränderung in Frankreich unter Ludwig XVI., etc. Berl., 1834. Breslau, 1836.

Beiträge zur Geschichte d. Krieges vom Jahre 1806 u. 07, oder Bemerkk. Berichtigungen u. Zusätze zu d. in Theile des Werkes, etc. Breslau, 1836. (Contains the memoirs of Oginski, Eugen's von Würtemberg, and Bennigsen.)

Beiträge zur Geschichte d. Ruckzugs d. Franzosen nach d. Schlacht bei Leipzig. Lpz., 1815. 8°.

Beitzke, H. Geschichte d. deutschen Freiheitskriege in den Jahren 1813–14. 4 neu bearb. Aufl. v. P. Goldschmidt. Bremen, 1883. 2 Bde. 8°.

Belliard, A. D. Mémoires [1792–1831], recueillis et mis en ordre par M. Vinet. Par., 1842. 3 v. 8°.

Belloc, Mme. L. Swanton. Bonaparte et les Grecs. Par., 1826. 8°.

Bellune, Claude Victor Perrin, duc de, psir et maréchal de France. Mémoires mis en ordre par son fils aîné, Victor St. Perrin. Par., 1847. v. 1. (No more publ.)

Béranger, P. J. de. Ma biographie, suivie d'un appendice 3 éd. Par., 1859. 12°.

Bernays, Guillaume. Schicksale d. Grossherzogth. Frankfurt u. seiner Truppen. Eine kulturhistor. u. militär. Studie aus der Zeit d. Rheinbundes. Berl., 1882. 8°.

Bernhardi, Th. v. Denkwürdigkeiten a. d. Leben des Kaiserl. russ. Generals v. d. Infanterie Carl Frdr. Grafen v. Toll. 2 verm. Aufl. Lpz., 1865. 4 Bde.

Bernhardi, Th. v. Geschichte Russlands u. der europäischen Politik, 1814 bis 1831. Lpz., 1863–77. 3 v. 8°.
(Staatengesch. d. neuesten Zeit. Bde. 7, 21, 23.)

Berthezène, P. Souvenirs militaires de la République et de l'Empire [1798–1815]; publ. par son fils. Par., 1855. 2 v. 8°.

Bertin, G. La campagne de 1812, d'après des témoins oculaires. Par. n. d. 8°.

Bertin, G. La campagne de 1813, d'après des témoins oculaires. Par. [1896]. 8°.

Bertrand, A. L'organisation française; le gouvernement, l'administration. Par., 1882. 12°.

Bertrand, Général H. G., Éd. Guerre d'Orient. Campagnes d'Egypte et de Syrie. Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Napoléon dictés par lui-même à Sainte-Hélène et publiés par le Gen. Bertrand. Par., 1847. 2 v. 8°. Atlas fol.

Besancenet, A. de. Le Général Dommartin en Italie et en Egypte. Ordres de service. Correspondance, 1789–1799. Par., 1880. 12°.

Beugnot, Comte, J. C. Mémoires (1783–1815), publ. par le comte A. Beugnot, son petit-fils. 3 éd. Par., 1889. 8°.

Beyle, H. (Stendhal, *pseud.*). Vie de Napoléon: fragments. 2 éd. Par., 1877. 12°.

Bingham, Gen. G. R. Diary of Napoleon's voyage to St. Helena. Blackwood's Magazine, Oct. 1896.

Bigarré, Général. Mémoires 1775–1813. Par., 1893. 8°.

Bignon, L. P. Histoire de France sous Napoléon: redigée et terminée par A. Ernouf. Par., 1838–50. 14 v. 8°.

Bignon, L. P. Souvenirs d'un diplomate, La Pologne, (1811–13), précédés d'une notice hist. sur la vie de l'auteur par M. Mignet. Par., 1864.

Bisset, R. The History of the Reign of George III to the termination of the late War. Lond., 1803. 6 v. 8°

Blanc, L. Histoire de la Révolution française. Par., 1847–62. 12 v. 8°.
Nouvelle éd. ornée de 600 gravures. Par., 1881. 2 v. 4°.

Blanc, A. E. Napoléon Ier: Ses institutions civiles et administratives. Par., 1880. 8°.

Blocqueville, A. L. d'Eckmühl. Le Maréchal Davout, Prince d' Eckmuhl, raconté par les siens et par lui-même. Par., 1879–80. 4 v. 8°.

Bockenheimer, C. E. Erinnerungen an die Geschichte d. Stadt Mainz in d. Jahren 1813 u. '14. Mainz, 1863. 8°.

Bogdanowitsch, M. Geschichte des Feldzuges im Jahre 1812, nach den zuverlässigsten Quellen. Aus d. Russ. v. G. Baumgarten. Lpz., 1862–63. 3 Bde. 8°.

Bogdanowitsch, M. Geschichte d. Krieges im Jahre 1813 für Deutschlands Unabhängigkeit. Aus d. Russ. mit Genehmigung d. Autors von A. S. St. Petersb., 1863–69. 2 Bde.

Bogdanowitsch, M. Geschichte d. Krieges 1814 in Frankreich u. d. Sturzes Napoleons I., nach d. zuverlässigsten Quellen. Aus d. Russ. von G. Baumgarten. Lpz., 1866. 8°.

Böhtlingk, A. Napoléon Bonaparte: seine Jugend und sein Emporkommen (1769–1801). 2 Ausg. Lpz., 1883. 2 v. 8°.

Böhtlingk, A. Napoleon Bonaparte u. d. Rastatter Gesandtenmord: ein Wort an meine Herren Kritiker. Lpz., 1883. 8°.

Boissonnade, J. F. Critique littéraire sous le premier Empire. Publ. par F. Colincamp. Paris, 1863. 2 v. 8°.

Bonaparte, N. Joseph C. P., Prince. Napoleon and his detractors; tr. and ed., with a biog. sketch and notes by R. S. de Beaufort. Lond., 1888. 8°.

Bonaparte, Louis. Documents historiques et Réflexions sur le gouvernement de la Hollande. (Nouv. éd.) Par., 1820. 3 v. 8°.

Bonaparte, Lucien. Réponse aux Mémoires du général Lamarque sur les faits relatifs à 1815. Lond.. 1835. 8°.

Bonaparte, Lucien, et ses mémoires (1775–1840), ed. by T. Jung. Par., 1882. 3 v. 8°.

Bonnal, Edm. Chute d'une république: Venise, d'après les archives secrètes de la République. Par., 1885. 12°.

Bonnal de Ganges. La génie de Napoléon. Par., 1896. 2 v. 12°.

Boppe, A. Documents inédits sur les relations de la Serbie avec Napoléon I, 1809–14. Extrait de l'Otatchbina, livres xix et xx. Belgr, 1888. 8°.

Borcke, J. v. Kriegerleben, 1806–15. Nach dessen Aufzeichng. bearb. von Leszczynski. Berl., 1888. 8°.

Bosse, R. H. B. von. Übersicht d. französischen Staatswirthschaft. Braunschw., 1806. 2 Thle.

Botta, C. Storia d'Italia dal 1789 al 1814. Torino, 1824. 8 v.

Boulay de la Meurthe, Comte. Le Directoire et l'expédition d'Egypte: Étude sur les tentatives du Directoire pour communiquer avec Bonaparte, le secourir et le ramener. Par., 1885. 12°.

Boulay de la Meurthe, Comte de. Les dernières années du Duc d'Enghien. (1801–1804.) Par., 1886. 12°.

Boulay de la Meurthe, Comte de., Éd. Documents sur la négociation du concordat. Par., 1891–95 4 v. 8°.

Bourgeois, R. Relation fidèle et détaillée de la dernière campagne de Bonaparte terminée par la bataille de Mont Saint Jean, dite de Waterloo ou de la Belle Allianee, par un témoin oculaire. Par., 1815. 8°.

Bourgeois, R. Tableau de la campagne de Moscou en 1812. Par., 1814. 8°.

Bourgoing, P. de. Itinéraire de Napoléon I. de Smorgoni à Paris, épisode de la guerre de 1812. Premier extrait des mém. militaires et politiques inédits. Par., 1862.

Bourrienne, L. A. F. de. Mémoires sur Napoléon, le Directoire, le Consulat, l'Empire, et la Restauration. Paris, 1829–31. 8 v. 8°.

Bourrienne, L. A. F. de. Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte. ed. with pref. and notes by R. W. Phipps. N. Y., 1889. 4 v. 8°.

Bouvier, F. Les premiers combats de 1814. Prologue de la campagne de France dans les Vosges. Par., 1895. 8°.

Boyen, H. v. Erinnerungen aus dem Leben d. Gen. Feldmarschalls H. v. B. aus seinem Nachlass im Auftrage d. Familie, hrsg. v. F. Nippold. 3 Thle. Lpz., 1889–90. 8°.

Brandt, Heinrich. Aus dem Leben des Generals der Infanterie von Brandt. 2te Auflage. 3 Thle. Berl., 1870–82.

Bréaut, J. des Marlots. 1812. Lettre d'un capitaine de cuirassiers sur la campagne de Russie. Publiée par J. A. Léher. Par., 1885. 18°.

Broglie, A. C. L. V., Duc de. Souvenirs. 1785–1870. Par., 1886–87. 4 v. 8°.

Brougham. Historical sketches of statesmen who flourished in the time of George III. Par., 1839.

Browning, O. England and Napoleon in 1803, being the despatches of Lord Whitworth and others, now first printed. Lond., 1887. 8°.

Brunetière, F. Études critiques sur l'histoire de la littérature française. Paris, 1880–93. 5 v. 12°.

Buchez, P. B. J., *et* **Roux-Lavergne. P. C.** Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française, ou Journal des assemblées nationales, depuis 1789 jusqu'en 1815. Par., 1833–1838. 40 v. 8°.

Buchez, P. J. B. Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française. 2 éd., revue et entièrement remaniée par l'auteur, en collaboration avec MM Jules Bastide, E. S. de Bois-le-Comte et Q. Ott. Par., 1845–47. 6 v. 12°.

Buckingham. Memoirs of the court and cabinets of George III. by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. Lond., 1853–55. 4 v. 8°.

Buloz, A., Éd. Bourrienne et ses erreurs volontaires et involontaires; ou, Obs. sur ses mémoires: par Belliard, Gourgaud, d'Aure, de Survilliers, Meneval, Bonacossi, d'Eckmühl, Massias, Boulay de la Meurthe, de Stein, Cambacérès. Par., 1830. 2 v. 8°.

Burghersh, Lord. (John Fane, Earl of Westmoreland). Memoir of the Operations of the Allied Armies under Prince Schwarzenberg and Marshal Blücher, 1813–14. Lond., 1822. 8°.

Burghersh, Lord. Memoiren üb. d. Operationen d. Verbündeten heere unter dem Fürsten Schwarzenberg u. dem Feldmarshall Blücher wahrend des endes 1813 u. 1814. Aus d. Engl. von J. W. Schreiber. Berl., 1844, 8°.

Burkersroda, v. D. Sachsen in Russland: ein Beitrag z. Geschichte des russ. Feldzugs im Jahre 1812, besond. im Bezug a. d. Schicksal d. K. Sächs. Truppen-Abtheil bei d. grossen französ. Armee. Naumburg, 1846. 8°.

Buturlin. Hist. militaire de la campagne de Russie en 1812. Par., 1824. 2 v. 8°. Atlas, 4°.

Buturlin. Tableau de la campagne d'automne de 1813 en Allemagne. 2e éd. rev. Par., 1818. 8°.

Cadet de Gassicourt, Ch. L. Voyage en Autriche, en Moravie et en Bavière, fait à la suite de l'armée française en 1809. Paris, 1818. 8°.

Cadoudal, S. G. de. Georges Cadoudal et la Chouannerie. Par., 1887. 8°.

Campbell, Sir **N.** Napoleon at Fontainebleau and Elba. 1814–1815. Lond., 1869. 8°.

Cantu, C., Ed. Corrispondenze di diplomatici della repubblica, e del regno di Italia 1796–1814. Compilazione archivistica. Vol. I°. Milano, 1884. 8°.

Carnot, S. H. Mémoires, par son fils. Par., 1861–64. 2 v. 8°.

Castellane, B. E. V. E., le Maréchal de. Journal . . . 1804–62. 2 éd. Par., 1895–97. 5 v. 8°

Castlereagh, Lord. Correspondence, despatches and other papers. Ed. by C. W. Vane. Lond., 1851–53. 8 v. 8°.

Castro. Milano durante la dominazione napoleonita. Milano, 1880. 8°.

Castro. Storia d' Italia dal 1799 al 1814. Milano, 1881. 8°.

Caulaincourt. Souvenirs du duc de Vicence. Recueillis et publiés par Charlotte de Sor (Mme. Oilleaux-Désormeaux). 4 éd. Par., 1837. 2 v. 8°.

Cerini, Cl. F. X. v. D. Feldzüge d. Sachsen in d. Jahre 1812 u. 1813. Aus d. bewährt. Quellen gezogen u. dargestellt von e. Stabsoffizier. Dresden, 1821. 8°.

Chabot-Arnault. Histoire des flottes militaires. Par., 1889. 8°.

Chalamet, A. Guerres de Napoléon, 1800–07, racontées par des témoins oculaires. Par., 1895. 8°.

Chambray, G. Histoire de l'expédition de Russie, 1812. 3 éd. Par., 1839 8°.

Channing, W. E. Remarks on the life and character of Napoleon Bonaparte. Edinb., 1837. 16°.

Chaptal, J. A., Comte de Chanteloup. Mes souvenirs sur Napoléon; publ. par A. Chaptal. Par., 1893. 8°.

Charlemont, James, First Earl of. Manuscripts and correspondence. Lond., 1894. 2 v. 8°.

Charras, J. B. A. Histoire de la campagne de 1815. Waterloo avec un atlas. 6 éd. Par., 1869. 3 v. 8°.

Charras, J. B. A. Histoire de la guerre de 1813, en Allemagne. Derniers jours de la retraite de Russie. Insurrection de l'Allemagne. Armements. Diplomatie. Entrée en campagne. 2 éd. Par., 1870. 8°.

Chastenay, Mme. de. Mémoires. Publiés par Roserot. Par., 1896.

Chateaubriand, F. A. de. Mémoires de Bonaparte. Par., 1860. 8°. (Œuvres, v. 3.)

Chateaubriand, M., le Vicomte de. Mémoires d'outre-tombe. Par., n. d. 6 v. 8°. (Œuvres.)
Chesney, C. C. Étude de la campagne de 1815; Waterloo. Brux., 1870. 8°.
Chesney, C. C. Waterloo lectures. 2 ed. Lond., 1869. 8°.
Chevalier, Ed. Histoire de la marine française sous le Consulat et l'Empire. Par., 1880. 8°.
Choiseul-Gouffier, Comtesse de. Reminiscences sur l'empereur Alexandre I., et sur l'empereur Napoléon I. Par., 1862. 8°.
Chotard, H. Le Pape Pie VII. à Savone, d'après les minutes des lettres inéd. du gén. Berthier au prince Borghèse et d'après les mémoires inéd. de M. de Lebseltern, conseiller d'ambassade autrichien. Par., 1887. 12°.
Clausewitz, C. v. Hinterlassene Werke ü. Krieg u. Kriegführung. Berl., 1862–89. 10 v. 8°.
Clausewitz, C. v. Nachrichten über Preussen in seiner grossen Katastrophe. Berl., 1888. 2 v.
Clair, C. André Hofer et l'insurrection du Tyrol en 1809. 3 éd. Par., 1880. 8°.
Clercq, A. de. Recueil des traités de la France. Publ. sous les anspices du ministre des affaires étrangères. Par., 1864–72. 10 v. 8°.
Cobbett, W. Facts and observations relative to the peace with Bonuparte. Phil., 1802. 8°.
Cockburn, Henry. Memorials of his time. New ed. Edinb., 1874. 16°.
Coignet, Capt. Les cahiers (1799–1815) publ. d'après le MS. orig. par L. Larchey. Nouv. éd., rev. et cor. Par., 1889. 12°.
Coletta, P. Storia dei reame di Napoli dal 1734–1825. Par., 1835. 8°.
Colomb, E. v. Blücher in Briefen aus den Feldzügen 1813–15. Stuttg., 1876. 8°.
Colomb, F. A. von. Aus dem Tagebuche. Streifzuge, 1813–14. Berl., 1854. 8°.
Consalvi, H., Cardinal. Mémoires, avec une intr. et des notes par J. Crétineau-Joly. Ces mém. publ. pour la première fois sont enrichis du fac-simile de 8 autographes précieux. Par., 1864. 2 v. 8°.
Constant de Rebecque, H. B. Cours de politique const., ou, Coll. des ouvrages publ. sur le gouvernement représentatif, avec une intr. et des notes par Ed. Laboulaye. Par., 1861. 2 v. 8°.
Constant de Rebecque, B. Mémoires sur les Cent-Jours. Par., 1820–22. 2 v. 8°.
Copies of original letters from the army of Gen. Bonaparte in Egypt, with an eng. tr. Lond., 1798–1800. 3 pts. 12°.
Coppi. Annali d'Italia dal 1750–1807. Rom., 1849. 8°.
Cornwallis. Correspondence ed. by Charles Ross. Lond., 1859. 3 v. 8°.
Correspondance de l'armée française en Egypte, interceptée par l'escadre de Nelson. Trad. en franç., suivie d'observations par E. T. Simon. Par., an vii. 8°.
Corte. Battaglie di S. Michele e Mondovi. Torino, 1846.
Coston, F. G., Baron de. Biographie des premieres années de Napoléon Bonaparte, c'est-à-dire depuis sa naissance jusqu'à l'époque de son commandement-en-chef de l'armée d'Italie, avec un appendice renfermant des documents inédits ou peu connus postérieurs à cette époque. Par., 1840. 2 v. 8°.
Courier, P. L. Collection des lettres et articles publ. jusqu'à ce jour. Par., 1824. 8°.
Czartoryski, A. G., Prince. Mémoires et correspondance avec l'empereur Alexandre I. Préf. de Ch. de Mazade. Par., 1887. 2 v. 8°.
Czartoryski, A. G., Prince. Memoirs and correspondence, with documents relative to the Prince's negotiations with Pitt, Fox, and Brougham, and an account of his conversations with Lord Palmerston and other Eng. statesmen in London, 1832. Ed. by A. Gielgud. 2 ed. Lond., 1888. 2 v. 8°.

Dahlmann, F. C. Waitz, G. Quellenkunde d. deutschen Geschichte. 5te Aufl. Quellen und Bearbeitungen der Deutschen Geschichte neu Zusammengestellt von G. Waitz. 3te Aufl. Gotting., 1883. 8°.
Damitz, K., von. Geschichte des Feldzugs von 1815 in den Niederlanden u. Frankreich. Ber., 1837–38. 2 v. 8°.
Dandolo, G. La caduta della republica di Venezia, ed i suoi ultimi cinquant'anni. Studii, storici, ed appendice. Venezia. 1855–57. 2 v. 8°.
Danilewsky, M. Darstellnng d. Feldzuges in Frankreich im Jahre 1814. In's deutsche ubertr. v. C. v. Kotzebue. Riga, 1837–38. 2 Bde.
Danilewsky, M. Geschichte des Krieges im Jahre 1812. Mit 33 Plänen. Riga, 1840. 8°.
Danilewsky, M. Geschichte des Vaterländ. Krieges im Jahre 1812, auf Allerhöchsten befehl des Kaisers von Russland verfasst. Aus d. Russ. ubersetzt von C. R. Goldhammer. Riga, 1840. 4 Thle.
Danilewsky, M. Relation de la campagne de 1805 (Austerlitz). Tr. du russe par le gén. L. Narischkine. Par., 1846. 8°. 1 carte et 1 plan.
Davout, L., Prince **d'Eckmühl.** Memoire au Roi. Par., 1814. 8°.
Davout, L., Prince **d'Eckmühl.** Correspondance: ses commandements, son ministère, 1801–1815. Avec intr. et notes par Ch. de Mazade. Par., 1885. 4 v. 8°.
Davout, L., Prince **d'Eckmühl.** Opérations du 3e corps, 1806–07. Rapport publié par son neveu le général Davout, duc d'Auerstaedt. Par., 1896. 8°.
Dayot, A. Napoléon raconté par l'image. Par., 1894. 4°.
Dechent. Beiträge z. Gesch. des Feldzuges von 1806, nach Quellen des Archivs Marburg. Berl., 1887. 8°.
Dechend. Die pr.-hess. Waffenbruderschaft im Jahre 1805. Jahrbucher fur die Deutsche Armee und Marine. 1885. Jul. Oct. Nov.
Delauney. Napoléon et la défense des côtes. Extrait du "Memorial de l'artillerie de la marine." Par. 1895. 8°.
Delbruck, H. Historische u. politische Aufsatze. Berl., 1887. 8°.
Delbruck, H. Das Leben d. Feldmarschalls Grafen Neithardt v. Gneisenau. Berl., 1882. 2 Bde. 8°.
Denniée, Baron. Itinéraire de l'Empereur Napoléon pendant la campagne de 1812. Par., 1842. 8°.
Desmarets, C. Témoignages historiques, ou quinze ans de haute police sous Napoléon. Par., 1833. 8°.
Dejob, Mme. de Staël et l'Italie (avec une bibliographie de l'influence française en Italie, 1796–1814). Par., 1890.
Dieffenbach, L. F. Karl Ludwig, Schulmeister, d. Hauptspion, Parteiganger, Polizeiprafekt u. geheimer Agent Napoleons I. Eine mit benutzung zahlreicher, bisher unbekannter amtl. Aktenstucke angestellte histor. Untersuchung. Lpz., 1879.
Ditfurth, M. D. Schlacht bei Borodino am 7 Sept., 1812. Mit besond. Rucksicht auf die Theilnahme d. deutschen Reitercontingente. Marb., 1887.
Doisy de Villargennes, A. J. Reminiscences of army life under Napoleon Bonuparte. Cin., 1884. 12°.
Dorr, J. D. Schlacht von Hanau am 30 Oktbr., 1813. Cassel, 1851. 8°.
Doublet, P. J. L. O. Mémoires historiques sur l'invasion et l'occupation de Malte par une armée française en 1798. Publ. pour la première fois par le comte de Panisse-Passis. Par., 1883. 12°.
Droysen, J. G. D. Leben d. Feldmarschalls Grafen York v. Wartenburg. 10 aufl. Lpz., 1890. 2 Thle.
Du Casse, P. E. A. Le Général Arrighi de Casanova, duc de Padoue. Par., 1866. 2 v. 8°.
Du Casse, P. E. A. Le Général Vandamme et sa correspondance. Par., 1870. 2 v. 8°.
Du Casse, P. E. A. Histoire des négociations diplomatiques relatives aux traités de Mortfontaine, de Lunéville et d'Amiens. Par., 1855. 3 v. 8°.
Du Casse, P. E. A. Mémoires et correspondance du prince Eugène. Par., 1858–60. 10 v. 8°.
Du Casse, P. E. A. Les rois frères de Napoléon I.; documents inédits relatifs au premier Empire. Par., 1883. 8°.
Du Casse, P. E. A. Supplément à la correspondance de Napoléon I.: lettres curieuses omises par le comité de publication, rectifications. Par, 1887. 12°.
Ducéré, E. Napoléon à Bayonne. Bayonne, 1897. 8°.
Ducrest. Mémoires sur l'Impératrice Joséphine. Par., 1828. 2 v. 8°.
Dufort, J. N. Mémoires sur les règnes de Louis XV. et Louis XVI. et sur la Révolution. Publ. avec une intr. et des notes par R. de Crévecœur. Par., 1886. 2 v. 8°.
Dumas, C. Memoirs of his own time, including the Revolution, the Empire, and the Restoration. Philadelphia, 1839. 2 v. 12°.
Dumas, M. Précis des événements militaires; ou, essai historique sur les campagnes de 1799 à 1814. Par., 1816–26. 19 v. 8°.
Dumoulin. Procès du maréchal Ney. Par., 1815. 2 v.
Dumouriez, C. F. D. Jugement sur Bonaparte. (In his Mémoires. v. 4.)
Duncker, M. W. Abhandlungen aus der neueren Geschichte. Lpz., 1887. 8°.
Durand, Mme. Napoleon and Marie-Louise (1810–14): a memoir. Lond., 1886. 12°.
Durdent, R. J. Campagne de Mosceu en 1812. Par., 1814. 8°.
Duruy, A. Études d'histoire militaire sur la Révolution et l'Empire. Par., 1888. 8°. (First chapter is La conspiration du Gén. Malet.)
Duruy, A. L'instruction publique et la Révolution. Par., 1882. 8°.
Duvergier de Hauranne, P. Histoire du gouvernement parlementaire en France, 1814–1848; précédée d'une intr. Par., 1857–65. 7 v. 8°.

Eckardt, J. Yorck u. Paulucci, Aktenstücke u. Beiträge z. Geschichte d. Convention von Tauroggen (18–20 Decbr., 1812). Lpz., 1865. 8°.
Egger, Jos. Geschichte Tirols von den ältesten Zeiten bis in die Neuzeit. Innsbruck, 1871–76. 3 v. 8°.
Einsiedel, A. A. v. Die Feldzüge d. Oestreicher in Italien im Jahre 1805. Mit 1 Schlachtplan u. 1 Karte. Weimar, 1812. 8°.
Elchingen, Duc d'. *See* Ney, M. L. F.
Elliot, Sir G., Earl of **Minto.** Life and letters, 1751–1806. Ed. by the Countess of Minto. Lond., 1874. 3 v. 8°.
Ernouf, A. A. Les Français en Prusse (1807–08), d'après des documents contemporains recueillis en Allemagne. Par., 1872. 18°.
Ernouf, A. A. Le Gén. Kléber: Mayence et Vendée, Allemagne, expédition d'Egypte. 2 éd. Par., 1870. 12°.
Ernouf, A. A. Maret, Duc de Bassano. 2 éd. Paris, 1884. 8°.
Escoiquiz, Don Juan. Wahrhafte darstell d. Grunde, welche den König Ferdinand VII. im April d. Jahre 1808, zur Reise nach Bayonne bewogen haben. Aus d. Span. übersetzt. Wien, 1816.
Eugen, Herzog v. Württemberg. Memoiren. Frankfurt-a-O., 1862. 3v. 8°.
Euler, C. Friedrich Ludwig Jahn; sein Leben u. Wirken. Stuttg., 1881. 8°.

Eyssenhardt, F. Barthold Georg Niebuhr : ein bieg. Versuch. Gotha, 1886. 8°.

Faber, T. Notices sur l'intérieur de la France, écrites en 1806. St. Pétersbourg, 1807. 8°. (La paix de Tilsitt arrêta la publication d'un second vol. qui devait paraître. Le premier vol. n'a été répandu dans le public que par une réimpression faite à Londres, dans le recueil intitulé : "Offrandes à Bonaparte par trois étrangers." 1810.)

Fabre, J. De Fontainebleau à l'île d'Elbe. Par., 1887. 8°.

Fabvier, C. N. Journal des opérations du sixième corps pendant la campagne de 1814 en France. Par., 1819. 8°.

Faguet, E. Politiques et moralistes du 19e siècle. Par., 1891. 12°

Fain, A. J. F. Manuscrit de 1812, contenant le précis des évènements de cette année pour servir à l'histoire de Napoléon. Par., 1827. 2 v. 8°.

Fain, A. J. F. Manuscrit de 1813, pour servir à l'histoire de l'empereur Napoléon. 3 éd. Par., 1829. 2 v. 8°.

Fain, A. J. F. Manuscript of 1814 ; a history of events which led to the abdication of Napoleon. Lond., 1823. 8°.

Fanchille, P. Du blocus maritime. Par., 1882. 8°.

Fauchille, P. La question juive en France sous le premier Empire, d'après des documents inéd. Par., 1884. 8°.

Fauriel, C. Les derniers jours du Consulat, manuscrit inéd. Publ. et annoté par L. Lalanne. Par., 1885.

Fescourt. Histoire de la double-conspiration de 1800, contre le gouvernement consulaire et de la déportation qui eut lieu dans la deuxième année du Consulat ; contenant des détails authentiques et curieux sur la machine infernale et les déportés. Par., 1818. 8°.

Fezensac, R. E. P., J. de Montesquiou, duc de. Souvenirs militaires de 1804 à 1814. 4 éd. Par., 1870. 12°.

Fichte. Der geschlossene Handelstadt. Wein, 1801. 16°.

Flévée, J. Correspondance polit. et administrative, commencée au mois de Mai, 1814. 3 v. Par., 1815–28. 12°.

Flévée, J. Correspondance et relations avec Bonaparte. Par., 1837. 3 v. 8°.

Fleury de Chaboulon, P. A. E., Baron. Mémoires pour servir à l'hist. de la vie privée, du retour et du règne de Napoléon en 1815. Lond., 1820. 2 v. 8°.

Foresi, E. Napoleone I. all' isola dell' Elba. Firenze, 1884. 8°.

Forneron, H. Hist. générale des émigrés pendant la Révolution française. 4 éd. rev. et corr. Par., 1884. 2 v. 8°.

Förster, F. Geschichte d. Befreiungskriege, 1813–15. Nach Theilweise ungedruckten Quellen u. mündlichen Aufschlussen bedeutender Zeitgenossen. Leip., 1856–58. 2 v. 8°.

Förster, F. Napoleon I. russischer Feldzug, 1812. 3 Aufl. 1857.

Forsyth, W. History of the captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena : from the letters and journals of Sir H. Lowe. Lond., 1853. 3 v. 8°.

Fortescue. The manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue, Esq. Preserved at Dropmore. Lond., 1894. In course of publication.

Foucart, P. La campagne de Pologne ; Pultusk et Golymin. Nov. 1806–Jan. 1807, d'après les archives de la guerre. Par., 1882. 2 v. 12°.

Foucart. P. Campagne de Prusse (1806), d'après les archives de la guerre, Jéna. Par., 1887. 8°.

Foucart, P. Campagne de Prusse (1806), d'après les archives de la guerre. Prenzlow-Lübeck. Par., 1890. 8°.

Foucart, P. Bautzen (une bataille de 2 jours) 20–21 Mai, 1813. Par., 1897. 8°.

Fouché, F. Duc d'Otrante. Mémoires. Par., 1824. 2 v. 8°.

Fouché, F. Memoirs of his public life, comprising letters to Napoleon, Wellington, Blücher, etc. Lond., 1818. 8°.

Fournier, A. Gentz u. Cobenzl. Geschichte d. österreich. Diplomatie in den Jahre 1801–05. Nach neuen Quellen. Wien, 1880. 8°.

Fournier, A. Historische Studien u. Skizzen. Prag., 1885. 8°.

Fournier, A. Napoleon I. Eine Biographie. Lpz., 1888–89. 3 v. 8°. (Das wissen d. Gegenwart. vols. 67, 71, 72.)

Fox, C. F. Memorials and correspondence. Ed. by Lord J. Russell. Lond., 1853–57. 4 v. 8°.

Fox, Henry R., Lord Holland. Foreign reminiscences. Ed. by his son. N. Y., 1851. 12°.

Französische Armee im Jahre 1813, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte d. Befreiungs Kriege. Berl., 1889. 8°.

Friant, Comte. Vie militaire du lieutenant-général comte Friant. Par., 1857. 8°.

Friccius, C. Geschichte des Krieges in den Jahren 1813 u. '14. Mit besond. Rücksicht auf Ostpreussen u. d. Königaberg'sche Landwehrbataillon. Berl., 1843. 8°.

Funck, K. W. F. Erinnerungeu aus d. Feldzüge des Sächsischen Corps unter d. Gen. Reynier im Jahre 1812, aus Papieren d. Verstorbenen. Dresd., 1829.

Gaëte, Duc de. Mémoires, souvenirs, opinions, et écrits. Par., 1826. 2 v. 8°.

Gaffarel, Paul. Bonaparte et les républiques italiennes 1796–1799. Par., 1895. 8°.

Gagern, F. H. E. Mein Antheil an der Politik. I : Unter Napoleons Herrschaft. II : Nach Napoleons Fall — d. Congress zu Wien. III : D Bundestag. Stuttg., 1822–30.

Gallois, Léon. Histoire de Napoléon d'après lui-même. 5e ed. Par., 1829. 8°.

Gamot. Réfutation, en ce qui concerne le Mal Ney de l'ouvrage ayant pour titre "Campagne de 1815 . . . par le Gal Gourgaud." Par., 1818. 8°.

Garat. Eloge funèbre des généraux Kléber et Desaix, prononcé le 1er vendémiaire an 9 à la place des Victoires. Par., an IX. 8°.

Gardane, A. de. Mission du Gén. Gardane en Perse sous le premier Empire. Documents historiques. Paris, 1865. 8°.

Garden, G. de. Histoire générale des traités de paix et autres transactions principales entre les puissances de l'Europe depuis la paix de Westphalie. Par., 1848–59. 14 v. 8°.

Gardner, D. Quatre-Bras, Ligny, Waterloo : Narrative of the campaign in Belgium, 1815. Lond., 1882. 8°.

Gentz, F. de. Dépêches inéditeu du chevalier de Gentz aux hospodars de Valachie, pour servir à l'histoire de la politique européenne (1813 à 1828), publiées par le comte Prokesch-Osten fils. Par., 1876–77. 3 v. 8°.

Gentz, F., de. Mémoires et lettres inédits. Publ. par G. Schlesier. Stuttg., 1841.

Gentz, F. de. Tagebücher. Aus dem Nachlass Varnhagen's v. Ense. Lpz., 1873–74. 4 v. 8°.

Gentz, F. de. Oesterreichs Theilnahme an den Befreiunga-Kriegen. Nebst einem Anhang "Briefwechsel zwischen den Fürsten Schwarzenberg und Metternich." Wien, 1887. 8°.

Geffroy, A. Notices et extraits des manuscrits concernant l'histoire ou la litterature de France qui sont conservés dans les archives ou bibliothèques de Suède, Danemark et Norvège. Par., 1856. 8°.

Geoffroy de Grandmaison. Napoléon et les cardinaux noirs, 1810–14. Par., 1895. 16°.

Gérando, M. A. de Rathsamhausen, baronne de. Lettres, suivies de fragments d'un journal écrit par elle de 1800 à 1804. Par., 1880. 12°.

Gérard, E. M., Comte. Quelques documents sur la bataille de Waterloo, propres à éclairer la question portée devant le public par M. le Marquis de Grouchy. Par., 1829. 8°.

Germond de Lavigne, L. A. G. Les pamphlets de la fin de l'Empire, des cent jours, et de la Restauration : Catalogue raisonné. Par., 1879. 12°.

Gildemeieter, J. K. F. Fink's u. Berger's Ermordung. Beitr. zur Charakteristik d. Franzöa. Herrschaft in Deutschland. Bremen, 1814.

Giraud, P. F. F. J. Campagne de Paris, en 1814, précédée d'un coup d'œil sur celle de 1813, ou, précis historique et impartial des événements, depuis l'invasion de la France par les armées étrangères jusqu'à la capitulation de Paris, la déchéance et l'abdication de Buonaparte inclusivement. Par., 1814. 8°.

Gleig, G. R. Story of the battle of Waterloo. N. Y., 1847.

Goecke, R. Das Grossherzogth. Berg unter Joachim Murat, Napoleon I. u. Louis Napoleon, 1806–1813. Ein Beitrag zur gesch. der franzöa. Fremdherrschaft auf dem rechten Rheinufer. Meist nach den Acten d. Düsseldorfer Staats-Archivs. Köln, 1877. 8°.

Goecke, R. D. Königr. Westphalen. 7 Jahre franzöa. Fremdherrschaft im Herzen Deutschlands, 1807–1813. Nach den Quellen dargestellt. vollendet u. hrsg. von Th. Ilgen. Düsseldorf, 1888. 8°.

Goethe, Thdr. Aus d. Leben eines sächsischen Husaren u. aus dessen Feldzugen, 1809, 1812–13 in Polen u. Russland. Lpz., 1853. 8°.

Goldsmith, L. Secret history of the cabinet of Bonaparte. Lond., 1810. 8°.

Goltz, Colmar, Frhr. v. Rossbach u. Jena : Studien üb. die Zustande u. das geistige Leben in der preuss. Armee während der Uebergangszeit vom XVIII zum XIX Jahrh. Berl., 1883.

Goncourt, E. et J. de. Histoire de la Société française pendant le Directeire. Nouv. éd. Par., 1892. 12°.

Gourgaud, G. Campagne de 1815, ou relation des opérations militaires qui ont eu lieu en France et en Belgique pendant les cent jours. Par., 1818. 8°.

Gourgaud, G. Napoléon, et la grande armée en Russie, ou examen critique de l'ouvrage de M. le Comte Ph. de Ségur. 4e éd. Par., 1827. 2 v. 8°.

Gouvion Saint-Cyr, L., Marquis de. Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire militaire sous le Directoire, le Consulat et l'Empire, 1798–1813. Par., 1831. 4 v. 8°.

Greppi. Révélations diplomatiques sur les relations de la Sardaigne avec l'Autriche et la Russie. Par., 1859. 8°.

Grolmann, E. v. Geschichte des Feldzuges von 1814 in dem ostlichen u. nördlichen Frankreich bis z. Einnahme v. Paris, als Beitrag z. neueren Kriegsgeschichte. Hrsg. von Major v. Damitz. Berl., 1842–43. 4 v. 8°.

Grolmann, E. von. Geschichte des Feldzugs von 1815 in den Niederlanden u. Frankreich, als Beitrag z. Kriegsgeschichte d. neueren Kriege. Hrsg. von Major v. Damitz. Berl., 1837. 12 v. 8°.

Grolmann, E. v. Tagebuch eines deutschen Officier üb. seinen Feldzug in Spanien, 1808. Hrsg. v. P. T. Rehfues. Nurnb., 1814.

Grouchy, Gén. Observations sur la relation de la campagne de 1815, pub. par le Gén. Gourgaud; et réfutation de quelques-unes des assertions d'autres écrits relatifs à la bataille de Waterloo. Par., 1819. 8°.

Grouchy, Gén. Fragments historiques relatifs à la campagne de 1815 et à la bataille de Waterloo. Par., 1829. 8°.

Grouchy, Marquis de. Le Mal de Grouchy, du 16 au 19 Juin 1815, avec documents historiques inédits et réfutation de M. Thiers. Par., 1864. 18.

Grouchy, Marquis de. Memoires du Mal de Grouchy. Par., 1873–74. 5 v. 8°.

Guillaume, F., dit Guillaume de Vaudoncourt. Histoire des campagnes de 1814 et 1815, en France. Par., 1826. 5 v. 8°.

Guillaume, F., dit Guillaume de Vaudoncourt. Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la guerre entre la France et la Russie, en 1812. Lond. et Par., 1816 & 1817. 4°, et un petit vol. de planches.

Guillois, A. Napoléon : l'homme, le politique, l'orateur, d'après sa corresp. et ses œuvres. Par., 1889. 2 v. 8°.
Guretzky-Cornitz, H. v. Geschichte d. Eraten Brandenburgischen Ulanen-Regiments (Kaiser v. Russland) vom Jahre 1809–1859. Berlin, 1866. 8°.

Hahn, L. D. Unterrichtswesen in Frankreich mit einer Geschichte der Pariser Universität. Breslau, 1848. 8°.
Hamel, E. Hist. des deux conspirations du Gén. Malet. Nouv. éd. rev., corr. et augm. d'une nouvelle préface. Par., 1873. 8°.
Hamilton, Captain Thomas. Annals of the Peninsular campaigns from 1808 to 1816. Edinburgh, 1829. 3 v. 18°.
Hassel, P. Geschichte d. preussischen Politik, 1807–1815. 1er. theil. 1807–8. Lpz., 1881. (Publ. a. d. K. Preuss. Staatsarchiven. Bd. 6.)
Häusser, L. Deutsche Geschichte vom Tode Friedrichs des Grossen bis zur Grundung des deutschen Bundes. Berl., 1854–57. 4 Thle. 2 veranderte u. vermehrte Aufl. Berl., 1858.
Haussonville, J. O. B. de Cleron d'. L'Eglise romaine et le premier Empire, 1800–1814 ; avec notes, correspondances dipl. et pièces justificatives, entièrement inédites. 3e éd. Paris, 1870. 5 v. 8°.
Havemann, Wilh. D. Kurfurstenthum Hannover unter Zehnjahriger Fremdherrschaft, 1803–1813. Jena, 1867. 8°.
Hazlitt, W. Life of Napoleon Buonaparte. 2 ed. Lond., 1852. 4v. 8.
Heilmann J. Feldmarschall Furst Wrede. Lpz., 1881. 8°.
Helfert. D. Schlacht bei Kulm, 1813. Wien, 1863. gr. 8°.
Helfert, J. A. Maria Louise Erzherzogin v. Oesterreich, Kaiserin d. Franzosen. Mit Benützg. v. Briefen an ihre Aeltern u. v. Schriftstucken d. K. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats Archivs. Prag., 1873. 8°.
Helfert, J. A. Napoleon I. fahrt von Fontainebleau nach Elba, April – Mai, 1814. Mit Benützung der amtlichen Reiseberichte des kaiserlich österreichischen Commissars Gen. Koller. Wien, 1874. 8°.
Helfert, J. A. Joachim Murat, seine letzten Kämpfe u. sein Ende. Wien, 1878. 8°.
Helfert, J. A. Konigin Karolina von Neapel u. Sicilien im Kampfe gegen die französische Weltherrschaft 1790–1814. Mit Benutzung von Schriftstucken des K. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats-Archivs. Wien, 1878. 8°.
Helfert, J. A. Maria Karolina v. Oesterreich, Königin v. Neapel u. Sicilien. Anklagen u. Vertheidigg., mit Benützg. v. Schriftstucken d. K. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats Archivs. Wien, 1884. 8°.
Hélie F. A. Les constitutions de la France. Ouvrage contenant, outre les constitutions, les principales lois relatives au culte, à la magistrature, aux élections, à la liberté de la presse, de réunion et d'association, à l'organisation des départments et des communes, avec un commentaire. Par., 1875–79. 4 fasc.
Helldorf. Aus dem Leben des kaiserlich russischen Generals d. Infanterie, Prinzen Eugen v. Wurttemberg, aus dessen eigenhändigen Aufzeichnungen so wie aus dem schriftlichen Nachlass seiner Adjuanten gesammelt u. hrsg. Berl., 1861–62. 4 vols. 8°.
Helldorff. Zur Geschichte d. Schlacht bei Kulm. Aufklärung verschiedener bis jetzt unrichtig darg. Thatsachen über die Tage vom 25–30, August 1813. Berl., 1856. 8°.
Henckel von Donnersmark, W. L. V., Graf. Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben. Zerbst, 1847. 8°.
Henry, W. Events of a military life. Lond., 1843. 2 v. 8°.
Hérisson, M., Comte de. Le cabinet noir : Louis XVII, Napoléon, Marie-Louise. 14 éd. Par., 1887. 12°.
Heymès. Relation de la campagne de 1815, dite de Waterloo, pour servir à l'histoire du Maréchal Ney. Par., no date. 8°.
Histoire des sociétés secrètes de l'armée et des conspirations militaires qui ont eu pour objet la destruction du gouvernement de Bonaparte. Par., 1815. [Anon.]
Hobhouse, J. C. Letters by an Englishman at Paris, during the last reign of the Emperor Napoleon I. Phil., 1816. 8°.
Hochschild, C. F. L. Désirée, reine de Suède et de Norvège. Par., 1888. 16°.
Hofmann, G. W. v. Zur Geschichte des Feldzuges von 1813. 2 neu. bearb. u. verm. Aufl. Berl., 1843. 8°.
Hofmann, G. W. v. Zur Geschichte des Feldzuges von 1815 bis nach d. Schlacht von Belle-Alliance. Koblenz, 1849. 2 Aufl. Berl., 1851.
Hofmann, G. W. v. Die Schlacht bei Borodeno mit einer Uebersicht des Feldzugs von 1812. Koblenz, 1846. 8°.
Home, G. Memoirs of an aristocrat and Reminiscences of the Emperor Napoleon. Lon., 1838. 8°.
Hooper, G. Waterloo, the downfall of the first Napoleon. Lond., 1890. 16°.
Höpfner, Ed. v. D. Krieg von 1806 u. 1807. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte d. preuss. Armee nach d. Quellen d. Kriegs-Archivs bearb. Berl., 1850–51. 4 v. 8°. Mit Schlacht u. Gefechts Planen u. Beilagen.
Hormayr, J. F. D. Heer von Inneröstreich unter den Befehlen d. Erzherzogs Johann im Kriege von 1809 in Italien, Tyrol u. Ungarn. Durchgehends aus Officiellen Quellen, aus d. erlass. Befehlen, Operations Journalen. Lpz., 1848. 8°.
Hormayr, H. v. Lebensbilder aus dem Befreiungskriege. Piece aus den "Politischen Predigten des Dr. Faber." Lpz., 1844. 8°.
Horn, G. Das Buch der Königin Luise. Mit Portraits u. Illustr. nach Gleichzeit. originalen. 2 Aufl. Berl., 1884. Fol.
Houssaye, H. 1814. 7 éd. Par., 1888. 16°.
Houssaye, H. 1815, la première Restauration, le retour de l'île d'Elbe, les cent jours. 15 éd., rev. Par., 1894. 12°.
Hüffer, H. Oestreich u. Preussen gegenüber der Französischen Revolution bis zum Abschluss des Friedens von Campo Formio. Vornehmlich nach ungedr. Urkunden d. Archive in Berlin, Wien u. Paris. Bonn, 1868. 8°. (Dipl. Verhandlungen a. d. Zeit d. Franzosisch. Rev. Bd. 1.)
Hüffer, H. Die Politik der deutschen Mächte im Revolutionskriege bis zum Abschluss des Friedens von Campo-Formio. (Dipl. Verhandlungen a. d. Zeit d. Franzosisch. Rev. Bd. 1).
Hüffer, H. D. Rastatter Congress u. d. Zweite Coalition. Bonn., 1878–79. 2 v. 8°. (Dipl. Verhandlungen a. d. Zeit d. Französisch. Rev. Bd. 1.)

Jackeon, Sir G. Diaries and letters from the peace of Amiens to the battle of Talavera. Ed. by Lady Jackson. Par., 1872. 2 v. 8°.
Jackson, Sir G. The Bath Archives. A further selection from [his] Diaries and Letters from 1809–1810. Ed. by Lady Jackson. Lond., 1873. 2 v. 8°.
James, W. Naval history of Great Britain. Lond., 1860. 6 v. 8°.
Jomini, H. de. Histoire crit. et militaire des guerres de la Révolution, 1792–1803. Nouv. éd. Par., 1820–24. 15 v. 8° and atlas fol.
Jomini, H. de. Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon. Par., 1827. 4 v. 8°.
Jomini, H. de. Précis politique et militaire de la campagne de 1815, pour servir de supplément et de rectification à la vie politique et militaire de Napoléon, racontée par lui-même. Par., 1839. 8°.
Jomini, H. de. Portable atlas of the fields of Waterloo and Ligny. Brussels, 1851. 8°.
Jomini, H. de. Précis politique et militaire des campagnes de 1812 à 1814, extr. des souvenirs inéd., avec une notice biog. et des cartes, plans et légendes, publ. F. Lecomte. Lausanne, 1886. 2 v. 8°.
Joseph Napoléon, King of Spain. Mémoires et correspondance politique et militaire, publ., annot., et mis en ordre par A. du Casse. 2 éd. Par., 1854–55. 10 v. 8°.
Jorissen, T. Napoléon I. et le roi de Hollande, 1806–1813, d'après des documents authentiques et inédits. (La Haye, M. Nighoff.) Par., 1868. 8°.
Joyneville, C. Life and times of Alexander I., Emperor of all the Russias. Lond., 1875. 3 v. 12°.
Jullien, B. Histoire de la poésie française à l'époque impériale. Par., 1844. 2 v. 8°.
Jullien, M. A. Entretien politique sur la situation actuelle de la France et sur les plans du nouveau gouvernement. Par., an VIII (1800). 8°.
Jung, Th. Bonaparte et son temps (1769–1799) d'après les documents inédits. Par., 1880–81. 3 v. 12°.
Junot, L. P., Duchesse d'Abrantes. Mémoires : ou, Souvenirs historiques sur Napoléon et la Révolution, le Directoire, le Consulat, l'Empire et la Restauration. 2 ed. Par., 1835. 12 v. 8°.
Junot, L. P., Duchesse d'Abrantès. Memoirs. Lond., 1831–35. 8 v. 8°.
Jurien de la Gravière, J. B. E. Guerres maritimes sous la République et l'Empire ; avec les plans des batailles navales . . . et une carte du Sund . . . 3e éd. Par., no date. 2 v. 12°.

Kampen, van. Geschichte der Niederlande. Hamb., 1831–3. 2 v. 8°.
Kiesselbach, W. D. Continentalsperre in ihrer Oekonomisch-Polit. Bedeutung. Ein Beitrag z. Handelsgeschichte. Stuttg., 1850. 8°.
Kleist, Heinr. v. Politische Schriften und andere Nachtrage zu seinen Werken. Mit einer Einleitung zum ersten Male herausg. von R. Kopke. Berl., 1862. 8°.
Klinkowström, Clem. v. Aus d. alten Registratur d. Staatskanzlei. Briefe Polit. Inhalts von u. an Frdr. v. Gentz, aus den Jahren 1799–1827. Wien, 1870. 8°.
Knesebeck, E. v. Leben des Freiherrn Hugh v. Halkett, k. Hannoverischer General d. Infanterie. Stuttg., 1865. 8°.
Koberstein, K. Preussisches Bilderbuch. Lpz., 1887. 8°.
Kobeko, D. La jeunesse d'un Tsar. Paul Ier et Catherine II. ed. Dimitri de Benckendorff. Par., 1896. 8°.
Koch, J. B. F. Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la campagne de 1814. Par., 1819. 3 v. 8°.
Kotzebue, A. F. F. v. Erinnerungen aus Paris im Jahre 1804. Berl., 1804. 2 v.
Kotzebue, A. F. F. v. Souvenirs de Paris en 1804. Trad. de l'all. avec des notes. Par., 1805. 2 v. 12°.
Krauss, Th. Geschichte d. bayerischen Heeresabtheilung im Feldzug gegen Russland, 1812. Augsburg, 1857. 8°.
Krones, R. v. Marchland, Frz. Zur Geschichte Oesterreichs im Zeitalter d. französischen Kriege u. d. Restauration, 1792–1816. Mit besond. Rücksicht auf das Berufsleben d. Staatsmannes Frhrn. Ant. v. Baldacci. Gotha, 1886. 8°.

Labaume, E. Histoire de la chute de l'empire de Napoléon, ornée de huit plans ou cartes pour servir au récit des principales batailles livrées en 1815–16. Par., 1820. 2 v. 8°.
Labaume, E. Relation circonstantiée de la campagne de Russie en 1812. Ouvrage orné des plans de la bataille de la Moscowa et du combat de Malo-Jaroslavetz. Par., 1814. 8°.
Labaume, E. Circumstantial narrative of the campaign in Russia, with plans of the battle of Moskwa and Malo-Jaroslavitz, 1812. Tr. E. Boyce. 7 ed. Lond., 1816. 8°.
Lacombe, P. Essai d'une bibliographie des ouvrages relatifs à l'histoire religieuse de Paris pendant la Révolution (1789–1802). Par., 1884. 8°.

Lacretelle, C. J. D., de. Dix années d'épreuves pendant la Révolution. Par., 1842. 8°.
Lafayette G. de M. de. Mémoires, correspondance et manuscrits. Paris, 1838. 6 v. 8°.
Lafayette, G. de M. de. Memoirs, correspondence and manuscripts. Publ. by his family. Lond., 1837. 3 v. 8°.
Lafayette, G. de M. de. Mes rapports avec le premier Consul (1797–1805). (*v. 5 of his* Mémoires.)
La Folle, C. J. [Coraccini, *pseud.*] Histoire de l'administration du royaume d'Italie pendant la domination française. Par., 1823. 8°.
La Folie, C. J. [Coraccini, *pseud.*] Storia dell'amministrazione del regno d'Italia durante il dominio francese. Lugano, 1823.
Lafon, J. B. H. Hist. de la conjuration du Gén. Malet, avec des détails officiels sur cette affaire. 2 éd., rev., corr. et augm. des pièces offic. des procès; recueilles à la com. militaire, etc. Par., 1814.
Lafuente y Zamálloa, M. Historia-general de España, deade los tiempos mas remotos hasta nuestros dias. Madrid, 1850–67. 30 v. 8°.
Lamarque, M. Mémoires et souvenirs. Par., 1835–36. 3 v. 8°.
Lamartine, A. M. L. de. Histoire de la Restauration. Par., 1851–52. 8 v. 8°.
Lamartine, A. M. L. de. History of the restoration of monarchy in France. N. Y., 1851–53. 8°.
Lamothe-Langon, Baron E. L. de. Les après-dinera de S. A. S. Cambacérès, second consul, ou révélations de plusieurs grands personages sur l'ancien régime, le Directoire, l'Empire et la Restauration, recueillies et publiées par le b^on^ E. L. de Lamothe-Langon. Par., 1837. 4 v. 8°.
Lamothe-Langon, Baron E. L. de. Mémoires et souvenirs d'une femme de qualité sur le Consulat et l'Empire. Par., 1830. 4 v. 8°.
Lamothe-Langon, B^on^ E. L. de. Napoléon, sa famille, ses amis, ses généraux, ses ministres et ses contemporains, ou aoirées secrètes du Luxembourg, des Tuileries, de Saint-Cloud, de la Malmaison, de Fontainebleau, etc. par M. le * * * exministre de S. M. Impériale et Royale. Par., 1840, 5 v. 8°.
Lancelotti. Napoleon auf Elba. Dresd., 1815.
Landrieux, J. Mémoires, 1795–97, avec une intr. biog. et hist. par L. Grasilier. Tome Ier. Par., 1893. 8°.
Lanfrey, P. Histoire de Napoléon I. Paris, 1867–75. 5 v. 12°.
Lanzac de Laborie, de. La domination française en Belgique, 1795–1814. Par., 1895. 2 v. 8°.
Lapérouse, A. Le Congrès de Châtillon. Châtillon-sur-Seine. 1865. 8°.
Larevellière Lepeaux, L. M. Mémoires. Publ. par son fils, sur le MS. autographe de l'auteur, et suivis des pièces justicatives et de corresp. inédites. Par., 1895. 3 v. 8°.
Larrey, D. J. Mémoires de chirurgie militaire et campagnes. (In his Mém. de méd. et de chir. militaire. 4 v. 8°. Paris, 1813–18.)
Las Cases, E. A. D. M. J., Marquis de. Mémorial de Sainte Hélène; ou, Jour. où se trouve consigné, jour par jour, ce qui a dit et fait Napoléon durant dix-huit mois. Par., 1823–24. 8 v. 8°.
Laskey, J. C. Description of the series of medals struck by order of Napoleon Bonaparte. Lond., 1818. 8°.
Laughton, J. K. The Nelson Memorial. Nelson and his companions in arms. Lond., 1896. 8°.
La Tour d'Auvergne, E. de. Waterloo. Etude de la campagne de 1815. Avec cartes et plans. Par., 1870. 8°.
Laurent de l'Ardèche, P. M. Histoire de l'Empereur Napoléon. Illustrée par H. Vernet. Par., 1849. gr. 8°.
Laurent, P. M. History of Napoleon. Lond., 1840. 2 v. 8°.
Lavalette, Comte de. Mémoires et souvenirs. Publ. par sa famille et sur ses manuscrits. 1789–1829. Par., 1831. 2 v. 8°.
Lavallée, J. Histoire de l'origine, du progrès et de la décadence des diverses factions qui ont agité la France depuis le 14 Juillet, 1789, jusqu'à l'abdication de Napoléon. Lond., 1816. 3 v. 8°.
Lavisse, E., et Rambaud, A. Histoire Générale du IV^e^ siècle jusqu'à nos jours. Ouvrage publié sous la direction de. Par., 1893–97. 8v. 8°.
Lecène, P. Les marins français, 1793–1815. Nouv. éd. Par., 1885. 8°.
Lecestre, Léon. Lettres inédites sur Napoléon Ier (An VIII–1815. Par., 1897. 2 v. 8°.
Ledebur, A. L. v. Erlebnisse aus den Kriegsjahren 1806–07. Ein Zeit u. Lebensbild zusammengestellt aus den hinterlassenen Papieren, etc. Nebst einigen kurzen Notizen über das Leben des Verewigten. Berlin, 1855.
Lefebvre, A. Histoire des cabinets de l'Europe pendant le Consulat et l'Empire, 1800–1815; prec. d'une notice par C. A. Sainte-Beuve, et complétée par E. Lefebvre de Béhaine. 2 éd. Par., 1866–69. 5 v. 8°.
Legler, Th. Denkwürdigkeiten a. d. russischen Feldzuge, vom Jahr 1812. Jahrb. des hist. Vereins des Kantons Glarus, 1868.
Léher, J. A., Éd. de Bréant des Marlots, J. Lettre d'un capitaine de cuirassiers sur la campagne de Russie, 1812. Par., 1885. 12°.
Lehmann, M. Knesebeck u. Schön: Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Freiheitskriege. Leip., 1875. 8°.
Lehmann, M. Scharnhorst. 2 Thl. seit dem Tilsiter frieden. Lpz., 1887. 8°.
Leissnig, W. S. Märchen. Kriegsereignisse, Terrain Bemerkungen, u. s. w., eines Königl. Sächs. Dragoner Offiziers bei d. franzós. Armee auf dem Zuge nach Moskau in Jahre 1812. I. Th. Marsch aus Lausitz, durch Polen, Preussen, Litthauen bis Moskau. Leip., 1828. 8°.
Lejeune, L. F., Baron, général. Mémoires publiés par M. G. Bapst. Par., 1895. 2 v. 16°.
Léouzon-le-Duc, L. A., Éd. Correspondance diplomatique du baron de Stael-Holstein et de son successeur le baron Brinkman: documenta inéd. sur la Révolution (1783–99), recueillis aux archives royales de Suède et publiés avec une introduction par L. Léouzon-le-Duc. Par., 1881. 8°.
Lettow-Vorbeck, O. v. D. Krieg v. 1806–1807. Berl., 1891–96. 4 v. 8°.
Le Vasseur. Commentaires de Napoléon; suivis d'un résumé des principes de stratégie du Prince Charles. Par., 1851–2. 2 v. 8°.
Lévy, A. Napoléon intime. 5 éd. Par., 1893. 8°.
Libri-Carrucci. Souvenirs de la jeunesse de Napoléon. Par., 1842. 8°.
Liebenstein, T. E. F. v. D. Krieg Napoleons gegen Russland in d. Jahre 1812 u. 13. Frank.-a-M., 1888. 2 Thle.
Litta Biumi, A. Della Battaglia di Montenotte. Milano, 1846. 8°.
Liverpool, Earl of (R. B. Jenkinson). Memoirs. Lond., 1827.
Livi, G. Napoleone all' isola d' Elba. Milano, 1888.
Livre IX. Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France en 1815, avec le plan de la bataille de Mont Saint Jean. Par., 1820. 8°. This is the "Second Manuscrit venu de Sainte Hélène." It was attributed to Napoleon and not repudiated by him.
Loben Sels, E. von. Précis de la campagne de 1815, dans les Pays-Bas. La Haye, 1849. 8°.
Lockhart, J. G. History of Napoleon Bonaparte. 3 ed. Lond., 1835. 2 v. 16°.
Locré de Roissy, J. G., Baron de. Procès-verbaux du conseil d'état, cont. la discussion du projet de code civil. Années IX–XII. Par., an XII. (1803–4). 5 v. 4°.
Loir, M. Gloires et Souvenirs maritimes. Par., 1895. 4°.
Lombard, J. G. Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire des années 1805–7, dédiés aux Prussiens par un ancien compatriote. Par., 1808. 12°.
Lossau, v. Charakteristik der Kriege Napoleons. (Mit Plänen u. Karten.) Karlsruhe, 1843–47. 3 v. 8°, Atlas fol.
Lossberg, H. v. Briefe in d. Heimat geschrieben während des Feldzuges 1812 in Russland: ein Beitrag z. Geschichte dieses Feldzuges. Cassel, 1844. 8°.
Lubis, F. P. Histoire de la Restauration (1814–1830). 2 éd. Par., 1848. 6 v. 8°.
Lubis, F. P. Résumé de l'histoire des Cent Jours. Par. 1843. 12°.
Lucchesini. Historische Entwickelung der Ursachen und Wirkungen des Rheinbundes. Aus dem Italieniachen. Lpz., 1822. 2. Thle. 8°.
Luginbühl, R. Ph. Alb. Stapfer, helvetischer Minister d. Kunste u. Wissenschaften (1766–1840). Ein Lebens u. Kulturbild. Basel, 1887. 8°.
Lullin de Châteauvieux, J. F. Manuscripts transmitted from St. Helena by an unknown channel. N. Y., 1817. 12°.
Lullin de Châteauvieux, J. F. Manuscrit venu de Sainte Hélène d'une manière inconnue. 4 éd. Lond., 1817. 8°.
Lumbroso, A. Saggio di una bibliografia ragionata per servire alla storia dell' epoca Napoleonica. Modena, 1894–6. Pts. 1–5.
Lumbroso, A. Miscellanea Napoleonica. Roma, 1895, 1896, 1897. 8°.
Lumbroso, A. Napoleone I. e l'Inghilterra. Roma, 1897. 8°.
Lützow, Adf. Freikorps in den Jahre 1813 u. 1814 von K. v. L. gegenüber d. in d. preuss. Jahrbücher, hrsg. v. H. v. Treitschke, auf genommenen Darstellung v. A. Koberstein. Berl., 1884. 8°.

Macdonald, E. J. J. A., Duc de Tarente. Souvenirs avec une introduction par M. C. Rousset. Par., 1892. 8°.
Mahan, A. T. Influence of Sea Power upon History. Lond., 1889. 8°.
Mahan, A. T. Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire, 1793–1812. Lond., 1893. 2 v. 8°.
Mahan, A. T. Life of Nelson. Lond., 1897. 2 v. 8°.
Mahon, Patrice (Art Roë), Papa Felix. Trois Grenadiers de l'an VIII. Par., 1897. 8°.
Maistre, J. de. Correspondance diplomatique, 1811–17. Éd. par A. Blanc. Par., 1860. 2 v. 8°.
Maistre, J. de. Mémoires politiques et correspondance diplomatique. Avec explications et commentaires historiques, par A. Blanc. 2e éd. 1859. 8°.
Maitland, Sir F. L. Narrative of the surrender of Buonaparte and of his residence on board the Bellerophon. 2 ed. Lond., 1826. 8°.
Maitland, Sir F. L. Relation concernant l'embarquement et le séjour de l'Empereur Napoléon à bord du Bellérophon. Par., 1826. 8°.
Malachowski, v. Üb. die Entwickelung der Leitenden Gedanken zur ersten Campagne Bonapartes. Ein Vortrag. Berl., 1884.
Mallet du Pan, J. Correspondance inédite avec la cour de Vienne (1794–98), publ. d'après les MSS. conservés aux archives de Vienne par A. Michel; avec une préface de H. Taine. Par., 1884. 2 v. 8°.
Malmesbury, Lord. Diaries and Correspondence. Lond., 1844. 4 v. 8°.
Malouet, P. V. Mémoires. Publ. par son petit-fils. 2 éd. augm. de lettres inédites. Par., 1874. 2 v. 8°.
Marbot, Baron M. de. Mémoires. Par., 1891. 3 v. 8°.
Marie-Louise. Correspondance, 1799–1847. Lettres intimes et inédites à la comtesse de Colloredo et à Mlle. de Poutet depuis 1810 comtesse de Crenneville. Par., 1887. 18°.
Marmont, A. F. L. Viesse de, Duc de Raguse. Mémoires. 1792–1841. Par., 1857. 9 v. 8°.

Marmottan, P. Bonaparte et la république de Lucques. Par. 1896. 12°.

Martel, Comte A. de. Historiens fantaisistes (M. Thiers). Par., 1883. 2 v. 18°.

Martens, G. F. de. Recueil des principaux traités d'alliance, de paix, de trève, etc., conclus par les puissances de l'Europe, tant entre elles qu'avec les puissances et États dans d'autres parties du monde depuis 1701 jusqu'à présent, 1801. Par., 1791–1801. 7 v. 8°. Supple. to 1807. Par., 1802-08.
2d éd. Par., 1817–35. 8 v. 8°. (Continued by his nephew to the present time.)

Martha-Beker, F., Comte de Mons. Études historiques sur le général Desaix. Clermont-Ferrand. 1852. 8°.

Martinien, A. Liste des officiers généraux tués ou blessés sous le premier Empire. Par., 1895. 8°.

Masséna, A., Duc de Rivoli. Prince d'Essling, Maréchal de France. Mémoires, rédigés d'après les documents qu'il a laissés et sur ceux du dépôt de la guerre et du dépôt des fortifications, par le général Koch. Par., 1848–50. 7 v. and atlas.

Massey. A History of England during the reign of George III. Lond., 1855–63. 4 v. 8°.

Masson, F. Le département des affaires étrangères pendant la Révolution (1787–1804). Par., 1877.

Masson, F. Napoléon et les femmes. I. L'Amour. Par., 1894. 8°.

Masson, F. Napoléon chez lui: la journée de l'Empereur aux Tuileries. Par. 1894. 8°.

Masson, F. Cavaliers de Napoléon. Par., 1895. Fol.

Masson, F. Napoléon inconnu. Papiers inédits (1786–93). Publiés par F. Masson et G. Biagi. Accompagnés de notes sur la jeunesse de Napoléon (1769–93). Par., 1895. 2 v. 8°.

Masson, F. Les Débuts des Bonapartes. Par., 1896. 8°.

Masson, F. Napoléon et sa famille. I. (1769–1802). Par., 1896. 8°.

Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la bataille d'Austerlitz, recueillis par un militaire. Weimar, 1806. 8°. [With a map of the battle-field.]

Mauduit, H. de. Les derniers jours de la grande armée, ou souvenirs, doenments et correspondance inédite de Napoléon en 1814 et 1815. 2 éd. Par., 1847–48. 2 v. 8°.

Maxwell, W. H. Life of the Duke of Wellington. 4th ed. 1845. 3 v. 8°.

Meerheim, R. v. Erlebnisse eines Veteranen d. grossen Armee während des Feldzuges in Russland in 1812. Herausg. v. dessen Sohne R. v. Meerheim. Dresden, 1860. 8°.

Meerheimb, F. v. Die Schlachten bei Bantzen am 20 u. 21 Mai, 1813. Vortrag geh. in d. Militär Gesellschaft zu Berlin am 2 Novbr., 1872. Berl., 1873. 8°.

Mejer, O. Z. Geschichte der römisch-deutschen Frage. Rostock, 1871–74. 3 Thle.

Melliss, J. C. St. Helena; a phys. hist. and topog. description of the Island, incl. its geology, fauna, flora, and meteorology. Lond., 1875. 4°.

Melzi, d'Eril F., Duca di Lodi. Memorie, documenti e lettere, inedite di Napoleone I° e Beauharnais. Ed. G. Melzi. Milano, 1865. 2 v. 8°.

Mémoires sur l'impératrice Joséphine, ses contemporains, la cour de Navarre et de la Malmaison [par Mme. G. D. Bochsa, nièce de Mme. de Genlis.] Par., 1828. 3 v. 8°. (Attribués par M. Delacourt à Mme. Durand.)

Mémoires et souvenirs d'un pair de France, ex-membre du Sénat conservateur. Par., 1829–30. 4 v. 8°.

Mémoires sur l'Égypte publiés pendant les campagnes du général Bonaparte dans les années VI et VII. Par., 4 v. 8°.

Mémoires tirés des papiers d'un homme d'Etat, sur les causes secrètes qui ont déterminé la politique des cabinets dans la guerre de la Révolution, depuis 1792 jusqu'en 1815. Par., 1828–38. 13 v. 8°. (Par le comte A. F. d'Allonville, A. de Beauchamp et A. Schubart.)

Méneval, C. F., Baron de. Napoléon et Marie-Louise: souvenirs historiques. 2 éd.,cor. et augm. Par., 1844–45. 3 v. 12°.

Méneval, C. F. Baron de. Memoirs illustrating the history of Napoleon I. from 1802 to 1815; ed. by his grandson, Napoleon Joseph de Méneval [tr. by Robert H. Sherard]. N. Y., 1894. 3 v. 8°.

Merlet, G. Tableau de la littérature française (1800–1815). Paris, 1877–84. 3 v. 8°.

Metternich, C. W. N. L., Fürst v. Metternich-Winneburg. Aus nachgelassenen Papieren (1773–1859). Hrsg. von R. Metternich-Winneburg; geord. von A. v. Klinkowström. Wien, 1880–84. 8 v. in 7. 8°.

Metternich-Winneburg, R., Éd. Österreichs Theilnahme an den Befreiungskriegen: ein Beitrag z. Gesch. d. Jahre 1813–15 nach aufzeichngn. von. Frdr. v. Gentz, nebst e. Anh.: Briefwechsel zwischen den Fursten Schwarzenberg u Metternich. geordnet u. zusammengestellt von A. v. Klinkowstrom. Wien, 1887. 8°.

Meyer. Erinnerungen aus Hannover u. Hamburg aus den Jahren (1803–1813). Nebst einem Anhang mit Bemerkungen. Von einem Zeitgenossen. Hannover, 1843. 8°.

Meyer, Fr. J. L. Briefe aus d. Hauptstadt u. dem innern Frankreichs unt. d. Consular-regierung. Stuttg., 1802. 2 Thle. 8°.

Milutin. Geschichte des Krieges Russlands mit Frankreich im Jahre 1799. Münch., 1856. 3 v. 8°.

Miller, M. v. Darstellung d. Feldzugs d. Französ. verbundeten Armee gegen d. Russ. im Jahre 1812, mit besond. Rucksicht auf d. Theilnahme d. K. Würtembergischen Truppen. Stuttg., 1823. 2 Thle. 4°.

Minckwitz, A. v. D. Brigade Thielmann in dem Feldzuge von 1812 in Russland. Hierzu ein (lith.) Situationsplan vom Schlachtfelde d. Schlacht an der Moskwa am 7 Sept. 1812. Dresden, 1879. 8°.

Miot de Melito. Mémoires (1788–1815). 2 éd. Par., 1–73. 3 v. 8°.

Mirus, R. D. Treffen bei Wartenburg am 3 Okt., 1813. Berl., 1863.

Mollien, N. F., Comte. Mémoires d'un ministre du trésor public. 1780–1815. Par., 1845. 4 v. 8°.

Mönckeberg, C. Hamburg unter dem Drucke d. Franzosen, 1806–1814. Hist. Denkwurdigkeiten. Hamb., 1863. 8°.

Monier, A. Une année de la vie de l'Empereur Napoléon ou précis historique de tout ce qui s'est passé depuis le 1 Avril, 1814, jusqu'au 21 Mars, 1815 . . . par A. D. B. M. 3 éd. rev. Paris, 1815. 12°.

Montchenu, Marquis de. La captivité de Sainte Hélène, d'après les rapports inédits, par G. Firmin Didot. Par., 1894. 8°.

Montégut, E. Le Maréchal Davout, son caractère et son génie. Par., 1882. 12°.

Montesquiou, Abbé de. Le Divorce de Napoléon et l'abbé de Montesquiou. Auch, 1895. 8°.

Montgaillard, J. G. M. Rocques de. De la France et de l'Europe sous le gouvernement de Bonaparte. Paris et Lyon, An XII (1804).

Montgaillard, J. G. M. Roques, known as Comte **de.** Mémoires diplomatiques 1805–1819, extraits du ministère de l'intérieur et publiés, avec une introduction et des notes, par Clément de Lacroise. Par., 1896. 8°.

Montgelas, Max, Graf **v.** Denkwürdigkeiten (1799–1817) im Auszug aus dem Franzos. Original ubers. von Max Frhrn. v. Freyberg-Eisenberg u. hrsg. v. Ludg. Grafen v. Montgelas. Stuttg., 1887. 8°.

Montglave, G. de. Les souvenirs d'un grognard de la vieille. Par., 1842. 8°.

Montholon-Sémonville, C. T. de. Récits de la captivité de l'Empereur Napoleon a Sainte Hélene. Par., 1847. 2 v. 8°.

Montholon-Sémonville, C. T. de. History of the captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena. Lond., 1846–47. 4 v. 8°. Am. ed., Phil., 1847. 8°.

Moore, J. Narrative of the campaign of the British army in Spain, commanded by Sir John Moore. 2d ed. Lond., 1809. 4°.

Morris, Gouverneur. Diary and Letters. N. Y., 1888. 2 v. 8°.

Morris, W. O'C. Napoleon, warrior and ruler, and the military supremacy of revolutionary France. N. Y., 1893. 8°.

Mortimer-Ternaux. Histoire de la Terreur (1792–1794). Paris, 1862–1881. 8 v. 8°.

Mudford, W. Historical account of the battle of Waterloo. Lond., 1817. 4°.

Müffling, F. C. F., Frhr. v. [sonst **Weiss** genannt.] Aus meinem Leben. 2 Thle. Berlin, 1851. 8°.—Aus meinem Leben. Berl., 1855. 2 Thle. 8°. (Untrustworthy.)

Müffling, C. v. Geschichte d. Feldzuges d. Armee unter Wellington u. Blücher, im Jahre 1815. Nebst d. Planen d. Schlachten von Ligny, Quatrebras u. Belle-Alliance. Stuttg., 1817. 8°.

Müffling, C. v. Histoire de la campagne de l'armée anglaise et de l'armée prussienne en 1815. Stuttg., 1817. 8°.

Muffling, C. v. D. Preussisch-russische Campagne, im Jahre 1813 bis zum Waffenstillstande. Bresl., 1813. 8°.

Müffling. D. Operationsplan der Preussisch-sachsischen Armee. 1806. Schlacht von Auerstädt, Ruckzug bis Lübeck. Weimar, 1807. 8°.

Müller, F. v. Erinnerungen aus den Kriegszeiten v. 1806–1813. Braunschw., 1851. 8°.

Muralt, C. v. Hans v. Reinhard, Bürgermeister d. Eidgenossischen Standes Zurich u. Landammann d. Schweiz. Beitrag z. Gesch. d. Schweiz während d. letzten Jahrzehnte; bearb. nach Reinhards nachgelassenen Denkschriften, Tagebüchern u. Briefwechsel. Zurich, 1838.

Nakoula-el-turk. Histoire de l'expédition des Français en Égypte. Tr. et publ. par Desgranges. Par., 1839. 8°.

Nani-Mocenigo, Conte. Venezia durante la dominazione Napoleonica, Venezia, 1896. 8°.

Napoléon I. Collection générale et complète de lettres, proclamations, discours, redigée d'après le Moniteur, classée suivant l'ordre du temps 1796–1807. Accompagnée de notes historiques, publiée par C. A. Fischer. Lpz., 1808–13. 2 v. 8°.

Napoléon I. Commentaires. Par., 1867. 6 v. 4°.

Napoléon I. Confidential correspondence with his brother Joseph. Sel. and tr. with notes from the "Mém. du roi Joseph." N. Y., 1856. 2 v. 12°.

Napoléon I. Correspondance. Publ. par ordre de l'Empereur Napoléon III. Par., 1858–1870. 32 v. 8°.

Napoléon I. Correspondance avec le ministre de la marine depuis 1804 jusqu'en avril 1815. Extraite d'un portefeuille de Ste Hélène. Par., 1837. 2 v. 8°.

Napoléon I. Correspondance militaire, extraite de la corresp. générale. Par., 1876–77. 10 v. 12°.

Napoléon I. Correspondance inédite officielle et confidentielle, avec les cours étrangères, etc., mise en ordre et publ. par le gén. C. F. Beauvais. Par., 1809–20. 7 v. 8°.

Napoléon I. Letters to Caulaincourt. Published by A. Vandal in the "Revue Bleue." Mars–avril, 1895.

Napoléon I. Lettres à Joséphine, et lettres de Joséphine à Napoléon et à sa fille. Par., 1833. 2 v. 8°.

Napoléon I. Selection from his letters and despatches; with explan. notes by D. A. Bingham. Lond., 1884. 3 v. 8°.

Napoléon I. Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France sous le règne de Napoléon écrits à Sainte-Hélène, par les généraux Gourgaud et Montholon, qui ont partagé sa captivité. 2e éd. disposée dans un nouvel ordre, et augmentée de chapitres inédits, etc. Par., 1830. 9 v. 8°.

Napoléon I. Memoirs of the history of France during the reign of Napoleon, dictated by him at St. Helena. Lond., 1823–4. 4 v. 8°.

Napoléon I. Memoirs of the history of France. Hist. miscellanies. Lond., 1823. 3 v. 8°. (Dictated to the Count de Montholon.)

Napoléon I. Œuvres litt. et politiques. Nouvelle éd. (Éd. par P. Lacroix.) Par., 1840. 18°.

Napoléon I. Œuvres littéraires. Publ. d'après les originaux et les meilleurs textes, avec une intr., des notes historiques et littéraires et un index par T. Martel. Par., 1888. 4 v. 12°.

Napoléon I. Opinions sur divers sujets de politique et d'administration recueillies par un membre de son conseil d'État [B^{on} Pelet] et récit de quelques événements de l'époque. Par., 1833. 8°.

Napoléon I. Recueil, par ordre chronologique, de ses lettres, proclamations, bulletins, discours sur les matières civiles et politiques, etc., formant une histoire de son règne, écrite par lui-même et accompagnée de notes historiques par M. Kermoysan. Par., 1853–1865. 4 v. 12°.

Napoléon I. Lettres inédites de. (Au VII–1815.) Par., 1897. 2 v. 8°.

Nasica, T. Mémoires sur l'enfance et la jeunesse de Napoléon I. jusqu'à l'âge de 23 ans. Paris, 1852. 8°. 2^{e} édit., 1865. 12°.

Natzmer, G. E. Aus dem Leben der Gen. Oldwig v. Natzmer: Ein Beitrag z. Preuss. Geschichte. Berl., 1876.

Naumann, R. D. Völkerschlacht bei Leipzig. Nebst Nachrichten von Zeitgenossen u. Augenzeugen über Dieselbe. Karte des Schlachtfeldes u. Plaue d. Stadt Leipzig von 1813. Lpz., 1863. 8°.

Neumann, L., et Plason, A. de. Recueil des traités et conventions conclus par l'Autriche avec les puissances étrangères depuis 1763 jusqu'à nos jours. Lpz., 1855–59. 6 v. 8°. Nouvelle suite. Vienne, 1877–91. 12 v. 8°.

Neuville, J. G. Hyde de. Mémoires et souvenirs. Par., 1888–90. 2 v. 8°.

Ney, M. L. F., duc d'Elchingen. Documents inédits sur la campagne de 1815. Par., 1840. 8°. See also Dumoulin.

Ney, M. L. F., duc d'Elchingen. Mémoires. Publiés par sa famille. Par., 1833. 2 v. 8°.

Nicolas, Ch. Les Budgets de la France depuis le commencement du XIXe siècle. Tableaux budgétaires. Par., 1882. 4°.

Nodier, C. E. Souvenirs: Portraits, Épisodes de la Révolution et de l'Empire. 7 éd. doublée par l'adjonction de morceaux nouveaux, et accompagnée de notes. Par., 1863. 2 v. 12°.

Norvins, J. M. de. Histoire de Napoléon. 5 éd. Par., 1834–36. 4 v. 8°.

Nösfelt, F. A., und Löbell, J. W. Kriegsgeschichten aus d. Jahren 1812 u. 13, oder Darstellungen a. d. Feldzügen d. Franzosen u. verbündeten Truppen, u. s. w. mit dem Plau d. Schlacht bei Leipzig. Bresl., 1814–16. 4 v. 8°.

Nougarède de Fayet, A. Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. le comte Bigot de Préameneu, ministre des cultes sous l'Empire, l'un des trois rédacteurs du Projet de Code Civil. Par., 1843. 8°.

Nougarède de Fayet, A. Recherches hist. sur le procès et la condamnation du Duc d'Enghien. Par., 1844. 2 v. 8°.

Odeleben, E. O. I., Freiherr von. Napoleon's Feldzug in Sachsen. im Jahre 1813. 3 Aufl. Dresden, 1840. 8°.

Oginski, M. v. Denkwürdigkeiten üb. Polen u. die Polen im Jahre 1788–1815. Deutsch v. F. Gleich. Lpz., 1827. 2 Thle. 8°.

Oginski, M. v. Mémoires sur la Pologne et les Polonais depuis 1788 jusqu'à la fin de 1815. Par., 1826–27. 4 v. 8°.

Ollech, K. R. von. Geschichte des Feldzuges von 1815 nach Archivalischen-Quellen. Berl., 1876. 8°.

O'Meara, B. E. Napoléon dans l'exil, ou une voix de Sainte Hélène. Trad. par A. Roy. Lond., 1823. 2 v. 8°.

O'Meara, B. E. Napoleon in exile; or, A voice from St. Helena [1815–18]. 2 ed. N. Y., 1853. 2 v. 8°.

Omtpeda, F. v. Zur deutschen Gesch. in dem Jahrzehnt vor den Befreiungskriegen.
I. D. Überwältigung Hannovers durch die Franzosen. Eine hist. polit. Studie. Hann., 1866.
II. u. III. Politischer Nachlass des hannoverschen Staats u. Cabinet-ministers Ludw. von Ompteda aus den Jahren 1804–1813. Veröffentlicht von F. v. Ompteda. Jena, 1869.

Oncken, W. Oesterreich vnd Preussen im Befreiungskriege: urkundliche Aufschlüsse uber d. politische Geschichte des Jahres 1813. Berlin, 1876–79. 2 v. 8°.

Oncken, W. D. Zeitalter d. Revolution d. Kaiserreiches u. d. Befreiungskriege. Berl., 1884–86. 2 v. 8°.

Paget, Sir Arthur. The Paget Papers. Lond., 1896. 2 v. 8°.

Pajol, C. P. V., cte. Kléber, sa vie, sa correspondance. Par., 1877. 8°.

Pajol, cte. Pajol, général en chef, par le gén. de division cte. Pajol, son fils aîné. Par., 1874. 3 v. 8°.

Panckoucke, P. La République considérée dans ses divers gouvernements, ou la France comme elle est après ce qu'elle a été. Essai d'observations impartiales et instructives sur les événements et les hommes pendant la Révolution. Paris, an IV (1801). 8°.

Paquet, Syphorien. Voyage historique et pittoresque fait dans les Pays-Bas et dans quelques départements voisins pendant les années 1811, 1812 et 1813. Par., 1813. 2 vol. 12°.

Paris zur Zeit d. Kaiserkrönung. Nebst e Schilderung d. Hauptpersonen bei deisem Merkwürd. Feste u. Napoleons Bildn. Lpz., 1805. 8°.

Parliamentary History. Vols. xxxvi et seq. Lond., 1803 et seq.

Pascallet, E. Notice biog. sur M. le maréchal marquis de Grouchy, pair de France, avec des éclaircissements et des détails hist. sur la campagne de 1815 . . . et sur la bataille de Waterloo. 2 éd. Par., 1842. 8°.

Passy, L. Frochot, préfet de la Seine. Hist. administrative, 1789–1815. Par., 1867. 8°.

Pelet, J. J. G. Tableau de la grande armée eu sept. et oct. 1813. (Extrait du Spectateur militaire.)

Pelet, J. J. G. Réponse aux observations du Gén. Müffling sur la campagne de 1813. (Extrait du Spectateur militaire.)

Pelet, J. J. G. Mém. sur la guerre de 1809 en Allemagne, avec les opérations particulières des corps d'Italie, de Pologne, de Saxe, de Naples et de Walcheren. Par., 1824–26. 4 v. 8°.

Pelet, J. J. G., baron. Des principales opérations de la campagne de 1813. Par., 1826. 8°. (Extrait du Spectateur militaire.)

Pelet de la Lozère, J. Opinions de Napoléon sur divers sujets de politique et d'administration, recueillies par un membre de son conseil d'État et récit de quelques événements de l'époque. Paris, 1833. 8°.

Pelleport, le gén. vicomte **Pierre de.** Souvenirs militaires et intimes de 1793 à 1853. Publ. par son fils sur manuscrits originaux, lettres, notes, et documents officiels laissés par l'auteur. Bordeaux, 1857. 2 v. 8°.

Pellet, E. A. M. Napoléon à l'île d'Elbe: Mélanges historiques. Par., 1888. 12°.

Pellet, E. A. M. Bonaparte en Toscane en 1796. Par., 1887. 12°. (Extrait de la Revue Bleue).

Pérouse, H. Napoléon I. et les lois civiles du Consulat et de l'Empire. Par., 1866. 8°.

Perthes, C. T. Politische Zustände u. Personen in Deutschland z. Zeit d. franz. Herrschaft. Das südliche u. westliche Deutschland. 2 Aufl. Gotha, 1863. 8°.

Pertz, G. H. D. Leben den Feldmarschalls Grafen Neithardt v. Gneisenau, 1760–1815. Schluss Bd. von H. Delbruck. Berl., 1864–81. 5 Bde. 8°.

Pertz, G. H. D. Leben des Ministers Freiherrn von Stein, 1757–1831. Berl., 1849–55. 6 v. 8°.

Peuchet, J. Essai d'une statistique générsle de la France. Paris, 1802. 4°.

Peyre, R. Napoléon I. et son temps: histoire militaire, gouvernement intérieur, lettres, sciences et arts. Par., 1888. 4°.

Peyrusse, G. J. R., Baron. 1809–15: Mémorial et archives de M. le B^{on} Peyrusse, trésorier-général de la couronne pendant les Cent Jours. Vienne, Moscou, île d'Elbe. Carcassonne, 1869. 8°.

Pfuel, E. v. D. Rückzug der Franzosen aus Russland. Hrsg. von F. Förster. Berl., 1867. 8°.

Picaud, A. Carnot: l'organisateur de la victoire, 1753–1823. Nouv. éd. Paris, no date. 8°.

Pichot, A. Napoléon à l'île d'Elbe: chronique des événements de 1814–'15, d'après le journal du Col. Sir Neil Campbell, le journal d'un détenu et autres doc. inédits ou peu connus, pour servir à l'hist. du premier Empire et de la Restauration, accompagné d'une gravure en taille douce. Par., 1873. 8°.

Pièces diverses relatives aux opérations militaires et politiques du général Bonaparte. Par., an VIII. 8°.

Pièces officielles de l'armée d'Egypte. 2^{e} partie. Par., an IX. 8°.

Pingaud, L. Un agent secret sous la Révolution et l'Empire: le comte d'Antraigues. Par., 1893. 8°.

Plon des Loches, A. A. F. Mes campagnes (1792–1815). Notes et correspondance, mises en ordre et publiées par M. Chipon et L. Pingaud. Par., 1889. 8°.

Pisani, Abbé P. La Dalmatie de 1797 à 1815. Episode des conquêtes Napoléoniennes. Par., 1893. gr. 8°.

Plotho, C. v. D. Krieg in Deutschland u. Frankreich in d. Jahren 1813–15. Berl., 1817. 4 Thle. 8°.

Plotho, C. v. Der Krieg des Verbündet. Europas gegen Frankreich im Jahre 1815. Berl., 1818. 8°.

Plotho, C. v. Tagebuch wahrend d. Krieges zwisch. Russland u. Preussen in d. Jahren 1806 u. 7. Mit 2 Plän. Berlin, 1811. 8°.

Pohl, J. G. v. Denkwürdigkeiten a. meinen Leben u. aus meiner Zeit. 1840.

Pölitz, K. H. L. D. Europäischen Verfassungen seit d. Jahre 1789 bis auf die neueste Zeit. Mit geschichtl. Einleit. u. Erläuter. 2te neu geordn., berichtigte u. ergänzte Aufl. Lpz., 1833. 3 v. 8°.

Pönitz, C. E. Militarische Briefe eines Verstorbenen, an seine noch lebenden Freunde; historischen, wissenschaftlichen, kritischen u. humoristischen Inhalts. Zur unterhaltenden Belehrung f. Eingeweihte und Laien im Kriegswesen. Adorf, 1841–45. 5 v. 8°.

Pons, André, Comte **de Rio.** Known as Pons de l'Hérault. Le Congrès de Châtillon. Par., 1825. 8°.

Pontécoulant, L. G. D., Comte de. Souvenirs historiques et parlementaires, extraits de ses papiers et de sa correspondance, 1764–1848. Par., 1861–65. 4 v. 8°.

Porter, Sir R. Ker. Narrative of the campaign in Russia during 1812. Lond., 1815.

Porter, Sir R. Ker. Hist. de la campagne de Russie pendant l'année 1812, contenant des détails puisés dans des sources officielles ou provenant de récits français interceptés et inconnus jusqu'à ce jour, traduit de l'anglais sur la 6^{e} éd. M. * * * avec des notes. Par., 1817. 8°.

Poullet, P. La Belgique et la chute de Napoléon I. Extrait de la "Revue générale." Brux., 1895. 8°.

Pozzo di Borgo, Comte. Correspondance diplomatique du C^{te} Pozzo di Borgo et du C^{te} de Nesselrode depuis la Restaura-

tion des Bourbons jusqu'au congrès d'Aix-la-Chapelle 1814–18. Publiée par le Cte Ch. Pozzo di Borgo. Par., 1890–97. 2 v. 8°.

Pradt, D. D. de. Histoire de l'ambassade dans le grand duché de Varsovie en 1812. 5 éd., rev. et corr. Par., 1815. 8°.

Pradt, D. D. de. Récit historique sur la restauration de la royauté en France le 31 Mars, 1814. Par l'auteur du "Congrès de Vienne," etc. 2e éd. Par., 1822. 8°.

Pradt, D. D. de. Les quatre concordats; suivis de considérations sur le gouvernement de l'Église en général et sur l'Église de France en particulier depuis 1515. Par., 1818. 3 v. 8°.

Procès instruit par la cour de justice criminelle contre Georges, Pichegru, Moreau et autres prévenus de conspiration contre la personne du premier Consul. Par., 1804. 8 v. 8°.

Prokesch, A. v. Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben des Feldmarschalls Fürsten Carl zu Schwarzenberg. Neue Ausg. Wien, 1861. 8°.

Puihusque, L. G. Lettres sur la guerre de Russie en 1812, sur la ville de St. Pétersbourg, les mœurs et les usages des habitants de la Russie et de la Pologne. 2 éd. Par., 1817. 8°.

Quinet, E. Histoire de la campagne de 1815. Par., 1862. 8°.

Radetzky, Graf. Denkschriften militärisch politischen Inhalts aus d. handschriftlichen Nachlass. Stuttg., 1858.

Rambaud, A., et Lavisse, E. Histoire Générale. v. Lavisse.

Rambaud, A. History of Russia from the earliest times to 1877. Tr. by L. B. Lang. Lond., 1879. 8°.

Ranke, L. von. Hardenberg u. d. Gesch. d. Preussischen Staates, von 1793–1813. 2 Aufl. Lpz., 1879–81. 3 v. 8°. (Sämmt. Werke. Bde. 46 –48.)

Rapetti, P. N. La défection de Marmont en 1814, ouvrage suivi d'un précis des jugements de Napoléon Ier sur le maréchal Marmont, d'une notice bibliog., avec extraits de tous les ouvrages publ. sur le même sujet, etc. Par., 1858. 8°.

Rapp, Gén. Mémoires des contemporains pour servir à l'histoire de la République et de l'Empire. 1ère livraison. Mémoires du gén. Rapp. Publiés par sa famille. Par., 1823. 8°.

Récamier, J. F. J. A. B. Memoirs and correspondence. Tr. and ed. by I. M. Luyster. Lond., 1867. 12°.

Récamier, Mme. J. F. J. A. B. Souvenirs et correspondance tirés des papiers de Mme Récamier (par Mme. Lenormant). 3e éd. Par., 1860. 2 v. 8°.

Recueil de pièces authentiques sur le captif de Sainte-Hélène, de mémoires et documents écrits ou dictés par l'Empereur Napoléon, suivis de lettres de MM. le grand maréchal Cte Bertrand, le Cte de Las Cases, le gén. Bon Gourgaud, le gén. Cte Montholon. Par., 1821–25. 12 v. 8°.

Regnault-Warin, J. B. J. I. P. Introduction à l'histoire de l'empire français ou Essai sur la monarchie de Napoléon. Paris, 1820. 2 v. 8°.

Rehberg, A. W. Über den Code Napoleon u. dessen Einführung in Deutschland. Hannover, 1814. 8°.

Rehjues, P. J. Spanien nach eigner Ansicht im Jahre 1808 bis auf die neueste Zeit. Frkf.-a-M., 1813. 4 Bde.

Reichardt, J. F. Vertraute Briefe aus Paris, geschrieben in den Jahren 1802–3. 2 Ausg. Hamb., 1805. 3 Thle. 8°.

Reiche, L. v. Memoiren, hrsg. von L. v. Weltzien. Lpz., 1857. 2 Thle. 8°

Rémusat, C. E. J. G. de V. de. Mémoires, 1802–08. Publiés par Paul de Rémusat. Par., 1880. 3 v. 8°.

Rémusat, C. E. J. G. de V. de. Lettres, 1804–14. Publiés par Paul de Rémusat. Par., 1881. 2 v. 8°.

Reumont, A. v. Beiträge zur Italienischen Geschichte. Berl., 1853–57. 6 Bde.

Richardot, C. Nouveaux mémoires sur l'armée française en Egypte et en Syrie, ou la vérité mise au jour sur les principaux faits et événements de cette armée, la statistique du pays, les usages et les mœurs des habitants, avec le plan de la côte d'Aboukir à Alexandrie et à la tour des Arabes. Par., 1848. 8°.

Rieu, J. L. Mémoires. Genève, 1871. 18°.

Riols, J. de. Napoléon peint par lui-même, anecdotes, souvenirs, caractère, appréciations, etc. Par., 1895. 18°.

Rist, J. G. Lebenserinnerungen, herausg. von G. Poel. Gotha, 1880. 2 Th.

Rochechouart, Général Comte de. Souvenirs sur la Révolution, l'Empire et la Restauration. Mémoires inédits publiés par son fils. Par., 1889. 8°.

Rocke, P. Die Kontinentalsperre. Naumb., 1894. 8°.

Rocquain, F. État de la France au 18 Brumaire d'après les rapports des conseillers d'État chargés d'une enquête sur la situation de la République, avec pièces inédites, de la fin du Directoire, publiées pour la première fois et précedées d'une préface et d'une introduction par. Par., 1874. 12°.

Rocquain, F. Napoléon I. et le Roi Louis, d'après les documents conservés aux archives nationales. Par., 1875. 8°.

Röder, Frz. D. Kriegszug Napoleons gegen Russland im Jahre 1812. Nach den besten Quellen u. seinen eigenen Tagebüchern Dargestellt, nach d. Zeitfolge d. Begebenheiten, hrsg. v. K. Röder. Lpz., 1848. 8°.

Röder v. Bomsdorf, O. W. K. Mittheil. aus d. Feldzug in Russland 1812, an einen Offizier des Generalstabes. Lpz., 1816. 2 Thle. 8°.

Rodriguez, J. A. Relation historique de ce qui s'est passé à Paris à la mémorable époque de la déchéance de Napoléon Buonaparte, écrite en espagnol et traduite en français par l'auteur. Par., 1814. 8°.

Roederer, P. L., Comte. Œuvres, publ. par son fils, A. M. Roederer. Par., 1853–59. 8 v. 4°.

Rolhenhurg, v. Die Schlacht bei Rivoli. Lpz., 1845.

Romanin, F. Storia documentata di Venezia. Ven., 1853–61. 10 v.

Romilly, Sir **Samuel.** Memoirs and Correspondence. Lond., 1817. 3 v. 8°.

Roos, H. U. L. v. Ein Jahr aus meinem Leben, oder Reise von den westl. Ufern d. Donau an die Nara, südl. von Moskwa u. zurück an die Beresina mit d. grossen Armee Napoleon's im Jahre 1812. St. Petersb., 1832. 8°.

Ropes, J. C. Campaign of Waterloo: a military history: 2d ed. with atlas. N. Y., 1893. 8°. Atlas fol.

Ropes, J. C. First Napoleon: A sketch political and military. Boston, 1895. 8°.

Rose, G. Diaries and correspondence. Ed. by L. V. Harcourt. Lond., 1859. 2 v. 8°.

Rostopchin, *or* **Rostoptchine, F.** Vérité sur l'incendie de Moscou. Par., 1823.

Roth v. Screckenstein, D. Kavallerie in d. Schlacht an der Moskwa (von d. Russen Schlacht bei Borodino genannt) am 7 Sept. 1812. Nebst einigen ausführlichen Nachrichten u. d. Leistungen des 4 Kavallerie-corps unter d. Anführung d. Gen. Latour-Maubourg. Münst., 1858. 8°.

Rousset, C. Les volontaires, 1791–94. Par., 1870. 8°.

Rousset, C. La grande armée de 1813. Par., 1871. 8°.

Rühle v. Lilienstern, Th. Jak. Bericht von Augenzeugen v. d. Feldzug im Oct. 1806. 2 Thle. Tubing, 1809.

Rühle v. Lilienstern, Th. Jak. Pallas: e. Zeitschr. f. Staats. u. Kriegskunst. Jahrg. 1808–10. 12 Hefte. (Battle of Wagram.)

Rühle v. Lilienstern, J. J. v. Reise eines Malers mit der Armee im Jahre 1809. Rudolst., 1809–11. 3 v.

Rüstow, W. D. Krieg von 1805 in Deutschland u. Italien. Als Anleitung zu kriegshistorischen Studien Bearb. Frauenfeld, 1853. 8°.

Rüstow, W. D. Krieg gegen Russland. Politisch-militarisch Bearb. Zür., 1885. 2 Bde. 8°.

Saint-Elme, Ida. Mémoires d'une contemporaine, ou Souvenirs d'une femme sur les principaux personnages de la République, du Consulat, de l'Empire, etc. [1792–1824]. Par., 1827–28. 8 v.

Sainte-Beuve, C. A. Chateaubriand et son groupe littéraire sous l'empire. Nouv. éd., cor. Par., 1889. 2 v. 12°.

Saint-Hilaire, Marco. Histoire populaire, anecdotique et pittoresque de Napoléon et la grande armée. Par., 1843. gr. 8°.

Sassenay, Marquis **de.** Napoléon I. et la fondation de la République Argentine. Jacques de Liniers et le marquis de Sassenay (1808–1810). Par., 1892. 12°.

Savary, A. J. M. R., Due **de Rovigo.** Mémoires pour servir à l'hist. de l'Empereur Napoléon. Par., 1828. 8 v. 8°.

Schaeffner, W. Geschichte d. Rechtsverfassung Frankreichs. 2 Ausg. Fr.-a-M., 1859. 4 v. 8°.

Schimpff, G. v. 1813. Napoleon in Sachsen. Nach des Kaisers Korrespondenz. Dresd., 1894. 8°.

Schinkel, B. v. Minnen ur Sveriges nyare historia. 1ra afd. Bihang, 1, 2, 3. Upsala, 1881–83. 8°.

Schlabrendorf, G. v. Napoleon u. das französische Volk unter seinem Consulate. Hrsg. von J. F. Reichardt. Germanien, 1804. 8°.

Schlarendorf, G. v. Bonaparte and the French people under his consulate. 5 Am. ed. N. Y., 1804. 8°.

Schlegel, A. W. Über d. Continentalsystem u. d. Einfluss desselben auf Schweden. Lpz., 1814. 8°.

Schleiffer, A. D. Schlacht bei Hohenlinden am 3 Dezbr. 1800 u. d. vorausgegangenen Heeresbewegungen. Nach d. besten Quellen bearb. Mit e. Legende u. color. Karte. Rathenow, 1885. 8°.

Schlitter, H. D. Berichte d. K. K. Commissärs Bartholomäus v. Sturmer aus St. Helena zur Zeit d. dortigen Internirung Napoleon Bonaparte's, 1816–18. 8°. Wien, 1886. 8°.

Schlitter, H. Kaiser Franz I. u. die Napoleoniden vom Sturze Napoleon's bis zu dessen Tode. Wien, 1888. 8°.

Schmidt, A. Paris pendant la Révolution d'après les rapports de la police secrète 1789–1800. Trad. franç. accompagnée d'une préface par P. Viollet. Par., 1880–90. 3 v. 8°.

Schmidt, A. Parizer Zustände während d. Revolutionszeit von 1789–1800. Jena, 1874–76. 3 v. in 1. 8°.

Schmidt, A. Tableaux de la Révolution française. Publ. sur les papiers inédits du département de la police secrète de Paris. Lpz., 1867–70. 3 v. 8°.

Schmidt, Fr. Schweden unter Karl XIV. Johann. Heidelb., 1842. 8°.

Schoelcher, V. Vie de Toussaint Louverture. Par., 1889. 12°.

Schoell, F. Recueil de pièces officielles sur les évènements qui se sont passés depuis quelques années. Par., 1814. 4 v. 8°.

Schlossberger, A. v., Ed. Politische u. militarische Correspondenz Konig Friedrichs von Württemberg mit Kaiser Napoleon I. 1805–1813. Stuttg., 1889.

Schlossberger, A. v., Ed. Briefwechsel der Konigin Katharina u. d. Konigs Jérome v. Westphalen, sowie d. Kaisers Napoleon I. zu dem Konig Friedrich v. Wurttemberg, vom 8 Oktbr., 1801, bis 22 Dezbr., 1810. Stuttg., 1886. 8°.

Schulz, K. G. Geschichte d. Kriege in Europa seit dem Jahre 1792. Berl., 1827–53. 15 Bände in 23 Theilen.

Scott, Sir **Walter.** Vie de Napoléon Buonaparte, précédée d'un tableau preliminaire sur la Révolution franç. Par., 1827. 9 v. 8°.

Scott, Sir **Walter.** Life of Napoleon Bonaparte; with a preliminary view of the French Revolution. Edin., 1827. 9 v. 12°.

Séché, L. Les origines du Concordat. I. Pie VI. et le Directoire. II. Pie VII. et le Consulat. Par., 1894. 2 v. 8°.

Seeley, J. R. Courte histoire de Napoléon I, suivie d'un Essai sur sa personnalité et sa carrière. Trad. par J. B. Baille. Par., 1887. 18°.

Seeley, J. R. The life and times of Stein, or Germany and Prussia in the Napoleonic age. Camb., 1878. 3 v. 8°.

Seeley, J. R. Short history of Napoleon I. Lond., 1886. 8°.

Ségur, P. P. de. Geschichte Napoleons und der grossen Armee im Jahre 1812. Stuttg., 1841. 2 v. 16°.

Ségur, P. P., de. Histoire de Napoléon et de la grande armée pendant l'année 1812. 16e éd. Par., 1852. 2 v. 8°.

Ségur, P. P., comte **de.** Histoire et mémoires. Par., 1873. 7 v. 8°.

Ségur, P. P. de. History of the expedition to Russia in 1812. Phil., 1825. 8°.

Ségur, P. P., comte **de.** Mélanges. Par., 1873. 8°.

Ségur, P. P., comte **de.** Napoléon à Moscou, un Passage de la Bérésina. (From: Hist. de Napoléon et de la grande armée pendant l'année 1812. Comment by A. Hemme.)

Senfft, F. C. L., comte **de.** Mémoires: organisation politique de la Suisse, 1800–1813. Lpz., 1863. 8°.

Sepet, M. Napoléon, son caractère, son génie, son rôle historique. Par., 1894. 16°.

Séruzier, Baron. Mémoires militaires, mis en ordre et rédigés par son ami M. Le Miere de Corvey. Avec une introduction de J. Turquan. [1894.] Par. 18°.

Sévin, F. Étude sur les origines révolutionnaires des codes Napoléon. Nouv. éd. Par., 1879. 8°.

Sforza, G., Éd. Sull' occupazione di Massa di Lunigiana da' Francesi nel 1796, lettere d' un Giacobino. Lucca, 1880. 8°.

Siborne, W. History of the war in France and Belgium in 1815. 3d ed. Lond., 1848. 8°. Atlas fol.

Sidmouth. Life and correspondence of Henry Addington, first Viscount Sidmouth. Ed. by G. Pellew. Lond., 1847. 3 v. 8°.

Simon, E. T. Correspondance de l'armée française en Égypte, interceptée par l'escadre de Nelson. Trad. en franç. Par., an VII. 8°.

Sinclair, Sir **J.** Correspondence, with reminiscences of the most distinguished characters in Great Britain and in foreign countries during the last fifty years. Lond., 1831. 2 v. 8°.

Soltyk, Comte **R.** Napoléon en 1812. Mém. hist. et militaires sur la campagne de Russie. Par., 1836. 8°.

Sorel, A. L'Europe et la Révolution française. Par., 1893–95. 4 v. 8°.

Sorel, A. Bonaparte et Hoche en 1797. Par., 1896. 8°.

Southey, R. Hist. of the Peninsular War. Lond., 1823–32. 3 v. 4°.

Souvenirs militaires. Napoléon à Waterloo ou précis rectifié de la campagne de 1815, avec des documents nouveaux et des pièces inédites, par un ancien officier de la garde impériale qui est resté près de Napoléon pendant toute la campagne. Par., 1866. 8°.

Staël-Holstein, Madame **de.** Considérations sur la Révolution française: Ouvrage posthume publ. en 1818, par M. de Broglie et M. de Staël. Nouv. éd. Par., 1861. 2 v. 12°.

Stanhope. Life of the right honourable William Pitt. Lond., 1861–62. 4 v. 12°.

Staps, Fr. Erschossen zu Schönbrunn bei Wien, auf Napoleons Befehl im October, 1809. Eine Broch. aus d. hinterlass. papieren seines Vaters . . . Berl., 1843. 8°.

Stedingk, C. B. L. C., comte **de.** Mémoires posthumes: rédigés sur des lettres, dépêches et autres pièces authentiques, laissées à sa famille, par le Gén. de Bjornstjerna. Par., 1845–48. 3 v. 8°.

Steffens, H. Zur Erinnerung: aus Briefen an seinen Verleger. Hrsg. v. M. Tietzen. Lpz., 1871. 8°.

Steffens, H. Was ich erlebte. Aus d. Erinnerung niedergeschrieben. Breslau, 1840–44. 10 v. 8°.

Stern, Alfr. Abhandlungen u. Aktenstücke zur Geschichte d. preussischen Reformzeit 1807–1815. Lpz., 1885. 8°.

Stewart, C. W. V., first earl Vane and third marquis of Londonderry. Narrative of the war in Germany and France in 1813–14. Lond., 1830. 4°.

Stewart, C. W. V. Histoire de la guerre de 1813 et 1814 en Allemagne et en France. Par., 1833. 8°.

Stewarton. Secret history of the court and cabinet of St. Cloud. In a series of letters. Anon. 4th Am. ed. N. Y., 1807. 12°.

Stourm, R. Les finances de l'ancien régime et de la Révolution, origines du système financier actuel. Par., 1885. 2 v. 8°.

Strippelmann, F. G. L. Beiträge zur Gesch. Hessen-Cassels, Hessen, Frankreich, 1791–1814. Marburg, 1877. 1 Hft. 2 Heft. Gesch. d. Napoleonschen Usurpation Kurhessens u. Achtserklarung, im Jahre 1806. Marburg, 1877.

Stuhr, P. F. D. drei letzen Feldzüge gegen Napoleon, Krit. historisch dargestellt. Lemgo, 1832. 8°.

Stutterheim, K. v. La bataille d'Austerlitz par un militaire, témoin de la journée du 2 Décembre, 1805. Hamb., 1806. 8°. (This work was tr. by P. Coffin into English in 1807.)

Stutterheim, K. v. La guerre de l'an 1809 entre l'Autriche et la France, par un officier autrichien. Vienne, 1811. 8° and atlas.

Surruges (Abbé). Lettres sur l'incendie de Moscou, écrites de cette ville au R. P. Bouvet. 2 éd. Par., 1823. 8°

Swederns, G. Schwedens Politik u. Kriege in den Jahre 1808–1814 vorzuglich unter Leitung des Kronprinzen Carl Johan. Deutsche, von dem verf. ganzlich umgearb. Ausg. aus dem Schwed. von C. F. Frisch. Lpz., 1866. 2 Thle. 8°.

Sybel, H. von. Geschichte d. Revolutionszeit, von 1789–1800. Neue Ausg. Stuttg., 1882. 5 v. 8°.

Sybel, H. von. Histoire de l'Europe pendant la Révolution française. Tr. de l'Allemand par Mme. Dosquet. Éd. revue par l'auteur et précédée d'une préf. écrite pour l'éd. française. Par., 1869–87. 6 v. 8°.

Taine, H. Les origines de la France contemporaine. Par., 1890–93. 5 v. 8°.

Talleyrand-Périgord, C. M. de, Prince **de Bénévent.** Extraits des Mémoires de. Recueillis et mis en ordre par Madame la comtesse O . . . du C . . . (le baron Lamothe Langon) Auteur des Mémoires d'une Femme de Qualité. Paris. 1838. 2 v. 8°.

Talleyrand-Périgord, C. M. Correspondance inédite du prince de Talleyrand et du roi Louis XVIII. pendant le congrès de Vienne, publiée sur les manuscrits conservés au dépôt des affaires étrangères, avec préface, eclaircissements et notes par G. Pallain. Par., 1881. 8°.

Talleyrand-Périgord, C. M. de, Prince **de Bénévent.** Lettres inédites à Napoléon (1800–1809), publ. d'après les originaux conservés aux archives des affaires étrangères. Avec une intr. et des notes par P. Bertrand. 2e éd. Par., 1889. 8°.

Talleyrand-Périgord, C. M. de, Prince **de Bénévent.** Mémoires, publ. avec une préf. et des notes par le Duc de Broglie. Par., 1891. 4 v. 8°.

Talleyrand-Périgord, C. M. de, Prince **de Bénévent.** Correspondance diplomatique: le ministère de Talleyrand sous le Directoire. Avec intr. et notes par G. Pallain. Par., 1891. 8°.

Talleyrand-Périgord, C. M. de, Prince **de Bénévent.** Correspondance avec le Premier Consul pendant la campagne de Marengo. Publiée par le Comte Boulay de la Meurthe. Extrait de la "Revue d'histoire diplomatique." Laval, 1892. 8°.

Tatistcheff, S. Alexandre I. et Napoléon d'après leur correspondance inédite. 1801–12. Par., 1891. 8°.

Tchitchagof, P. Mémoires inédits. Campagnes de la Russie 1812 contre la Turquie, l'Autriche et la France. Berlin, 1855. 8°.

Theiner, A. Hist. des deux Concordats de la République française et de la République cisalpine conclus en 1801–1803 entre Napoléon Bonaparte et le Saint-Siège; suivie d'une relation de son couronnement comme empereur des Français par Pie VII., d'après des doc. inéd. extraits des archives du Vatican et de celles de France. Paris, 1869–70. 8°.

Thézard, L. De l'influence des travaux de Pothier et du chancelier d'Aguesseau sur le droit civil moderne. Par., 1866. 8°.

Thibaudeau, A. C. Mémoires sur la Convention et le Directoire. 2e éd. Par., 1827. 2 v. 8°.

Thibaudeau, A. C. Mémoires sur le Consulat de 1799 à 1804, par un ancien conseiller d'État. Par., 1827. 8°.

Thibaudeau, A. C. Histoire générale de Napoléon Bonaparte, de sa vie privée et publique, de sa carrière politique et militaire, de son administration et de son gouvernement. Par., 1827–28. 6 v. 8°.

Thibaudeau, A. C. Le Consulat et l'Empire, ou Histoire de France et de Napoléon Bonaparte de 1789 à 1815. Par., 1834–35. 10 v. 8°.

Thiebault, P. C. F. A. H. D., baron. Mémoires, publ. sous les auspices de sa fille, Mlle. C. Thiebault, d'après le MS. orig. par F. Calmettes, 1769–1813. Par., 1893–95. 5 v. 8°.

Thielen, M. v. Erinnerungen aus dem Kriegerleben eines 82 Jahrigen Veteranen d. Oesterreichischen Armee, mit besonderer Bezugnahme auf die Feldzüge d. Jahre 1805, 1809, 1813–15; nebst einem Anhang d. Politik Oesterreichs vom Jahre 1809–1814 betr. Wien, 1863. 8°.

Thielen, M. F. D. Feldzug d. verbündeten Heere Europa's 1814 in Frankreich unter dem Oberbefehle des K. K. Feldmarschalls Fürsten Carl zu Schwarzenberg. Wien, 1856. 8°.

Thiers, A. Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire (1799–1815). Par., 1845–62. 20 v. 8°. Atlas fol.

Thiers, A. History of the Consulate and the Empire of France under Napoleon. Tr. by D. F. Campbell. Lond., 1845–62. 20 v. *Also* Atlas fol. 1859.

Thorsoë, A. D. Danske stats politiske historie fra 1800–1864. I. Tidsrummet, 1800–14. Kiobenhavn, 1873. 8°.

Thugut, Frhr. **v.** Vertrauliche Briefe. Hrsg. v. A. v. Vivenot. Wien, 1872. 2 v. 8°.

Thürheim, A. Ludwig Fürst Starhemberg, Ehemaliger K. K. a. o. Gesandter an den Höfen in Haag, London u. Turin, etc. Graz, 1889. 8°.

Tolstoï, L. Physiologie de la guerre. Napoléon et la campagne de Russie. Tr. par M. Delines. Par., 1887. 12°.

Touchard-Lafosse, G. Histoire de Charles XIV. (Jean Bernadotte), roi de Suède et de Norvège. Par., 1838. 3 v. 8°.

Toulongeon, F. E. Histoire de France depuis la Révolution de 1789. Par., 1801–06. 4 v. 4°.

Tratchefski, A. Relations diplomatiques de la Russie avec la France à l'époque de Napoléon I. Saint-Pétersbourg, 1890–93. 4 v. 8°.

Treuenfeld, v. D. Tage von Ligny u. Belle-Alliance. Hann., 1880. 8°.

Trolard, E. Pélerinage aux champs de bataille français d'Italie. v. 1. De Montenotte au pont d'Arcole. v. 2, 3. De Rivoli à Marengo et à Solferino. Par., 1893. 4 v. 12°.

Turquan, J. Souveraines et grandes dames. L'Impératrice Joséphine d'après les témoignages des contemporains. Par., 1896. 16°.

Vandal, A. Napoléon et Alexandre Ier: l'alliance russe sous le premier Empire. Par., 1893–96. 3 v. 8°.

Vaulabelle, A. T. de. Histoire de deux Restaurations jusqu'à l'avènement de Louis-Philippe de Jan. 1815, à Oct. 1830. Nouv. éd. Par., 1874. 11 v. 8°.

Vauthier, G. Essai sur la vie et les œuvres de Népomucène Lemercier. Toul., 1886. 8°.
Véron, L. D. Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris, comprenant la fin de l'Empire, la Restauration, la Monarchie de Juillet, la République jusqu'au rétablissement de l'Empire. Par., 1856–57. 5 v. 16°.
Villèle, Comte de. Mémoires et correspondance. Par., 1888–90. 5 v. 8°.
Villemain, A. F. Souvenirs contemporains d'histoire et de littérature. Par., 1855–56. 2 pts. 8°.
Vitrolles, E. d'Arnaud, baron de. Mémoires et relations politiques; publ. par E. Forgues, 1814–1830. Par., 1884. 3 v. 8°.
Vivenot, A. v. Thugut, Clerfayt und Wurmser. Original-Dokumente aus dem K. K. Haus- Hof- und Staats-Archiv in Wien vom Juli 1794 bis Februar 1797. Wien, 1869. 8°.
Vivenot, A. v. Zur geschichte des Rastadter congresses. Wien, 1871. 8°.
Voss, Sophie Marie, Gräfin v. 69 Jahre am Preussischen Hofe. Aus den Erinnerge. Lpz., 1876.
Vührer, A. Histoire de la dette publique en France. Par., 1886. 2 v.
Vulliemin, L. Geschichte der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft. Deutsch v. J. Keller. Aarau., 1877. 8°.
Vulliemin, L. Histoire de la confédération suisse. Éd. revue et corrigée. Laus., 1879. 2 v. 8°.

Waldburg, G. T. v., Ed. Napoleon Buonaparte's Reise von Fontainebleau nach Fréjus, vom 17 bis 29 April 1814. Einzig-rechtmassig. Ausg. Berl., 1815. 16°.
Waldburg, G. T. v. Nouvelle relation de l'itinéraire de Napoleon de Fontainebleau à l'île d'Elbe. Trad. de l'allemand. Par., 1815. 8°.
Walsh, R. Letter on the genius and dispositions of the French government. Phila., 1810. 8°.
Warden, W. Conduct and conversations of Napoleon Buonaparte and his suite during the voyage to St. Helena, and some months there. Albany, 1817. 12°.
Welden, L. v. D. Feldzug d. Österreicher gegen Russland im Jahre 1812. Wien, 1870.
Welden, L. F. v. D. Krieg v. 1809 zwischen Österreich u. Frankreich von Anfang Mai bis zum Friedensschlusse. Aus officiellen Quellen. Mit e. (lith.) Übersichtskarte d. Marchfeldes (in mp. fol.). Wien, 1872.
Wellesley, A., Duke of Wellington. Despatches from 1799–1818. New ed. Lond., 1837–38. 9 v. 8°. (Vols. 4–12 of Coll. Despatches.)
Wellesley, A., Duke of Wellington. Civil Correspondence and Memoranda. Lond., 1860. 5 v. 8°.
Welschinger, H. La censure sous le premier Empire. Par., 1882. 1 v. 8°.
Welschinger, H. Le Duc d'Enghien, 1772–1804. Par., 1888. 8°.
Welschinger, H. Le divorce de Napoléon. Par., 1889. 12°.
Welschinger, H. Le Maréchal Ney, 1815. 2e éd. Par., 1893. 8°.
Welschinger, H. Le Rol de Rome 1811–32. Par., 1897. 8°.
Wertheimer, E. Die Heirat der Erzherzogin Marie Louise mit Napoleon I. Wien, 1882.
Wertheimer, E. Geschichte Osterreichs u. Ungarns im ersten Jahrzehnt d. 19ten Jahrh. Nach ungedr. Quellen. Lpz., 1884–1890. 2 v. 8°.
Whately, R. Historic doubts relative to Napoleon Buonaparte; with intr. by H. Morley. N. Y., no date. 16°.
Wiehr, E. Napoleon und Bernadotte in Herbstfeldzuge 1813. Berl., 1893. 8°.
Wigger, F. Geschichte d. Familie v. Blucher. Schwerin, 1870–79. 2 Bde. 8°.
Williams, H. M. Narrative of the events which have taken place in France; with an account of the present state of society and public opinion. 2 ed. Lond., 1816. 8°.
Wilson, Sir R. T. History of the Brit. expedition to Egypt. 2 ed. Lond., 1803. 4°.
Wilson, Sir R. Narrative of events during the invasion of Russia by Napoleon Bonaparte, and the retreat of the French army 1812. Ed. by G. H. Randolph. Lond., 1860. 8°.
Wilson, Sir R. T. Private diary during the campaigns of 1812–14; from the invasion of Russia to the capture of Paris; ed. by H. Randolph. Lond., 1861. 2 v.
Windham, W. The diary of William Windham, 1784–1810. Ed. by Mrs. Henry Baring. Lond., 1866. 8°.
Winkopp, P. A., Ed. D. Rheinische Bund. Frankfurt, 1806–12.
Wohlwill, A. D. Befreiung Hamburgs am 18 Marz, 1813. Hamb., 1888.
Wohlwill, A. Weltbürgerthum u. Vaterlandsliebe d. Schwaben, insbesondere von 1789 bis 1815. Ebend., 1875. 8°.
Wolzogen, L. v. Memoiren, aus dessen Nachlass unter Beifugung officieller militar. Denkschriften mitgetheilt v. A. v. Wolzogen. Leip., 1851. 8°.
Woronzow, S. R., Comte de. Arkhiv kniazia Vorontsova, viii, ix. Boumagi gr. S. R. Vorontsova. Moskva, 1876. 3 t. 8°.
Wuttke, H. D. Volkerschlacht bei Leipzig. Berl., 1863. 8°.

Yonge, C. D. Life and administration of Robert Banks, 2d earl of Liverpool (1786–1820). Lond., 1868. 3 v. 8°.
Yorck v. Wartenburg. Napoleon als Feldherr. 2 Aufl. Berl., 1887–88. 2 v. 8°.

Ziehlberg, A. v. Ferdinande v. Schmettau. Eine Erinnerg. aus dem Jahre 1813. Dessau, 1886. 8°.
Zinkeisen. Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches. Gotha, 1859. 8°.
Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, H. v. Erzherzog Johann v. Osterreich im Feldzuge v. 1809. Mit Benützg. der v. ihm hinterlassenen Acten u. Aufzeichngn., amtl. u. privat-correspondenzen dargestellt. Mit 3 Plan-Skizzen. Graz, 1829. 8°.

INDEX

A.

Aachen, *N.'s* court at, ii. 210, 217, 224
Aalen, the French position at, ii. 234
Abdullah Pasha, routed at Esdraelon, ii. 48, 49
Aben, River, military operations on the, iii. 161
Abensberg, Lefebvre defeats the Austrians at, iii. 161: Oudinot ordered to, 162: battle of, 163
Aberdeen, Lord, English envoy at Vienna, ii. 48
Åbo, Alexander's hint to Bernadette at, iv. 90
Aboukir, battle of, ii. 53–55, 66: trophies from, deposited at the Invalides, 97
Aboukir Bay, battle of, ii. 42, 43
Abrantès, Junot at, iii. 96
Abrantès, Duchesse d', friendship with *N.*, i. 104, 168
Absolutism, its growth in Europe, i. 34: its decline and abolition, 55–57, 64, 86; iv. 169, 222, 241
Academy, The, ordered to occupy itself with literary criticism, iii. 28
Acken, military operations near, iv. 65, 66, 69
Acqui, military operations at, i. 215
Acre, Phélippeaux at, i. 33: siege of, ii. 32, 48–51: the key of Palestine, 49: relief expedition from Constantinople to, 50, 61: parley between Phélippeaux and *N.* at, 54: compared with Smolensk, iii. 248
Act of Mediation, the, ii. 150
Acton, Sir J. F. E., rule of, in Naples, ii. 229
Adam, Albrecht, on the French advance into Russia, iii. 256
Adam, Sir F., in battle of Waterloo, iv. 202
Adda, River, military operations on the, i. 218, 233; ii. 113
Addington, Henry, succeeds Pitt in the ministry, ii. 134: negotiates for peace, 136: belief in the peace of Amiens, 137: holds England to be arbiter of the Continent, 169: Continental policy, 169, 171: appoints Lord Whitworth ambassador to Paris, 171: his influence undermined by Pitt, 186: driven from power, 216
Addison, Joseph, on England's insular position, ii. 169
Additional Act, the, iv. 167, 168, 172
Aderklaa, Austrian advance through, iii. 170
Adige, River, military operations on, i. 226, 232, 234–239, 250–254, 268, 273; ii. 60, 62, 125, 236; iii. 156; iv. 79: cession to Austria of lands on, ii. 14: boundary of Austria in Italy, 125, 126: Eugène to collect troops on, 232
Adrial, M., member of the council of state, ii. 143: reviser of the Code, 143
Adriatic Sea, *N.* threatens to seize, i. 248: French fleet in, ii. 12: cession to Austria of lands on, 14: marriage of, 16: *N.'s* control of, iii. 88: the highway to India, 89
Æetes, *N.* likened to, iv. 22
Æneid, *N.'s* notes on the, iv. 217
Afghanistan, projected rising against England in, iii. 24
Africa, proposed military operations in northern, iii. 91: the partition of, iv. 245
"Agamemnon," the, at siege of Bastia, i. 154; ii. 42
"Agathon," iii. 136
Agricultural laborers, condition at outbreak of the Revolution, i. 53, 54, 57
Agriculture, encouragement of, ii. 141
Aigues-Mortes, the canal of, ii. 224
Aisne, River, military movements on the, iv. 106, 119.
Aix, Fesch at, i. 22: *N.* at, 79; iv. 152, 163: arrest of Corsican commissioners at, i. 121: *N.'s* sickness at, iv. 152: bitter feeling against *N.* at, 152, 163
Ajaccio made a seat of government, i. 11: the Bonaparte family in, 12, 14, 15, 17: *N.* at, 42, 43, 45, 46, 63, 70, 75, 92, 114, 120: *N.* prepares plans for its defense, 46: political parties in, 62: patriotic schemes, 63: *N.* assumes leadership in, 63: the democratic club at, 63, 67, 70, 71, 75, 82, 108: withdrawal of French troops from, 65: reorganizing the municipal government, 67, 70: attack on *N.* in, 70: disorders in, 70–72, 97–100, 106, 113: claims to be capital of Corsica, 74: political movements in, 95–99; election of officers in, 96, 97: popular feeling against *N.* in, 99, 100: embarkation of Sardinian expedition at, 113: *N.* demands allegiance to France from, 118: *N.'s* plot against the citadel at, 119–124: expedition from St. Florent against, 120–123: outburst against the Bonapartes in, 121: *N.'s* cave at, 125: weakness of, 153: *N.'s* last visit to, ii. 57
Albania, *N.* offers the country to England, ii. 261
Albuera, battle of, iii. 221
Albufera, Duke of. See SUCHET
Alessandria, opening of the road to, i. 162: military operations near, 213: in French hands, 228: Melas rallies his army at, ii. 114, 116: topography of the country, 116, 117: Melas retires to, 118: *N.* concedes to the allies at Châtillon, iv. 114
Alexander I., succeeds Paul I., ii. 135: waives claim to Malta, 135: liberates English ships, 135: his bloody title to the throne, ii. 135, 203; iii. 35, 36; iv. 134: abandons the neutrality policy, ii. 168: personal relations between *N.* and, 168; iii. 34, 36, 37, 39, 45, 46, 54, 61, 79, 85, 86, 93, 94, 191, 196, 236; iv. 38, 40: pacification of, ii. 170: ruptures diplomatic relations with France, 199: animus toward France, 211: greed for Oriental empire, 211, 222, 223, 229, 262, 271; iii. 33, 137, 182, 188; iv. 99: attitude on the death of Enghien, ii. 211, 223: demands indemnity for King of Sardinia, 211, 223: *N.'s* words of warning to, 222: demands indemnity for Piedmont, 223: undertakes peace negotiations, 228: his scheme of redistribution of Europe, 228: England's negotiations with, 228: character and personality, 228, 262; iii. 9, 38, 39, 94, 133, 235, 236, 267; iv. 47, 54, 99, 148: recalls his peace envoy, ii. 229: brings Prussia into the coalition, 242, 243: at Berlin, 242, 243: relations with Frederick William III., 243; iii. 49, 87, 151: prefers one of Paul I.'s assassins, ii. 245: at Olmütz, 245: *N.* opens negotiations with, 246: forces the battle of Austerlitz, 246, 247: after the battle, 251: deserts Francis I., 251, 252: interview with *N.*, 252: retreats to Poland, 252: evacuates Naples, 262: conscienceless concerning territories of others, 262: breaks off negotiations with *N.*, 272: rejects the Oubril treaty, 272, 273: uncertain attitude, 273: *N.'s* insinuations concerning Queen Louisa and, iii. 3, 49: commences operations against Turkey, 5: advances toward Prussia, 7, 8: Polish attitude toward, 9: *N.'s* doubts about his movements, 10: activity after Jéna, 10: offers rewards for French prisoners, 14: devotion of the army to, 14, 15: interest in Constantinople, 29: meeting with *N.* at Tilsit, 34 et seq., 43–46: *N.'s* proposals to, 35: reminded of Paul I.'s death, 35: invited to make a separate peace, 35: accepts *N.'s* terms, 35, 36: promises to aid France against England, 38: deserts Prussia, 38: proposed visit to Paris, 44: proposes a treaty with Turkey, 44, 45: on European politics, 45: opinion of Louis XVIII., 45: claims concessions from *N.*, 48: saves Silesia to Prussia, 48: acquires Bielostok, 48, 49: refuses to seize Prussian territory, 53: parting from *N.* at Tilsit, 54: Savary's influence over, 54: hostility of Russian society to, 54, 87, 94, 255: enmity to England, 59: *N.* proposes matrimonial unions to, 76, 139, 140, 190, 191: coquets with English agents, 79: effect of the treaty of Tilsit on, 80: apprehensions at England's actions, 80: seeks to abolish serfdom, 80; difficulties of his position, 80: demands reparation for Denmark, 81: declares war on England, 83: repudiates the agreement of Slobozia, 85: keeps faith with *N.*, 85: holds *N.* to his promises, 85; ambition to acquire the Danubian principalities, 85, 92, 93, 137, 191: appoints Tolstoi to negotiate with *N.*, 86: declines *N.'s* offers, 87: essays to effect the liberation of Prussia, 87, 131: continues his demands on *N.*, 88, 89: *N.* seeks further interviews with, 91, 93: court intrigue around, 92: receives presents from *N.*, 92: seeks to acquire Finland, 92, 131, 137: breaks off negotiations for interview with *N.*, 93: "stale-mated," 94: humiliation of, 94, 236: Joseph seeks his consent to acceptance of the Spanish crown, 104: uncertainty concerning *N.'s* plans, 129: approves *N.'s* course at Bayonne, 129: friendship with Caulaincourt, 129, 131, 191: proposed second meeting with *N.*, 129, 131, 132: informed of the capitulation of Bayten, 130: influence on Emperor Francis, 130: re-won by *N.'s* promises, 130: remonstrates with Austria, 130, 131: determines to exact the fruits of Tilsit, 131: intellectual pretensions, 133: meeting with *N.* at Erfurt, 133 et seq.: dramatic incident at performance of "Œdipe," 134: apparent success of his demands at Erfurt, 137: hot words with *N.* at Erfurt, 137: approves of *N.'s* contemplated divorce, 140: relies on *N.* to gratify his ambitions, 150; at Königsberg, 150, 151: modifies his tone to Vienna, 151: neutrality of, 174: gives no support to Francis, 182: orders invasion of Galicia, 182: his observance of Franco-Russian treaties, 183, 188: advises peace, 184: *N.* explains the treaty of Schönbrunn to, 188: hesitates to betroth his sister to *N.*, 190, 191: fears the loss of Moldavia and Wallachia, 191: chagrined at the Austrian war and its results, 191: anxiety for a French alliance, 191: attitude concerning *N.'s* second marriage, 196, 240: offers Norway to Sweden, 215, 239, 243: discriminates against France in customs duties, 220: action on *N.'s* occupation of the North Sea coast, 220: reserves his family rights over Oldenburg, 220: refuses to accept Erfurt, 220: liberal tendencies, 235: friendship with Czartoryski, 235, 237; iv. 20: ambition for equality with *N.*, iii. 236: essays the rôle of European mediator, 236: disgusted with the old dynasties, 236: outwitted by *N.* in the Polish negotiations, 236 et seq.: impending rupture with *N.*, 236 et seq.: rupture with *N.* over the Polish question, 236 et seq.: refuses to restore the integrity of Poland, 237: proposes to accept the crown of Warsaw, 237: virtual declaration of war against France, 237: hopes of the Poles in, 238: *N.* offers the use of the "Moniteur" to, 239: *N.* threatens action against,

Alexander I.—*continued.*
239: prepares for war, 239: proves an untrustworthy ally, 240: determines on defensive warfare, 240: position as to the Continental System, 240, 249: *N.* warns him of his military preparations, 241: hints an offer of the French crown to Bernadotte, 243: makes qualified alliance with Prussia, 243: effect of his policy on Prussia, 243: makes terms with Turkey, 244: personal connection with the war of 1812, 249: concessions by, 249: ultimatum to France, 249, 250: proposes counter-terms to *N.*, 250: demands better terms for Sweden, 250: invited to Dresden, 251: demands the evacuation of Prussia, 250: ukase of Dec., 1810, 250: his German advisers blamed, 255: allays trouble at St. Petersburg, 255: financial difficulties, 255: military policy, 259: replaces Barclay de Tolly by Kutusoff, 260: his advisers, 266, 267: silent steadfastness, 266, 267: religious spirit, 267: conduct after the capture of Moscow, 267: determines to continue the war, 267: friendship with Galitzin, 267: treatment of French prisoners, iv. 8: makes terms with Prussia, 19: goes to Vilna, 20: project to become king of Poland, 20: seeks alliances with Prussia and Austria, 20: abandons the Polish idea, 20: ambition to pose as liberator of Europe, 20: relations with Stein, 21, 30: in correspondence with York, 21: negotiates treaty with Spain, July, 1812, 26: Metternich seeks to embroil him with Bernadotte, 29: advances against Eugène, 29: favors annexation of Saxony by Prussia, 32: importance of keeping him hostile to France, 43: *N.'s* attempt to negotiate with, 43: secret meeting with Metternich, 44: fatalism of, 47: Francis seeks alliance with, 47: jealousy of Austria, 49: mediocrity in military affairs, 64: in military council at Trachenberg, 55: battle of Leipsic, 71, 72: anxiety for the future of absolutism, 79: distrust of his allies, 79, 80: Jacobinism of, 80: dissatisfied with Frankfort terms, 80: desires revenge for Moscow, 80: checks Bernadotte's ambitions, 90: encourages Bernadotte's ambition, 90, 92: holds the balances in the coalition, 91: ambition for European supremacy, 92: predicts speedy entry into Paris, 94: military blunder, 96: designs to acquire Galicia, 99: poses as a liberal, 99: designs regarding Poland, 99: desires to conquer France, 99: forbids the restoration of Vand to Bern, 99, 100: suspends the Congress of Châtillon, 101: consents to reopening the Congress, 102: activity of, 115, 116: prepares for the entry into Paris, 116: terror-stricken at Arcis, 118: attitude toward Austria, 122: holds a military council, 122: intrigues with Vitrolles, 122: eagerness to annihilate *N.*, 122: violates armistice before Paris, 131: orders an assault, 131: fears *N.'s* arrival at Paris, 131: Talleyrand sends a "blank check" to, 133: leads the allies into Paris, 133, 134: schemes for French government, 134: the representative of legitimacy, 134: presides at the council for peace, 134: deceived by the Parisians' reception, 134: approves the Bourbon restoration, 134: Caulaincourt seeks audience of, 135, 136: Marmont's offer to, 138: hears Talleyrand's remonstrance against the regency, 142: presentation of *N.'s* abdication to, 142, 143: hatred for absolutism, 143: hears of the defection of *N.'s* army, 143: revulsion of feeling in favor of the Empire, 143: refuses to accept the abdication, 145: generous impulses, 148: proposes a home for *N.* in Russia, 148: alleged indelicacy of his visit to the Empress at Rambouillet, 150: boast as to his servants, 151, 152: protests to Talleyrand against violations of treaty obligations, 162: determines to retain ascendancy in the coalition, 173: converted to the legitimacy idea, 212: besought for *N.'s* release, 217: correspondence with:—
Galitzin, Prince, iii. 237: George III., iii. 140: Marmont, iv. 138: Napoleon, iii. 90, 91, 93, 129, 239, 266

Alexander the Great, *N.* likened to, i. 262; iii. 242; iv. 241: *N.'s* admiration for, ii. 10, 31, 97, 103, 104: his work for civilization, 103, 104; iv. 223, 241: his ideal, iii. 242: the cause of his undoing, iv. 230

Alexandria, *N.'s* views concerning, ii. 31, 32: Nelson seeks the Egyptian expedition at, 38: *N.'s* arrival at, 38: capture of, 39: the march to Cairo from, 40: Adm. Brueys ordered to, 42: *N.* at, 44: arrival of the Rhodes expedition at, 53: English fleet at, 55: *N.* sails from, 56: England's occupation of, 179

Alfieri, Vittorio, sings of Italian freedom, ii. 149: iv. 79

Alien Act, England's position with regard to, ii. 174

Alkmaar, capitulation of the Duke of York at, ii. 63: capitulation of, 93

Alle, River, military operations on the, iii. 29–32

Allemand, retreat of the French through, iv. 123

Allenburg, Bennigsen collects his troops at, iii. 32

Allix, J. A. F., at Auxerre, iv. 125: battle of Waterloo, 196

"All the Talents," the ministry of, iii. 41

Almeida, siege and capture of, iii. 218: retaken by the English, 221

Alpon, River, military operations on the, i. 238, 239

Alps, the, military operations in, i. 128, 253, 263, 267; ii. 105–113, 120, 121: the keys of, i. 206, 215: French supremacy in, ii. 66: Suvaroff's disasters in, 93: Hannibal's passage of, 110: road across the Simplon, 149: France's "natural boundary," iv. 80

Alsace, Austria driven out of, i. 163: royalists in, ii. 192: Duc d'Enghien's conspiracy in, 192, 195: regulations for Jews in, iii. 64: proposed cession of, to Austria, iv. 99

Alten, K. A. von, in battle of Waterloo, iv. 202

Altenburg, peace negotiations at, iii. 183

Altenkirchen, battle of, i. 235

Alvinczy, Gen. Joseph, *N.'s* operations against, i. 211: commanding Austrian forces for relief of Mantua, 236–240: defeats Masséna at Bassano and Caldiero, 237: operations against Verona, 237–240: retreats from Caldiero, 238: operations on the Adige, 250–254: the Rivoli campaign, 250 et seq.: defeat at Rivoli, 254: flees to the Tyrol, 254

America, disquiet of the English colonies in, i. 9: precedent for France's aid to English colonies in, 10: English measures against colonies in, 11: Raynal's question concerning the discovery of, 76: Marquis de Beauharnais in, 189: collapse of French schemes of colonization in, ii. 153: France looks to her possessions in, 179: scheme for a Bourbon monarchy in, iii. 106, 111

American Embargo Act of 1807, iii. 82, 83, 210, 211

Americas, Emperor of the Two, iii. 96

Amiens, the treaty of, ii. 135, 149–151, 157, 167–169, 171–177, 179, 181, 183, 212, 225, 258; iii. 42; iv. 232

Amsterdam, asked for loan of ten millions, ii. 102: smuggled commerce of, iii. 203, 204: Louis permitted to return to, 207: removal of the capital to, 212: march of French troops to, 212: sends deputation to Paris, iv. 17

Amurrio, Gen. Victor at, iii. 142

Anarchists, in France, ii. 88: assassination schemes among, 164

Anarchy, the seed of "a pure democracy," i. 244

Ancients, Council of the, represent public sentiment, ii. 2: members of, proscribed, 5: Sieyès president of, 23: join the Bonapartist ranks, 68: give banquet to *N.* in St. Sulpice, 68: share in Bonapartist plots, 69: plots of the 18th Brumaire, 69 et seq.: endeavor to postpone *N.'s* dictatorship, 76, 77: pass vote of confidence in *N.*, 78: adopts the Consulate, 83

Ancona, capture of, i. 260: importance of, 262: *N.* at, 262: *N.* proposes to seize, 277: rise of, 277: fall of, ii. 93: Austrian occupation of, 119: seized by French troops, 256: annexed to Italy, iii. 68, 94

Andalusia, Dupont advances toward, iii. 122: withdrawal of troops from, 146: Soult ordered to, 219

Andernach, alteration of boundary at, ii. 14

Andréossy, Gen. A. F., service in Egypt, ii. 36: accompanies *N.* on his return from Alexandria, 56: action on the 18th Brumaire, 71: ambassador to London, 177: despatch from *N.* to, 181: French ambassador at Vienna, iii. 8: reports Austrian activity, 24: influence in Vienna, 25

Angély, Regnault de St. Jean d', dreads a new Terror, ii. 64: member of the council of state, 100: prophesies the undoing of France, iii. 247

Angerburg, Lestocq at, iii. 14

Anghiari, Provera crosses the Adige at, i. 251, 254

Anglas, Boissy d', quells riot at the National Convention, i. 168

Anglo-Saxon spirit of civilization, iv. 225

Angoulême, Duchess of, affronts Madame Ney, iv. 169

Angoulême, Duke of, proclaims Louis XVIII. at Bordeaux, iv. 114

Anne, Grand Duchess, mentioned for marriage with *N.*, iii. 139, 140: *N.* seeks her hand in marriage, 191, 192

Anshach, Bernadotte's movements in, ii. 234, 242: ceded to Bavaria, 251: Augereau commanding in, 270: French violation of territory, iii. 60: military movements near, iv. 76

Anselme, Gen., i. 113

Antibes, recruits for *N.'s* army from, iv. 163

Antilles, scheme for population of the, ii. 161, 152

Antommarchi, Dr. F., assists *N.* on his history, iv. 217: *N.'s* physician, 217, 218

Antonelli, Cardinal, diplomatic duel with Portalis, ii. 221

Antraigues, Comte d', exposes Pichegru's treachery, ii. 3, 4: furnishes pen-portrait of *N.*, 18, 19

Antwerp, commercial key to central Europe, iv. 80: *N.* "loses his crown for," 81: refused to France by the allies, 99: *N.* refuses to give up, 104, 105: *N.* concedes, to the allies, 114

Aosta, arrival of Lannes at, ii. 111

Apennines, military operations in the, i. 143, 213, 228; ii. 63

Apolda, military movements near, ii. 281, 283

Apollonius of Tyana, *N.* compares Jesus Christ with, ii. 133

Aqua tofana, plot to poison *N.* with, i. 258

Arabia, *N.'s* attention turned toward, i. 40, 49

Aragon, French occupation of, iii. 122: military government of, 213: captured by Suchet, 221: French possession of, iv. 15

Aranjuez, the revolution at, iii. 106–113: Charles IV.'s court at, 106, 107, 109

Arc de Triomphe, erection of the, iii. 62

Arch-Chancellor of State, creation of the office of, ii. 206

Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, creation of the office of, ii. 206

"Archive Russe," cited, i. 129

Arch-Treasurer, creation of the office of, ii. 206

Arcis-sur-Aube, Blücher advances on, iv. 92: *N.* moves to, 113–115: battle of, 114, 118, 119: proposed concentration of the allies at, 116: retreat of the French from, 118, 119: *N.'s* retreat from, 120: French capture of, 121

Arcole, *N.* at, i. 241: the lessons of, 242: battle of, 238, 239, 246; ii. 92

Ardennes Mountains, proposed boundaries for Germany, iii. 243: military operations in the, iv. 174

Ardon, loss of, iv. 108

Aremberg, Duke of, marries Mlle. Tascher de la Pagerie, iii. 104

Arena, Joseph, success of, in Isola Rossa, i. 64: member of the National Assembly, 73: banished to Italy, 94: influence of, 138: charged with conspiracy, ii. 151: execution of, 155

Arenberg, member of the Confederation of the Rhine, ii. 260

Argenson, Comte d', suggests the Suez Canal, ii. 31

Argenteau, Gen., defeated at Dego and Montenotte, i. 215

Aristocrats, guillotining the, i. 148: under the regime of the First Consul, ii. 165

Arles, the canal of, ii. 224

Armed neutrality, the, ii. 134–136: Russia abandons the, 168

Army (French), its relation to the throne, i. 34 : demoralization and discontent in, and desertions from, 34, 35, 49, 59, 80, 101 ; iii. 11, 12, 173, 222, 223, 245, 247, 259 ; iv. 3, 7, 12, 20, 34, 35, 40, 41, 53-55, 59, 60, 64, 66, 76, 95, 96, 100, 103, 111, 123, 124, 137, 140, 158 : changes in the, i. 79–81 : compulsory service, 80, 81, 128 : reorganization of the, 84, 91, 92, 95 : regulations, 171 : political sentiments in, and influence of, 183, 269, 263 ; ii. 2, 3, 69, 70, 151 ; iv. 137, 143 : *N.'s* relations with, care for, and reliance on, i. 220, 223 ; ii. 19, 92, 101, 128, 160, 203, 232, 264, 265 ; iii. 2, 3, 44, 247 ; iv. 17, 22, 23, 86, 93, 141, 147, 148, 208, 220, 221, 226, 229 : its prestige weakened by 18th Fructidor, ii. 15 : its mainsprings of action, 25 : importance of *N.'s* securing its adhesion, 69 : *N.'s* manifestos to, 104, 105 : contempt for the Concordat, 139 : quartered in foreign countries, 141 : disappearance of discontent in the, 203 : creation of marshals of France, 206 : conciliating the, 206, 207 : its leaders, 234 : effect of Trafalgar on, 242 : effect of Austerlitz on, 254 : the army-chest, 264, 266 ; iii. 226 : subsisting on conquered Prussia, 2 : change in the personnel of the, 11 : venality of contractors, 11, 13 : improving the commissary, 13 : strengthening the, 24 : censorship of correspondence from the, 27 : founding of military factories, 27 : morale after Eylau, 40 : *N.'s* exhibitions of, to the Czar, 44 : pension system, 71 : military schools, 74 : its lust for sack and booty, 121, 173 : over-confidence in, 178 : the *cantinière* of Busaco, 223 : discipline in Spain, 223 : "Marshal Stockpot's" deserters, 223 : expense of maintenance, 225, 232 : its equipment for the Russian campaign of 1812, 253 : *N.'s* address to, before the Russian campaign, 253 ; sufferings in Russia, 255 ; iv. 1 et seq. : vitality, 13 : wrath at *N.'s* desertion, 14 : scheme for supporting, 24 : quality of the new (1813), 33 : juvenile soldiers in, 53, 54, 65 : corruption in the, 54 : lack of pay for, 64 : effect of long campaigning on the generals, 55 : dwindling numbers of, 64 : dearth of military supplies, 86 : ambition among the minor generals, 137 : revival of Bonapartist feeling among the, 159 : returns to *N.'s* standard, 166 : reorganization of, 171 : its morale at Waterloo, 194 : *N.'s* farewell address to the, 208. See also CONSCRIPTION

Army of Catalonia, service on the Rhine, iv. 90

Army of Egypt, advances on Syria, ii. 46 : abandoned by *N.* in Egypt, 55 : Adm. Bruix sent to relieve the, 55 : its desolate plight, 65, 56

Army of England, the, creation of, ii. 16 : *N.* general of, 16, 23 : on the watch at Boulogne, 32, 33 : the right wing of, 34 : strength, 185 : ordered to march to the eastward, 232

Army of Helvetia, incorporated into the Army of the Rhine, ii. 92

Army of Holland, freed for active service, ii. 97

Army of Italy, equipment of the, i. 116 : campaign in the Alps, 128 : *N.'s* service with and command of, 129, 134, 140, 151, 193–195, 206 : question of its sustenance, 141 : strength and organization, 142 : *N.'s* plans for the, 144 : Corsicans in the, 149 : *N.'s* monograph on, 172 : promised booty, 204, 205, 208 : the question of its employment, 206, 207 : joined to that of the Pyrenees, 207 : destitution of, 208 : strength (1796), 209 : pillage in the, 211 : reinforced from Vendée, 236 : popularity of, 259 : growing arrogance of the, ii, 2 : reinforced by the Army of the Alps, 6 : speculations as to further employment, 21 : restrained from pillage, 28 : Moreau's service with, 49 : division of, and disaster, 60 : frauds in, 62 : commanded by Masséna, 92, 120 : scheme for raising money for, 102 : *N.'s* manifesto to, 104, 105 : its line of operations, 105 : service on the Rhine, iv. 90

Army of Silesia, contemplated movement against, iv. 67 : contemplated movement of, 69

Army of the Alps, Napoleon's plans for the, i. 144 : combined with Army of Italy, ii. 6

Army of the Danube, under command of Jourdau, ii. 49

Army of the East (Allies), iv. 62

Army of the Elbe, formation of, iv. 28

Army of the Interior, the, i. 179 : *N.* made second in command, 182 : *N.* reorganizes, 185 : 1796, 208 : commanded by Augereau, ii. 4

Army of the Main, formation of the, iv. 28

Army of the Netherlands, service on the Rhine, iv. 90

Army of the North, conquers the Austrian Netherlands, i. 163 : in 1796, 209 : operations on the Rhine, 268 : Barras's schemes in regard to, ii. 4

Army of the North (Allies), in Brandenburg, iv. 52 : contemplated movement against the, 67

Army of the Pyrenees, transferred to Maritime Alps, i. 206 : joined to that of Italy, 207 : service on the Rhine, iv. 90

Army of the Reserve, ordered to Italy, ii. 106–108 : expected to attack Melas, 110 : crosses the Alps, 110–113

Army of the Rhine, the (French), *N.* seeks to join, i. 129 : *N.* fails of admission, 134 : commanded by Citizen Beauharnais, 190 : the question of its employment, 206 : fails to support *N.* in Italy, 269 : destitution of, ii. 4 : Augereau commander of, 5 : disbanded, 23 : Moreau commanding, 92 : *N.'s* manifesto to, 104 : contempt for the Concordat in, 151 : the San Domingo expedition selected from, 152 : *N.'s* method of quelling opposition in, 151–153 : weakened to ensure success in Italy, 188

Army of the Rhine (Archduke Charles's), i. 263

Army of the Sambre and Meuse, wins battle of Fleurus, i. 163 : campaigning in the Alps, 263 : brought to Paris, ii. 4

Army of the South (Allies), iv. 52 : pursues Murat, 70 : Augereau attempts to hinder, 119 : Francis joins, at Lyons, 121

Army of the Tyrol (Austrian), retreats to head waters of the Enns, iii. 167 : Archduke John ordered to join, 167

Army of the Var, i. 113

Army of the West, the, *N.* ordered to join, i. 166 : *N.* refuses to serve in, 166, 177 : under Hoche, 208, 209 : reinforces the Army of Italy, 236 : freed for active service, ii. 96, 97

"Army Organization," *N.'s* essay on, iv. 217

Arnault, A. V., reports *N.'s* speech to Barras, ii. 73 : "Memoirs" of, iii. 228 : records interview between Mme. de Staël and *N.*, 228

Arndt, E. M., member of the reform party in Prussia, ii. 270 : his war-cry of "Freedom and Austria," iii. 151 : inspires to German unity, iv. 31

Arrighi, Gen. J. T., wounded at Acre, ii. 52

Art, *N.'s* plunder of works of, i. 225, 261, 276 : revival of, ii. 165 : *N.* advises encouragement of, 222

"Art and History of War," *N.'s* essay on, ii. 217

Artillery, *N.'s* study and use of, i. 48 ; ii. 117 : condition in 1796, 210 : its use at Wagram, iii. 177 : use of, at Leipsic, iv. 71, 74

Artisan class, at outbreak of the Revolution, i. 53, 54

Artois, Count of, leads emigrant royalists against France, i. 178 : returns to England, 182 : schemes for the restoration of, ii. 154 : complicity in the Cadoudal conspiracy, 190 : refrains from entering France, 192 : doubtful courage of, 192, 193 : suspected of plotting in Paris, 193 : *N.* determines to seize, 193 : his plots in Paris, 199 : supposed capture of, iv. 126 : enters Paris, 148 : reception in Lyons, 165.

Asia, France's interest in, ii. 11 : *N.'s* schemes of conquest in, 42 : Russia's ambition in, 102, 126 : England's vulnerability in, iii. 90 : proposed invasion of, 91 : *N.'s* scheme to drive Russia into, 252 : the partition of, iv. 245

Asia Minor, proposed military operations in, iii. 91

Aspern, the advantage of position at, ii. 117 : battle of, iii. 169–174, 178, 179 : monument in churchyard of, 173 : losses at, 174 : military operations near, 175 : captured by the Austrians, 176

Assembly of Notables, i. 54

Assyria, the history of, iv. 242

Asti, topography of country near, ii. 117

Astorga, British troops at, iii. 145, 146 : *N.* at, 146, 152 ; Ney at, 146

Astrakhan, proposed Indian expeditions via, ii. 134

Asturias, rebellion in, iii. 121 : flight of Blake into, 144

Asturias, Prince of, leads revolt against Godoy, iii. 59 : conspiracy of his father against his succession, 60, 101 : arrest of, 60, 100 : proposed French matrimonial alliance for, 60, 99–105, 113 : character, popularity, and following, 99 : seeks *N.'s* aid, 99, 100 : mentions his mother's shame, 100 : commissions the Duke del Infantado, 100 : trial and release, 101 : pardoned by his father, 101 : Charles IV. abdicates in favor of, 107. See also FERDINAND VII.

Astyanax, the King of Rome likened to, iv. 117, 130

Atheists, in the National Convention, i. 148

Athies, capture and recapture of, iv. 108, 110

Atlantic, *N.'s* mastery of ports on the, iii. 203

Attila, *N.* likened to, i. 273, 274

Aube, River, military operations on the, iv. 92, 94, 104, 113, 114, 117, 119, 121

Aubry, François, royalist intrigues by, i. 165 : *N.'s* vindictiveness toward, 171, 173

Auerstädt, battle of, ii. 280–283 : Prussia's humiliation at, iii. 49 : Davout created Duke of, 71. See DAVOUT

Augereau, Gen. P. C. F., a product of Carnot's system, i. 202 : general of division, Army of Italy, 208 : defeats Austrians at Millesimo, 215 : at Lonato, 233 : battle of Bassano, 237 : at Verona, 237 : battle of Arcole, 238, 239 : battle of Lonato, 241 : driven into Porto Legnago, 251 : the Rivoli campaign, 251, 254 : commanding Army of the Interior, ii, 4 : takes command in Paris, 4, 5 : events of the 18th of Fructidor, 6 : commanding Army of the Rhine, 5 : opposes *N.*, 23 : blunders in southwestern Germany, 25 : commanding in the Pyrenees, 25, 30 : Jacobin candidate for supreme command, 64 : fails to attend banquet at St. Sulpice, 68 : offers services to *N.*, 74 : position on the Main, 124 : dangerous position after Hohenlinden, 125 : at Concordat celebration at Notre Dame, 138, 139 : victory at Castiglione, 207 : created marshal, 207 : plan of naval expedition for, 213 : commanding in Germany, 234 : exasperates the people of Ansbach, 270 : near Coburg, 278 : battle of Jéna, 280, 281 : at Golyoim, iii. 12 : strength in Poland, 13 : in the Eylau campaign, 17, 19–21 : wounded at Eylau, 21 : venality, 67 : created Duke of Castiglione, 71 : income, 71 : service in Spain, 217 : in campaign of 1813, iv. 34 : battle of Leipsic, 73 : confronting Bubna at Geneva, 91 : sent to Eugene's assistance, 91 : waning loyalty of, 91, 93 : repulses Bubna from Lyons, 98 : moral exhaustion of, 103 : letter from *N.*, 103 : driven back to Lyons, 109 : strength, 119 : incapacity, 119 : evacuates Lyons, 119, 120 : *N.'s* kindness toward, 120 : contrasted with Suchet, 120 : strength, March, 1814, 125 : available forces, 137 : transfers allegiance to Louis XVIII., 147, 152 : meeting with *N.* near Valence, 152 : alleges patriotism as cause of his desertion, 152 : attainted, 165 : *N.'s* forgiveness for, 218

Augsburg, military movements near, iii. 158, 159

Augusta of Bavaria, marries Eugène de Beauharnais, ii. 257

Aujezd, military operations at, ii. 250

Aulic Council, i. 263, 266 ; ii. 105, 236

Austerlitz, battle of, ii. 245 et seq., 275 : the lessons of, 252, 253 ; iii. 259 : "the sun of," ii. 253 ; iii. 260 : reception of the news in England, ii. 254 : meeting of the sovereigns after, iii. 36 : fruits of the battle, 88 : Talleyrand's policy after, 99 : *N.'s* terms after, 128 : Alexander's pliableness after, 266 : the battle compared with that at Leipsic, iv. 77 : interview between Francis and *N.* at, 72

Austerlitz, Bridge of, in Paris, iii. 62

Austin, John, on the Napoleonic Code, ii. 143

Austria, hampered by alliances, i. 9 : campaign against France, 33 : France declares war against, 100, 110 : relations (alliances and negotiations for mutual support) with Prussia, 102 ; ii. 251, 268 ; iii. 174, 181, 243, 251 : captures Lafayette, i. 105 : effect of military successes, 115 : military operations against, in Pied-

Austria — *continued.*
mont, 128 : partition of Poland, 131, 262 : Masséna's campaign against, 143 : opening of hostilities against, 143 : enters Genoese territory, 145 : cessation of operations against, 155 : defeated at Weissenburg and Flenrus, 163 : driven out of Alsace, 163 : relations with England (alliances and negotiations with, and subsidies from), 164, 268 ; ii. 103, 105, 121, 122, 225, 230, 231 ; iii. 84, 128, 150, 151, 153, 174 ; iv. 48, 106, 157, 170 : armistice between France and, i. 165 : French schemes against, 175 : defeated by Prussia, 197 : hostility to France, 197 : relations (alliances and negotiations for mutual support) with Russia, 198, 262 ; ii. 30, 42, 49, 199, 228, 229, 231, 233 ; iii. 138, 237, 249, 251 ; iv. 21, 46, 47 : question of military operations against, i. 206 : operations in Piedmont in 1794, 206 : plans for overthrow of, 209 : forces of, separated from Sardinians, 211 : *N.* dictates terms to, at Leoben, 211 : military operations in Lombardy, 213–220 : defeated at Montenotte, 215 : army separated from Piedmontese, 215 : crushed at Lodi, 219, 220 : violates Venetian neutrality, 219, 226 : treaty with Venice, 226 : outgeneraled by *N.* at Mantua, 227 : the system of cabinet campaigning in vogue in, 231 : interest in possession of Mantua, 232 : losses in campaign before Mantua, 234 : temporary cessation of hostilities between France and, 240 : France's interest in the humiliation of, 245 : military enthusiasm in, 250 : fourth attempt to retrieve position in Italy, 250 : Spain allied with France against, 260 : precarious condition of foreign relations, 262 : magnificence of her opposition to France, 263 : covets Venetian territory, 265 : reoccupies Triest and Fiume, 268 : England blamed for trouble between France and, 269 : treaty of Leoben, 269–272 : seeks to retain Modena, 270 : secures possession of Venetia, 270–273 ; ii. 26 : proposes to recognize the French republic, i. 271 : defeated by Hoche on the Rhine, 271, 272 : rupture of the coalition with England, 272 : *N.* offers Venice to, 277 : influence of *N.* in, 278 : desires restoration of the Milanese, 279 : schemes of European reorganization, 279 : iii. 25, 38, 44, 88, 91, 151 : Gen. Clarke's mission to, i. 280 : releases Lafayette, 283 : *N.* has free hand in negotiations with, ii. 4 : final negotiations with, 6 : activity of, 9 : treaty of Campo Formio, 12–14 : Carnot's desire for peace with, 13 : Venice seeks to continue war with, 16 : Congress of Rastatt, 18, 61, 62, 169, 191 : humiliation of, 24, 170 ; iii. 4, 84, 163, 165, 193, 195–197 : attitude of Frederick the Great toward, ii. 27 : acquisition of Swiss territory, 27 : to be restrained from interference in Rome, 28 : declines reciprocity with France, 28 : favors secularization of ecclesiastical principalities, 28 : disturbed feeling in, 28, 29 : Bernadotte's embassy to, 28, 29, 35 : France's demands on, concerning the Bourbons, 29 : strained relations between France and, 29 : alliance with Turkey, 49 : violates the Helvetian Republic, 49 : relations (strained or hostile) with Prussia, 59, 169, 232 ; iii. 24, 40 ; iv. 80, 91, 92 : scheme to dismember Bavaria, ii, 61 : military operations on the Adige, 62 : military operations on the Rhine, 62, 63 : joins the second coalition, 62, 90, 93, 94 : defeats Masséna at Zurich, and Joubert at Novi, 63 : incurs the ill will of Paul I., 93, 126, 134 : holdings in Italy, 95 : duplicity with Russia, 95 : Russia incensed at, 102 : France's services to Prussia against, 102 : military situation at beginning of 1800, 105 : Moreau ordered to move against, 107 : system of tactics pursued by, 108 : defeated at Engen, 109 : successes in Italy, 110 : quality of her troops, 117 : battle of Marengo, 117–119 : negotiates for peace, 119, 121 : agrees to evacuate northern Italy, 119 : armistice between France and, 119, 122 : interest to abandon England, 121 : *N.* proposes general armistice to, 121 : seeks concessions in Italy, 122 : raises new troops, 122 : *N.* determines to prosecute the war with, 122 : position behind the Inn, 124 : signs Peace of Lunéville, 125 : her line in Italy, as fixed at Lunéville, 125, 126 : armistice of Steyer, 125 : battle of Hohenlinden, 125 : signs separate peace, 125 : loss of power, 126 : the spiritual principalities in, 126 : Russia's jealousy of, 126 : aspirations concerning Bavaria, 126 : ecclesiastical influence in, 169 : share in redistributions of 1802, 170 : Ney's check on, 175 : proposed occupation of Malta by, 182 : *N.'s* preparations for striking, 186 : truckles to France, 199 : withdraws troops from Swabia, 199 : acquiesces in creation of French empire, 204 : represented at *N.'s* court at Aachen, 210 : *N.'s* designs against, 214, 215, 222 : recuperating, 222 : pretext for war between France and, 226 : Francis's title and powers curtailed, 226 : the sanitary cordon, 228 : popular dislike of Russia in, 228 : Alexander's scheme for compensating, 228 : apprehensions of losing Venice, 229 : falls into *N.'s* trap, 229, 230 : army reforms, 230 : mobilizes troops, 230 : her ambitions, 230 : her disarmament demanded, 232 : *N.* threatens to march to Vienna, 232 : abused in Paris newspapers, 232 : declaration of war against, 232 : declares war against France, Sept. 3, 1805, 233 : strength, 233, 234 : her line of defense, 234 : popular opinion of *N.* in, 235 : capitulation of Ulm, 235, 236 : junction of troops at Marburg, 236 : outgeneraled by *N.*, 243 : drives the Elector of Bavaria from Munich, 243 : battle of Austerlitz, 246 et seq.: ill-feeling between Russia and, 246 : threatened with loss of Venetia and the Tyrol, 251 : accepts *N.'s* terms for an armistice, 251 : *N.'s* scheme to crush, 251, 252 : suspected bribery of Talleyrand by, 251, 252 : pays war indemnity to France, 252 : cessions by, 252 : acquires Salzburg and Berchtesgaden, 252 : surrenders Venice to France, 252 : losses at Austerlitz, 253 : stripped of leadership, 254 : neutralization of her power, 259 : Francis I. declares himself hereditary emperor, 261 : protector of Ragusa, 261, 262 : demoralization of the army, 272 : rehabilitation of, iii. 4 : neutrality between Russia and Turkey, 5 : anxiety concerning Polish lands, 8 : offer of Silesia to, 8, 24 : resolves on neutrality, 8, 9 : Turko-Persian alliance against, 23 : *N.* proposes alliance with, 24, 25 : hostile preparations, 24 : proposal for a new coalition, 25 : proposes to act as

Austria — *continued.*
mediator, 25 : shrewd attitude of, 25 : throws troops on frontier of Galicia, 25 : omitted from the Continental Olympus, 38 : *N.'s* object to humiliate, 39 : interest in Poland, 40 : partition of, 44, 48 : her position after Tilsit, 48 : proposed commercial war against England, 48 : offended dignity of, 55 : treaty of Fontainebleau, Oct. 10, 1807, 84 : outward subserviency to France, 84 : *N.'s* attitude toward, 84 : military reorganization of, 84, 128, 130, 153, 154 : proposed neutralization of, 91 : the situation in, 94 : awakening of the national spirit in, 108 : encouraged to revolt, 124, 127, 128, 138 : effect of the Bayonne negotiations on, 127 et seq.: hereditary rivalry with France, 128 : belligerent tone in, 128, 138, 150, 151 : necessity for her repression, 130 : *N.* and Alexander remonstrate with, 130–132 : *N.* proposes alliance with, 132 : to be held in check by Russia, 132 : compact between Russia and France against, 137 : Russia urged to occupy part of, 138 : transformation of, 149 et seq.: the German movement in, 150 : opportunity to lead a revolt against *N.*, 151 : failure of negotiations with France, 153 : change of plan of campaign, 154, 158 : Napoleonic ideas in, 155 : Archduke Charles's proclamations, 155 : intoxicated with success, 156 : the fifth war with, 157 et seq.: her aggressions, 165 : extinguishment of her hopes in Italy, 167 : claims the battle of Aspern, 173 : losses at Wagram, 178 : plague in her army, 183 : to reduce her army, 184 : cession of territory, 184 : *N.'s* terms of peace, 184, 185 : *N.* contemplates alliance with, 184, 189, 191, 192 : reduced to a second-class power, 184, 193, 195, 196 : desire to assassinate *N.* in, 185 : recognizes *N.'s* acquisitions in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, 185 : joins the Continental System, 185 : *N.* chooses a matrimonial alliance with the House of, 189 : necessity of placating, 195 : good feeling toward France, 195 : democratic tendencies in, 196 : distribution of the lands taken from, 204 : brought into the Napoleonic system, 206 : bankruptcy of, 232 : alliance with France, 236, 237 : interest in stirring up strife between France and Russia, 238 : pro-Russian party in, 238, 239 : *N.'s* reply to Francis's request for assistance, 239 : Alexander seeks the favor of, 240 : foments hostile feeling between Russia and France, 240, 241 : seeks territorial aggrandizement at expense of Turkey, 241 : contemplates neutrality, 243 : overawed by *N.'s* preparations, 243 : contributes troops to the French army, 243 : stipulates for territorial enlargement, 243 : furnishes troops for Russian campaign of 1812, 246 : agricultural distress in, 249 : acquires Galicia, 251 : attitude of her troops toward Russia, 259 : *N.* suspicious of, iv. 19 : narrow escape at Essling, 19 : Alexander seeks alliance with, 20 : value of her alliance to France, 25, 26 : Roman Catholic influence in, 26 : proposed surrender of Illyria to, 27, 38, 44 : hostility to *N.* in, 28, 29 : Saxony turns toward, 28, 32 : Metternich's diplomatic schemes for, 29 : refuses to enter coalition against France, 29 : *N.* offers to subsidize, 29 : *N.* seeks aid from, to check Kutusoff, 29 : proposes to act as mediator, 29, 37–40, 43, 44, 46, 47 : wooed for the coalition, 31 : secret agreement with Saxony, 32 : rejects *N.'s* offer of Silesia, 32 : hostile neutrality of, 35 : *N.'s* attitude toward, 35 : pivotal in European politics, 35, 39, 40 : growing strength, 35, 47–49 : abandoned by Saxony, 37 : proposed surrender of Dalmatia to, 38 : proposed rectification of her western frontier, 38 : outwits *N.*, 41, 60, 51, 59 : gathers troops in Bohemia, 42 : the allies' reliance on, 43 : fear of *N.*, 43 : Nesselrode demands her adherence to the coalition, 43 : aggrandizement by royal marriages, 44 : to be pledged never to side with France, 44 : proposed enlargement of, 44 : secret treaty of Reichenbach, 44, 45, 48 : throws off the mask of mediator, 46 : duplicity of, 46 : regeneration of, 47 : seeks to regain ascendancy in Germany and Italy, 49 : *N.'s* agents in, 49 : *N.* attempts to bribe, 49, 50 : declares war, 49, 50 : Hamburg and Triest offered to, 50 : takes the lead among the allies, 54 : strength, 54 : *N.* seeks alliance with, 59, 62 : saved by Schwarzenberg from invasion, 63 : *N.* offers terms to, 65 : scheme to restore status of 1805, 66 : concludes alliance of Sept. 9, 1813, 66 : seeks to regain predominance in Italy, 72 : rise of her Prussian rival, 77 : desires peace, 80 : demands Italian territory, 80 : at the Congress at Frankfort, 80 : troops on the Rhine, 89, 90 : forms alliance with Murat, 90 : the Czar's designs to check, 99 : violates Swiss neutrality, 99 : suspicious slowness of her movements, 100 : eager for an armistice, 101, 102, 105 : *N.* endeavors to separate Russia from, 105 : treaty of Chaumont, 106 : the triple alliance, 106 : attitude toward *N.*, 115 : *N.'s* dread of capture of the Empress by, 117 : party to the treaty of Fontainebleau (April, 1814), 148 : weight of her yoke in Italy, 156 : negotiates secret treaty with England and France, 157 : invited to take part in the coronation of the King of Rome, 165 : member of the Vienna Coalition, 170 : quota of troops, 170 : refuses help to France, 171 : the campaign of the Hundred Days, 174 et seq.: claims the glory of annihilating *N.*, 205 : claims the right of overseeing the imprisonment of *N.*, 213 : loss of Italian territory, 247

Austria-Hungary, the rise of, iv. 247

Austrian Netherlands, the, defeat of the French in, i. 100 : the revolutionary spirit in, 110 : Dumouriez's successes in, 115 : French conquest of, 163 : surrendered to France, ii. 14. See also BELGIUM

Autun, *N.* at, i. 19, 22, 25, 26 ; iv. 166 : the Buonapartes at, i. 22 : Talleyrand bishop of, ii. 22

Auxerre, military movements near, iv. 94 : Imperial forces at, 125 : Ney rejoins *N.* at, 165, 166

Auxonne, *N.* at, i. 48, 49, 58, 69, 79, 81–83, 134 : disturbances in, 58, 59, 87 : *N.* seeks to be retained at, 85

Avignon, the Girondists at, i. 128 : *N.* arrives before, 128 : Jacobin siege of, 128 : *N.'s* life at, 128, 129 : annexed to France, 260 : the Pope asks compensation for the loss of, ii. 139 : lost to the Pope at the peace of Tolentino, 208 : residence of Pius VII. at, iv. 26 : Augereau's neglected guns at, 119 : plots to assassinate *N.* at, 152

Azanza, M. J. de, King Joseph's Spanish minister at Paris, iii. 216
Azara, Chevalier J. N. de, represents Spain at Amiens, ii. 168: at the Tuileries, March 13, 1803, 181
Azores, proposition to deport the Emperor to, iv. 157

B

Babylon, the history of, iv. 242
Bacciocchi, Mme., literary coterie, ii. 164: acquires the duchy of Lucca, 227. See also BUONAPARTE, MARIE-ANNE-ELISA
Bacciocchi, Pasquale, marries Elisa Buonaparte, i. 195
Bachelu in battle of Waterloo, iv. 195, 198
Bacon, Francis, *N.'s* study of, ii. 36
Badajoz, Soult's capture of, iii. 219: English siege and storming of, 221, 222, 242
Baden, violation of her neutrality, i. 105; ii. 211, 233: makes peace with France (1796), i. 235, 279: relations with Russia, ii. 170: strengthening of, 170: residence of the Duc d'Enghien in, 192: French expedition to, 194: news of the Duc d'Enghien's arrest in, 195: friendly relations with France, 243: acquires territory after Austerlitz, 252: subservience to France, 254, 260: created a separate kingdom, 257: member of the Confederation of the Rhine, 260, 261: supplies contingent for *N.'s* army, ii. 261; iii. 244: allotment of Austrian lands to, 204: turns from *N.* to the allies, iv. 79: position in Germany, 246
Bagration, Gen. Peter, holds Murat at Hollabrunn, ii. 244: in battle of Austerlitz, 250: in campaign of Eylau, iii. 19: called in by Barclay de Tolly, 254: movements on the Dnieper and Pripet, 254: contemplated junction with Barclay, 255: establishes communication with Drissa, 255: driven east by Davout, 256: junction with Barclay at Smolensk, 255, 256: plan of junction with Barclay at Vitebsk, 256: battle of Smolensk, 257
Bailly, Jean Sylvain, mayor of Paris, i. 57
Baicombe, Mr., entertains *N.* at St. Helena, iv. 215
Balearic Isles, *N.* offers them to England, ii. 261, 262
Balkan Peninsula, Russia's ambitions in, iii. 236: rescue of the people of, iv. 247
Baltic Sea, the, England's operations in and on, ii. 135; iii. 26, 34, 35, 79, 80, 93: gateway of, 58: Spanish military movements on, 116: *N.'s* mastery of ports on, 203: efficient blockade of, impossible, 214
Baltimore, Jerome Bonaparte's residence in, ii. 164
Bamberg, Austrian troops at, ii. 234: *N.'s* military route through, 274: concentration of troops in, iii. 158
Bank of England, suspends specie payments, i. 283: scarcity of money in, iii. 232
Bank of France, organization of, ii. 89, 140, 141: the Récamiers and the, 266, 267: compelled to lower its rate, iii. 61, 62: plethora of silver in, 232
Barbary, plots of the pirates to seize *N.*, iv. 160
Barbé-Marbois, F., proscribed, ii. 5: minister of finance, 137: State treasurer, 141: minister of the treasury, 265
Barbets, guerrilla bands of, i. 228
Barcelona, French troops at, iii. 105: Duheame besieged in, 142: besieged by Vives, 143
Barclay de Tolly, M. A., proposed movement against, iii. 254: calls in Bagration, 254: retreats to Drissa, 254: junction with Bagration at Smolensk, 255, 256: plans to meet Bagration at Vitebsk, 256: battle of Smolensk, 256–258: takes stand behind the Uscha, 257: retreats toward Moscow, 257: charged with German bias, 260: succeeded by Kutusoff, 260: retained as military adviser, 260: restored to chief command, iv. 32, 40: battle of Bautzen, 39–41: with the Army of the South, 52: battle of Leipsic, 71: advises pursuit of *N.*, 122
Barère, Bertrand, exiled, ii. 228.
"Bargain of Famine," the, i. 49, 53
Barham, Adm., naval administration of, ii. 238
Baring, Major, in battle of Waterloo, iv. 196, 198
Barnabe, declares Brumaire illegal, ii. 151
Barras, Jean-Paul-François-Nicolas, relations with *N.* and influence on his career, i. 135, 139, 173, 175, 177, 179, 193, 199; ii. 15, 20, 23; iv. 220, 236, 238: in siege of Toulon, i. 136, 137: opposes Robespierre, 148: influence among the Thermiderians, 151: leader of military committee of the Convention, 162: a Dantonist, 173: in social life, 173, 199: commander-in-chief of Convention forces, 179: claims the honors of the Thirteenth Vendémiaire, 180, 182: resigns his command, 183: member of the Directory, 186, 202: character, 186, 199, 200; ii. 23, 62: intimacy with Josephine Beauharnais, i. 191: connection with *N.'s* marriage, 192: bribed by Venetian ambassador, 272: dissatisfied with treaty of Leoben, 272: learns of Pichegru's treachery, ii. 4: plan to bring troops to Paris, 4: clamors for peace, 13: derides Carnot's suggestions, 13: responsibility for the 18th Fructidor, 15: responsibility for the 13th Vendémiaire, 15: approves the treaty of Campo Formio, 16: charged with tampering with Bernadotte, 29: intrigue with *N.*, Talleyrand, and Sieyès for a new constitution, 33: suggests that *N.* assume a dictatorship, 33: warns *N.* to leave France for Egypt, 36: resignation and fall of, 69, 73, 78, 81: *N.'s* charges against, before the Ancients, 77, 78
Barry, Mme. du, relations with Talleyrand, ii. 22
Bar-sur-Aube, military movements near, iv. 94, 104, 116, 121, 126: narrow escape of Francis at, 120: *N.'s* march through, 126
Bar-sur-Ornain, Oudinot at, iv. 126
Bartenstein, French occupation of, iii. 17: military movements near, 19: treaty of, iii. 24, 25, 35
Barthélemy, F., member of the Directory, ii. 1: imprisonment of, 5
Basel, treaty of, i. 164; ii. 131; iii. 98: alteration of boundary at, ii. 14: republican propaganda in, 27: invasion of France via, iv. 91, 92: headquarters of the allies at, 98: Schwarzenberg's communications with, threatened, 120, 121: tomb of Erasmus in, 220
Bassano, defeat of Wurmser at, i. 235: Alvinczy defeats Masséna at, 237: battle of, 237: creation of hereditary duchy of, ii. 255: Maret created Duke of, iii. 71. See also MARET
Basseville, N. J. H., killed in Rome, i. 155, 229, 260
Bastia, made a seat of government, i. 11: *N.* at, 46: radical influences in, 62: patriot success in, 64: tradition concerning *N.'s* connection with events at, 64: share in annexation of Corsica to France, 66: Paoli's return to, 68: revolutionary movements in, 72: declared the capital of Corsica, 74: disorders in, 94: *N.* sails from, May 2, 1792, 100: *N.* flees to, 120: under domination of Salicetti, 121: French power in, 123: imprisonment of Corsicans in, 149: English capture of, 154: Nelson at, ii. 42
Bastille, the, destruction of, i. 56, 57, 91: celebrations of the storming of, 102; ii. 127
Batavian Republic, the, formation of, i. 164: an appanage of France, 197: naval defeat at Camperdown, ii. 25: dependence on France, 25: levy of troops and war material on, 25, 26: Anglo-Russian force forced to evacuate, 63: loyalty to *N.*, 97: a new constitution for, 150: regains colonies, 150, 168: English efforts to discredit France in, 169. See also HOLLAND; NETHERLANDS
"Battle of Dorking," ii. 185
Battle of Five Days, iii. 163
"Battle of the Nations," iv. 77
Bautzen, battle of, iv. 39, 40, 53: fatal results of the French victory at, 40, 41: *N.* moves toward, 62: the Young Guard ordered to, 63: *N.* nicknamed from, 64: boy-soldiers at, 65: the armistice after, 81
"Bautzen Messenger-Boy," the, iv. 64
Bavaria, treaty with France (1796), i. 279: Austria's gaze on, 198; ii. 126, 230, 233: Austria's scheme to dismember, 61: Suvaroff driven from Italy to, 93: Moreau ordered to drive the Austrians into, 107: the campaign in, 124 et seq.: negotiations with France, 136: acquires Passau, 170: relations with Russia, 170: Alexander I.'s scheme of giving to Austria, 228: *N.* threatens to enlarge, 232, 251: Austrian troops in, 234: the Elector driven from Munich by Austria, 243: friendly relations with, subservience and military support to France, ii. 243, 254, 260, 261, 274; iii. 11, 151, 152, 158, 214, 245, 246; iv. 23: acquires Ansbach, ii. 251: created a separate kingdom, 251, 252, 257: acquires territory after Austerlitz, 252: member of the Confederation of the Rhine, 260, 261: joins in the war against Prussia, 274: defeated at Innsbruck, iii. 156: *N.'s* success in, 174: Maria Louisa's progress through, 197: allotment of Austrian lands to, 204: losses of her soldiers in Russia, 255: Roman Catholic influence in, iv. 26: hesitates to furnish new levies, 28: Augereau commanding troops of, 34: national spirit in, 64: revulsion of feeling against France, 64, 66, 69, 79, 91: part in the campaign at Leipsic, 76: position in Germany, 246: battle of Hanau, 76: the campaign of Waterloo, 174 et seq.
Bayanne, Cardinal, at Paris, iii. 58: his demands on behalf of the Pope, 94
Baylen, capitulation of, Dupont at, iii. 122, 124, 130
Bayonne, formation of new French army at, iii. 96, 100, 104: *N.* goes to, 111, 112: Ferdinand VII. at, 113: trial of Ferdinand at, 114: end of negotiations at, 115: convocation of Spanish notables at, 117: ultimate failure of *N.'s* work at, 118: *N.* at, Nov. 3, 1808, 143: effect of negotiations at, 144: the decree of 1808, 210: Soult shut up in, iv. 79
Bayreuth, *N.* at, ii. 275: Ney at, 278: Davout's force in, iii. 157
"Beaucaire, the Supper of," i. 129, 130
Beauderet, military movements near, iv. 184
Beauharnais, Marquis Alexandre de, marriage to Josephine de la Pagerie, i. 189: service in America, 189: separated from his wife, 189: commander of the Army of the Rhine, 190: partial reconciliation with Josephine, 190: elected to States-General, 190: president of National Assembly, 190: denunciation, imprisonment, and execution, 190
Beauharnais, Eugène de, birth of, i. 189: early life, 191: interposes to reconcile Josephine and *N.*, ii. 58: viceroy at Milan, 229: ordered to organize troops on the Adige, 232: marries Augusta of Bavaria, 257: expels the English from Leghorn, iii. 57: letter from *N.* to, 57, 58: presents ultimatum to Pius VII. 57, 58: formally adopted by *N.*, 103: viceroy of Italy, 103: defeated by Archduke John, 156: letter from *N.* to, 161: commanding in Italy, 163, 164: character, 164: at Villach, 168: at Bruck, 174: drives Archduke John into Hungary, 175: battle of Wagram, 176, 177: guards the Marchfeld, 181: executes Hofer's sentence, 186: offers amnesty to the Tyroleans 186: informs Josephine of the impending divorce, 189: share in the Austrian marriage negotiations, 194: acquires principality of Frankfort, 204: viceroy of Italy, 214: a grand duchy created for, 244: strength of his corps, March, 1812, 246: contemplated movement by, 254: battle of Borodino, 261: defeats Kutusoff at Malojaroslavetz, 269, 270: battle of Wiazma, iv. 3: the hero of the retreat from Moscow, 4, 5: at Krasnoi, 6: junction with Ney, 6: succeeds Murat in command, 21, 27: reorganizes the army, 27: withdraws to Berlin, 27: retires behind the Elbe, 27: establishes headquarters at Leipsic, 27: *N.'s* instructions to, 28: to guard Holland, 28: Alexander advances against, 29: strength in the Saxon campaign of 1813, 34: junction with *N.*, 35: ordered to raise a new army in Italy, 38, 43: driven over the Adige by Hiller, 79: checkmated in Italy, 91: battle of Roverbello, 91: concludes armistice, 91
Beauharnais, François de, French minister at Madrid, con-

Beauharnais, François de—*continued.*
nection with Ferdinand's conspiracy, iii. 100, 101: conducts intrigues for the Portuguese throne, 102: opens the eyes of Godoy, 104: advises Ferdinand to go to Bayonne, 111
Beauharnais, Hortense, birth of, i. 189: early life, 191: interposes to reconcile Josephine and *N.*, ii. 68: marries Louis Bonaparte, 164; iii. 206. See also BUONAPARTE, HORTENSE
Beauharnais, Josephine, social life in Paris, i. 173: *N.'s* infatuation for, and marriage, 188–196; ii. 218: birth and early life, i. 189–191: characteristics, 189–194: imprisonment, 190: returns to Martinique, 190: returns to France, 190: intimacy with Barras, 191. See also BONAPARTE, JOSEPHINE
Beauharnais family, proposed alliance between Ferdinand VII. and, iii. 99–101: share in the Austrian marriage negotiations, 194
Beaulieu, J. P., commanding Austrian army in Lombardy, i. 213–219: attacks Laharpe at Voltri, 213, 215: falls back on Acqui, 215: *N.'s* operations against, 216–220: military genius, 217: defense of Milan, 217–219: outflanked at Piacenza, 218: retreats to the Mincio, 219: seizes Peschiera, 219, 226: thwarts *N.'s* plan, 219: violates Venetian neutrality, 226: his army scattered, 231
Beaumont, military operations near, iv. 174
Becker, Gen., accompanies *N.* to Rochefort, iv. 208: urges *N.'s* value as a general, 208
Beet-root sugar, production encouraged, iii. 65: *N.'s* interest in, 232
Belce, Canon, vice-president of the Directory of Corsica, i. 73
Belgium, proposals to establish a republic in, i. 115: plunder of works of art from, 225: *N.'s* policy concerning, 265: ceded to France by treaty of Leoben, 271: England's efforts to release, 279: France's interest in, 279: England's concessions as to, ii. 8: incorporated with France, 101: the Code Napoléon in, 143: public works in, 224: visit of *N.* and Maria Louisa to, iii. 206: mediocrity of soldiers of, iv. 64: the allies refuse to give the country to France, 99: *N.* entreated to abandon, 101: *N.* refuses to give up, 104, 105: campaign of Waterloo, 174 et seq.: provisions for defense of, 175: weakness of her troops, 193, 196, 197. See also AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS
Belle Alliance, French van at, iv. 188: *N.* at, 190, 191, 193: topography, 191: the French position at, 193: fighting at, 203
Bellegarde, Gen. H. de, supersedes Melas, ii. 122: on the Mincio, 122
"Bellerophon," the, Napoleon embarks on, iv. 209, 210, 239: sails for Torbay, 210: goes to Plymouth Sound, 210: in Torbay, 213
Bellesca, organizes rebellion in favor of Don John, iii. 97
Belleville, defense of, iv. 131
Belliard, Gen. A. D., carries the news of surrender of Paris to the Emperor, iv. 128, 135: advises a return to Lorraine, 136: transfers his allegiance to Louis XVIII., 147
Bellingham, John, assassinates Mr. Perceval, iv. 16
Bellinzona, Austrian force at, ii. 111: Moncey arrives at, 113
Bellowitz, military operations near, ii. 249
Belluno, Lusignan driven beyond, i. 267: creation of hereditary duchy of, ii. 255: Victor created Duke of, iii. 71. See VICTOR
Belt, the, difficulties of Bernadotte's crossing the, iii. 93
Belvedere, Gen., forces near Burgos, iii. 143
Benevento, Talleyrand created Prince of, ii. 256 (see TALLEYRAND): destruction of magazines at, iii. 146
Bennigsen, Gen. L. A. T., assassin of Paul I., ii. 245: commanding Russian forces at Breslau, 245: battle of Pultusk, iii. 12, 14: general-in-chief of the Russian army, 14, 15: position at Szuczyn, 14: turns back Ney from Königsberg, 14: attempts to reach Dantzic, 15: attempts to destroy Ney, 15: defeated at Mohrungen, 15: military genius, 15, 28: campaign of Eylau, 17 et seq.: captures French courier at Eylau, 19: retreats to Königsberg, 21: hampered for men and funds, 23: moves against Ney on the Passarge, 29: retires behind the Alle, 29: strength, summer of 1807, 29: battle of Heilsberg, 29, 30: injurious delays by, 31: battle of Friedland, 31, 32: abandons Heilsberg, 32: confesses defeat, 32: retreats across the Niemen, 32: reinforcements for, 32: proposes an armistice, 34, 35: commanding in Poland, iv. 52: reaches Teplitz, 66: in battle of Leipsic, 74
Berchtesgaden, apportioned to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, ii. 170: ceded to Austria, 252: embodied in the Confederation of the Rhine, iii. 184
Beresina, battle of, compared with that of Friedland, iv. 77
Beresina, River, the crossing of the, iv. 5, 7–13
Berg, Grand Duchy of, quota of men, ii. 261: French seizure of lands near, 273: vassalage to France recognized at Tilsit, iii. 47: the Grand Duchess quarrels with Queen Hortense, 139: scheme to incorporate it with France, 204: Louis Napoleon created Grand Duke, 213: the French regency of, iv. 48: French influence in, 49
Bergamo, the revolutionary movement in, i. 265, 269, 270
Bergen, battle of, ii. 63
Bergères, Blucher retreats to, iv. 97
Berlier, M., assists in preparation of the Code, ii. 143
Berlin, consternation in (1797–98), ii. 28: Sieyès' mission to, 28: French party in, 102: the visits of Alexander I. to, 242, 243; iii. 3: war feeling in, ii. 271: *N.* refuses to treat outside of, iii. 1, 6: *N.'s* entry into, 3: *N.* receives Polish deputation in, 8: French occupation of, 17: centralization in, iv. 13: Eugène at, 27: the Prussian court removed to Breslau from, 30: patriotism in the university, 31: defense of, 32: proposed allotment of, to Jerome, 39: threatened by Oudinot, 42: England's diplomacy in, 45: French demonstrations against, 51: Bulow commanding at, 52: overestimate of its strategical value, 54: Blucher's road to, blocked by Lauriston, 56: failure of Oudinot and Macdonald in movements against, 59–63: *N.* determines to march on, 62, 63: possible movement toward, 69
Berlin Decree, the, iii. 5, 6, 40, 42, 43, 82, 95, 209, 244
Berlin University, iii. 83
Bern, treaty of Leoben to be ratified at, i. 271: proposed congress at, ii. 13, 14: capture of the city, 27: French intervention in, 27: the plundering of, 27: French military arrogance in, 28: attempt to restore the constitution of, iv. 99
Bernadotte, Gen. J. B. J., military successes of, i. 163: a product of Carnot's system, 202: commanding Army of the Sambre and Meuse, 263: storms Gradisca, 267: communicates Pichegru's treachery to Barras, ii. 4: ambassador to Austria, 28, 29, 35: charges of venality concerning his mission, 29: recalled, 29: characteristics, 29, 63; iii. 241; iv. 52, 90: marries Désirée Clary, ii. 29; iii. 215: ordered to the middle Rhine, ii. 60: develops the conscription schemes of Carnot, 63, 64: secretary of war, 63, 64: counterplots on the 18th Brumaire, 74: plans to head a force at St. Cloud, 74: created marshal, 207: ordered to Gottingen, 232: commanding in Germany, 234: marches to Ingolstadt, 234: watches the Russian army, 235: violates Prussian neutrality at Ansbach, 242: in battle of Austerlitz, 247, 249: created Prince of Ponte Corvo, 256; iii. 71: at Lobenstein, ii. 278: defeats Hohenlohe at Schleiz, 279: at Naumburg, 280: absence from Jéna and Auerstadt, 282: relations with *N.*, 282; iii. 215, 241; iv. 32: at Apolda, ii. 283: defeats Prussians at Halle, iii. 1: sacks Lubeck, 4: strength in Poland, 13: position at Elbing, 14: action at Mohrungen, 15: escapes to Gilgenburg, 15: threatens Königsberg, 15: in campaign of Eylau, 18: threatens Denmark, 58: Denmark yields to, 59: income, 71: fails to join the Russian forces in Finland, 93: restrains Spanish operations on the Baltic, 116: his advance-guard of Spanish troops, 124: troops in Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck, 157: to concentrate in Dresden, 158: ordered to Linz, 167, 174: relieved by Lefebvre at Linz, 174: in battle of Wagram, 176, 178: disgraced at Wagram, 176, 178, 183: heads troops for service in the Netherlands, 183: kindly treatment of Pomerania, 215: failure on the Marchfeld, 215: chosen as successor to Charles XIII., 215: installation at Stockholm, 215: assumes title of Prince Charles John, 215: popularity in Sweden, 215: republicanism of, 215: ambition to acquire Norway, 215; iv. 32, 90: changes from Roman Catholic to Lutheran, iii. 241: character of his rule, 241: eager to escape from French protection, 241: varied character of his life, 241: virtual king of Sweden, 241: unwillingly grants a liberal constitution, 241: ambition to acquire the French crown, 243; iv. 52, 60, 69, 90, 92, 113, 134: temporizes with France and Russia, iii. 244: assists Russia against *N.*, 266: Metternich seeks to embroil him with Alexander, iv. 29: *N.* attempts to win over, 32: Pomerania offered to, 32: joins the coalition, 32, 52: his troops evacuate Hamburg, 37: commanding Army of the North, 52: in military council at Trachenberg, 55: battle of Grossbeeren, 60: at Juterbog, 63: battle of Dennewitz, 63, 64: crosses the Elbe, 66: contemplated movement against, 67: *N.* seeks to engage, 68, 69: proposed junction with Schwarzenberg, 69: at Merseburg, 70: at Oppin, 70: offers terms to Davout, 90: ordered to the lower Rhine, 90: at Liège, 113: receives flag of truce from Joseph, 113: the allies dread betrayal by, 113
Bernadotte, Mme., i. 176
Bernburg, French forces at, iv. 28
Berneck, defeat of Junot by the Black Legion at, iii. 180
Berner Klause, the, i. 252
Berry, military movements near, iv. 107
Berry, Charles Ferdinand, Duc de, doubtful conrage of, ii. 192: refrains from entering France, 192: suspected of plotting in Brittany, 193
Berry-au-Bac, abandoned by Marmont, iv. 109: Marmont at, 113
Berthier, Gen. Alexandre, a product of Carnot's system, i. 202: service in the Alps, 209: at Lodi, 219: in the Rivoli campaign, 253: carries treaty of Campo Formio to the Directory, ii. 16: plunders Venetia, 26: proclaims the Roman Republic, 26: ordered to kill hostile tribesmen, 47: ordered to prepare for triumphal entry into Cairo, 52: accompanies *N.* on his return from Alexandria, 56: action on the 18th Brumaire, 71: forms the army of reserve, 92: sent to Geneva, 92: method of computing his army, 110: plans for crossing the Alps, 110: urges capture of Fort Bard, 111: created marshal, 207: Master of the Hounds, 207: muzzles the press in Prussia, 270, 271: letter from *N.*, Aug. 26, 1806, 273: personal attendance on *N.*, 276, 277: in battle of Eylau, iii. 20; iv. 176: at Tilsit, iii, 45, 61: income, 71, 226: created Prince of Neufchatel, 71, 78, 214: appointed vice-constable, 78: at Bayonne, 113: chief of staff, 157, 246; iv. 34: orders to, iii. 158: deficiency of military knowledge, 159: fails in execution of his orders, 159, 160: charged with treachery, 160: on *N.'s* habit of work, 163: discovers attempt to assassinate *N.*, 185: *N.'s* proxy to marry Maria Louisa, 195–197: created Prince of Wagram, 197: letter from Ney to, Nov. 5, 1812, iv. 3: informs Macdonald of the Russian disasters, 20: alleged hostility to Jomini, 52: battle of Dresden, 68: at Nangis, 103: receives flag of truce from Schwarzenberg, 103: persuades *N.* to resume negotiations, 104: capture of one of his couriers, 121: at council at St. Dizier, 126: advises a return to Lorraine, 136: Marmont sends treasonable documents to, 138: at the abdication scene, 139: transfers his allegiance to Louis XVIII., 147: nicknamed "Peter," 158: faults at Eylau and Wagram, 176
Berthollet, C. L., plunders Italian scientific collections, i. 225: accompanies *N.* on his return from Alexandria, ii. 56: member of the senate, 100
Berton, L. S., i. 31
Bertrand, Gen. H. G., base conduct at Vienna, ii. 237: in campaign of 1813, iv. 34: in battle of Bautzen, 39, 40: beleaguers

Bertrand, Gen. H. G.—*continued.*
Schweidnitz, 42: battle of Dennewitz, 63: driven by Blücher to Bitterfeld, 66: battle of Leipsic, 71, 72, 74, 75: takes Weissenfels, 75: defends the Rhine at Kastel, 89: begs *N.* to abandon Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine, 101: at the abdication scene, 139: accompanies *N.* to Elba, 149, 152: sends positive instructions to Grouchy, 186, 188, 189: escorts *N.* from the field of Waterloo, 203: accompanies *N.* to Rochefort, 208: accompanies *N.* to St. Helena, 214
Bertrand, Mme., present at *N.*'s deathbed, iv. 219
Bessarabia alleged concession of, to Russia, iii. 48
Bessières, Gen. J. B., service in Egypt, ii. 36: created marshal, 207: in battle of Austerlitz, 250: in Eylau campaign, iii. 19, 20: created Duke of Istria, 70, 71: income, 71: character, 75: *N.*'s opinion of, 75: invades Spain, 105, 106, 112: instructions to, concerning Spanish policy, 110: ordered to arrest Ferdinand, 113: besieges Santander, 122: defeats the Spaniards at Medina de Rio Seco, 122: occupies Old Castile and Aragon, 122: ordered to connect with Junot, 123: at Miranda, 142: pursues Hiller, 162: battle of Essling, 170, 171: commanding the Young Guard, 246: killed at Rippach, iv. 35, 37: importance of his loss to *N.*, 35
Bethencourt, Gen., crosses the Simplon, ii. 113: near Domo d'Ossola, 113
Beugnot, regent of Berg, iv. 48: anecdote concerning, 48
Beurnonville, Marquis de, *N.*'s envoy to Prussia, ii. 103: royalist intrigues of, iv. 135, 140
Beys, the Egyptian, ii. 40
Biberach, battle of, ii. 109
Biberich, anecdote of *N.* at the castle of, iv. 48
Bible, *N.*'s study of the, iv. 216
Bicêtre, prison of, imprisonment of a milliner in, iii. 75
Bielostok, united to Russia, iii. 48, 53
Bilbao, Lefebvre near, iii. 142
Bisamberg, junction of Archduke Charles and Hiller at, iii. 164, 167: military operations near, 176, 177
Biscay, *N.*'s contemplated movements in, iii. 143: military government of, 213
Bismarck, Prince Otto von, policy in, 1875, ii. 172
Bitterfeld, Bertrand driven by Blücher to, iv. 66
Biville, landing of the Cadoudal conspirators at, ii. 190
Black Elster, River, military movements on the, iv. 65
Black Forest, the, Desaix defeats the Austrians in, i. 272: military operations in, ii. 108, 109, 234
Black Legion, the, organization of, iii. 180: defeats Junot at Berneck, 180: defeats the Saxons at Nossen, 180
Black Sea, proposed Indian expeditions via, ii. 134
Blake, Gen., defeated at Medina de Rio Seco, iii. 122: advances from Durango, 143: concerted French movement against, 143: driven back to Valmaseda, 143: *N.*'s scheme to annihilate, 143: defeated at Espinosa, 144: joins La Romana, in Asturias, 144: annihilation of his army by Suchet, 221
Blankenburg, Louis XVIII. retreats to, ii. 3
Blankenhain, Prince Hohenlohe at, ii. 278
Blasowitz, military operations near, ii. 249
Blois, *N.*'s private treasure at, iv. 86, 149: imperial regency established at, 135: French garrison at, 137: dissolution of the imperial government at, 149
Blücher, Marshal G. L. von, member of Prussian reform party, ii. 269: Prussian commander, 272: military movements near Eisenach, 278: battle of Auerstädt, 282, 283: reaches Lübeck, iii. 2: duplicity to Klein, 2: surrender of, 2: in campaign of 1813, iv. 32: at Striegau, 52, 55: violates the armistice, 52, 55: commanding the army of the East, 52: gives *N.* an advantage, 54, 55: secures an independent command, 55: pursued by *N.*, 55: at Bunzlau, 55: retreats behind the Deichsel, 55: crosses the Katzbach, 55: battle of Katzbach, 60, 61: pursues Macdonald, 61: Macdonald fails to hold, 62: operations in Silesia, 62: attacks Macdonald at Fischbach, 63: Macdonald ordered to check his advance, 65: advances on Dresden, 65: northward movement, 65: marches to Kemberg, 66: drives Bertrand to Bitterfeld, 66: contemplated movement against, 67: *N.* seeks to engage, 68, 69: joint movements with Bernadotte and Schwarzenberg, 69: advances to Halle, 69: battle of Leipsic, 70, 72, 74: acquires two Swedish corps, 90: crosses the Rhine, 91: aims to annihilate *N.*, 91: crosses the Saar, 92: invests the Mosel fortresses, 92: advances on Arcis, 92: effects union with Schwarzenberg, 94: defeated at Brienne, 94: battles of La Rothière and Troyes, 94: predicts a speedy entry into Paris, 94: leads the advance down the Marne, 94: attempts to cut off Macdonald, 95: strength, Feb. 9, 1814, 95: French movement from Sézanne against, 95, 96: battle of Montmirail, 96: retreat across the Marne, 96: defeated at Vauchamps, 97: retreats to Bergères, 97: drives Marmont to Fromentières, 97: *N.* deals him "a blow in the eye," 101: Marmont ordered to hold, 102: at Méry, 104: collects his army at Châlons, 104: Oudinot sent against, 104: pursued by *N.*, 105: makes diversion in favor of main army, 105: advances on Paris, 105: letter from Frederick William III., Feb. 26, 1814, 105: *N.* in pursuit of, 105: moves on Meaux, 106: recruits his forces at Soissons, 106: retreats up the Ourcq, 106: checked by Marmont and Mortier, 106: crosses the Marne, 106: cut off from Schwarzenberg, 106, 107: driven north, 106, 107: battle of Craonne, 107: retreats from Craonne to Laon, 107: dissensions in his army, 107–109, 112: battle of Laon, 108: recalls York, 109: regains communication with Schwarzenberg, 109: dismayed at the capture of Rheims, 112, 113: besieges Compiègne, 112: resumes the offensive, 117, 119: Marmont's plan of operations against, 119: crosses the Aisne, 119: effects junction with Schwarzenberg, 119, 120, 122: captures a courier to the Empress, 121: advised of the movement on
Blücher, Marshal G. L. von—*continued.*
Paris, 122: "Marshal Forward," 122: crosses the Marne, 123: fears of, in Paris, 130: captures Montmartre, 132: desires to take the field, 173: plan of the campaign of Waterloo, 174: quality of his troops, 175: *N.*'s position with regard to Wellington and, 175: relative strength in Waterloo campaign, 176: awaits developments, 176: relations with Wellington, 179: possible change of strategy, 179: defensive movements, 180: at Fleurus, 181: retires from Fleurus, 181: his tactics criticized by Wellington, 182: meeting with Wellington at Bry, 182: battle of Ligny, 182, 183: gets "a —— good licking," 183, 184: wounded at Ligny, 184: Grouchy's pursuit of, 186: apprehended movement to join Wellington, 186: promises support to Wellington, 188: Grouchy aims to prevent union between Wellington and, 189: movement to Wavre, 189–191: disaster at Ligny, 190: possible retreat via Louvain, 191: fails to come to Wellington's assistance, 198: Wellington's faint-hearted cooperation with, 204: his lines of retreat, 205: determination to kill *N.*, 209, 211: *character:* ambition, iv. 55: ardor and courage, 93, 122, 179, 182: desire for glory and revenge, 100, 209, 211: duplicity, iii. 2: headstrong temper, iv. 54, 55, 60: influence over troops, 175: over-confidence, 95, 96: self-indulgence, 175
Bober, River, military movements on the, iv. 55, 61
Bocognano, *N.* in hiding near, i. 120
Bohemia, Archduke Ferdinand escapes into, ii. 235: Archduke Ferdinand commanding in, 245: *N.*'s line of retreat through, 253: plan of Austrian operations in, iii. 154: *N.*'s reasons for not pursuing Archduke Charles into, 163: gathering of Austrian troops in, iv. 42: boundary of a neutral zone, 43: beacons flash the declaration of war through, 49, 50: Austro-Russian troops in, 52: advance of Russian troops toward, 55: the allies' communication with, threatened, 57: guarding the passes from, 63: refuge of the allies in, 67: army of, moves on Paris, 122
Bohemian Forest, military movements in the, iii. 158, 163, 167
Bois, Pierre du, proposes French seizure of Egypt, ii. 31
Bologna, seizure and ransom of, i. 228, 229: the Pope prepares to recover, 245: armistice of, 246: new scheme of government for, 247: *N.* at, 251, 259: military operations at, 251, 259: surrendered to France, 260: ceded to Venice at Leoben, 271: incorporated in the Cisalpine Republic, ii. 14
Bonaparte. See BUONAPARTE
Boniface, Pope, crowns Pepin, ii. 208
Bonifacio, *N.* at, i. 114
Bonnier, M., member of the Congress of Rastatt, ii. 61: killed at Rastatt, 61
Bontemps, M., arrest of, ii. 17
Bordeaux, condition in 1793, i. 133: exempt from legislation concerning Jews, iii. 64: opens its gates to English troops, iv. 114: proclamation of Louis XVIII., 114: *N.* seeks to rouse imperial feeling in, 209: immunity from the White Terror, 210
Borghese, Prince, marries Pauline (Buonaparte) Leclerc, ii. 164: separates from Pauline, iv. 154
Borghese, Princess Pauline (Buonaparte), looseness of her life, iv. 155, 164: acquires the duchy of Lucca, 227: dismissed from Paris, 154: accompanies *N.* to Elba, 152–155: alleged scandalous relations with *N.*, 155. See also BUONAPARTE, PAULINE
Borghetto, battle of, i. 227
Borgo, Pozzo di. See POZZO DI BORGO
Bormida, River, road to Italy opened through the valley of, i. 152: the country of, ii. 116, 117: Melas crosses, 117: military operations on the, 119
Borodino, Bonaparte at, ii. 253: battle of, iii. 260, 261, 263, 264: rescuing the wounded from the field of, iv. 2
Borrissoff, the French retreat through, iv. 5–8, 10: Russian plan of operations at, 7: captured by Tchitchagoff, 8, 9: battles at, 10, 11
Borstell, Gen., battle of Dennewitz, iv. 64
Bosporus, proposed expedition to the, iii. 91
Botanical Garden, lecture system of the, i. 167
Bothnia, repulse of the Russians from, iii. 93
Bou, Mme., i. 108
Boudet, Gen. Jean in battle of Essling, iii. 169, 170
Bouillé, Marquis F. C. A. de, i. 189
Boulay de la Meurthe, Antoine, presents temporary plan of the Consulate, ii. 83: member of the council of state, 100: reviser of the Code, 143
Boulogne, the Army of England, flotilla, and military preparations at, ii. 32, 33, 185, 186, 212, 213, 230: *N.* at, 33: *N.*'s ceremonial at, July, 1804, 209: real purpose of the flotilla, 214: distribution of Legion of Honor crosses at, 231: the army ordered east from, 232
Bourbon-Condé, Louis-Antoine-Henri de. See ENGHIEN, DUC D'
Bourbon-Hapsburg alliance, Corsica joins the, i. 9
Bourbons, the, influence of i. 9: *N.*'s attitude toward, 103; ii. 19, 126, 132, 174, 192, 199, 228; iv. 164: discredit royalty, i. 159: their motto, 178: France's demands on Austria concerning, ii. 29: hopes and rumors of restoration of, and plots therefor, 65, 82, 104, 126, 162, 203; iv. 87, 99, 100, 133, 134, 170: Talleyrand's predilection for, ii. 82: England's attitude toward, 94, 95, 174, 228; iv. 99: a blow at the, ii. 133: *N.* complains of England's protection of, 174, 228: foster the Jacobin spirit of insurrection, 191: responsibility for the execution of Ney, 191: the Duc d'Enghien, 192: intrigues against *N.*'s life, 194; iv. 154, 156: *N.*'s attempt to fix death of Duc d'Enghien on, ii. 199: causes of the French dislike for, 202, 203: their "divine right," 203: their founder, 225: scheme to establish a monarchy in America, iii. 106, 111: Metternich's desire to restore the, iv. 99, 100: rising in Vendée, 125: restoration of, 130, 134, 135,

Bourbons, the—*continued.*
148, 158: enthusiasm for, in Paris, 135: revulsion of feeling in France and by Alexander against, 143: fickle imperialists support Louis XVIII., 147: maintain spies in Elba, 155: *N.* on the illegitimacy of their throne, 164
The Neapolitan, impending downfall, ii. 229: banished, 252, 255, 259; iii. 166: proposal that they retain power in Sicily, ii. 259
The Spanish, scheme to emancipate Spain from rule of, ii. 30: incapacity and degradation, iii. 59: *N.'s* attitude toward, 111: deposed, 113–115, 117, 128: proposals to restore the throne to, 208; iv. 44
Bourgeoisie, the, at outbreak of the Revolution, i. 53, 66: *N.* seeks the support of, ii. 178
Bourmont, Gen., deserts before Charleroi, iv. 177
Bourrienne, L. A. F. de, on the question of *N.'s* birth, i. 18: shares mathematical honors with *N.*, 28: shares *N.'s* poverty in Paris, 101, 102: obtains diplomatic position at Stuttgart, 102: anecdotes of *N.* by, 103: describes *N.'s* personality, 169: *N.'s* friendship for, 176: improved fortunes of, 176: *N.'s* confidences with, ii. 34, 35: on *N.'s* plans of escaping from Egypt, 57: *N.* expresses his satisfaction to, concerning the 18th Brumaire, 75: rebukes *N.* at St. Cloud, 77: character, 177: dismissed, 177: on Mme. de Stael, iii. 227: venality of, iv. 129
Bourse, *N.'s* failure to govern the, ii. 266: rise in values after the Austrian marriage, iii. 202
Bowles, Col. Geo., conversation with Wellington, iv. 184
Boyer, Gen. J. P., prepares a "triumphal" return to Cairo, ii. 52
Brabant, visit of *N.* and Maria Louisa to, iii. 206: French occupation of, 207: *N.'s* offer to exchange it for Hanseatic towns, 207
Braganza, House of, decline of, iii. 95: flight to Brazil, 106: *N.* proposes to restore Portugal to, 242
Brandenburg, proposed allotment of, to Jerome, iv. 39: the Army of the North in, 52: contemplated operations in, 55
Brandenburg, House of, the imperial crown for the, ii. 273: owes its safety to the Czar, iii. 61
Braunau, the Austrian camp at, ii. 234: captured by Lannes, 236: Russian troops at, 236: French occupation of, 262
Bray, Macdonald before, iv. 102, 103
Brazil, Don John embarks for, iii. 96, 97
Breisgau, grant to Grand Duke of Tuscany in, ii. 125: Duc d'Enghien prepares to retire to the, 193: part of, acquired by Baden, 252: Würtemberg acquires part of, 252
Breitenlee, Austrian advance through, iii. 170
Bremen, closed to British commerce, ii. 183: laid under contribution, 183: proposal to give it to Prussia, 258: Bernadotte's force in, iii. 157: scheme to incorporate with France, 204: position in the French empire, 214: French forces at, iv. 28
Brenta, River, military operations on the, i. 234, 235, 238–240, 250
Brescia, seized by France, i. 226: the French position at, 232: captured by Quasdanowich, 232: evacuated by the enemy, 233: the revolutionary movement in, 265, 269
Breslau, Russian troops at, ii. 245: the Prussian court moves from Berlin to, iv. 30: patriotism in the university, 31: French occupation of, 42: pursuit of the allies to, 42: French evacuation of, 43: military movements near, 52
Brest, naval preparations at, ii. 33, 46, 213: blockade of, 213, 230, 231: iii. 6, 42: junction of Nelson and Cornwallis before, ii. 230: the fleet ordered to the English Channel from, 230: Villeneuve's mission to relieve, 231: the squadron ordered to the Mediterranean, iii. 89: imprisonment of Schill's followers in, 180: naval station at, iv. 17
Brest-Litovski, military operations near, iii. 268
"Briars, The," *N.* a guest at, iv. 215, 216
Bribery, *N.'s* first lesson in, i. 120
Bridge of Arts, the, iii. 62
Brienne, *N.* at, i. 18, 22–30, 83, 125; iv. 94: *N.'s* mock battles at, i. 27; iv. 94: Lucien Buonaparte at, i. 42: Lucien quits, and Louis remains at, 45: Louis fails of admission to, 49: *N.'s* garden at, 125: *N.'s* contemporaries at, 129: battle of, iv. 94: military movements near, 120, 121
Brienne, Mme. Loménie de, *N.'s* early friend, i. 26, 27, 54
Brigandage, suppression of, in Corsica, i. 4
Brigido, Col., at battle of Arcole, i. 238
Brindisi, embargo on, ii. 183
Brinkmann, on *N.'s* influence in France, ii. 88
Brissot, J. P., leader of the Girondists, i. 111
Brittany, foundation of the Jacobin Club in, i. 66: violence and civil war in, 122, 133, 164, 182; ii. 62, 94, 96: *N.* conciliates, 96: suspected plot of the Duc de Berry in, 193
Brixen, Joubert at, i. 268: apportioned to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, ii. 170: ceded to Bavaria, 252
Broglie, Duc de, on the Emperor's court at Fontainebleau, iii. 189
Broussier, Gen., marches to relief of Paris, iv. 125
Bruck, Prince Eugene at, iii. 174
Brueys d'Aigalliers, Vice-Adm. François-Paul, commanding French fleet in the Adriatic, ii. 12: ordered to Corfu, 42: ordered to Alexandria, 43: in the battle of the Nile, 42–44
Bruix, Adm. E., sent to conquer the Mediterranean, ii. 55: interview with Barras, 73: argument in favor of the slave trade, 152
Brumaire, the plot of the 18th of, ii. 69 et seq., 81 et seq., 201, 202; iv. 228
Brune, Gen. G. M. A., plunders Bern, ii. 27: military genius, 60: campaign in Holland, 60, 63, 66, 207: battle of Bergen, 63: supersedes Masséna in Italy, 124: advances to Trent, 125: created marshal, 207: venality of, iii. 67
Brunet, Gen., commanding the army of Italy, i. 128
Brünn, military operations near, ii. 236, 237, 245, 247–249; iii. 177: *N.* establishes headquarters at, ii. 245
Brunswick, French occupation of, iii. 7: organization of the Black Legion, 180: the Black Legion's escape through, 181: restored to its former ruler, iv. 79
Brunswick, Charles F. W., Duke of, commander-in-chief of the Prussian army, ii. 272, 276, 278: at Naumberg, 276: decline of his influence, 278: at Erfurt, 278: plan of opposition to the French, 279: in battle of Jena, 280–282: death of, 282; iii. 7: proclamation against the French republic, 7: appeals to *N.'s* mercy, 7
Brunswick, Frederick W., Duke of, deprived of his throne, iii. 180: organizes the Black Legion, 180: exploits with the Black Legion, 180, 181: escapes to England, 181
Brunswick, House of, Sieyès suspected of plotting with the, ii. 65
Bruslart, governor of Corsica, plots against *N.*, iv. 160
Brussels, proposed invasion of France via, iv. 91: York retires to, 109: military operations near, 174 et seq., 181, 188, 189, 191: topography of, 191
Brutus, statue at the Tuileries, ii. 97
Bruyères, killed at Reichenbach, iv. 40
Bry, meeting of Wellington and Blücher at, iv. 182
Buòna, Gen., emissary from Francis to *N.*, iii. 183, 184; iv. 29, 65: suggests an armistice, 38: procrastinates, 45: confronting Augereau at Geneva, 91: in the campaign of 1814, 95: driven from Lyons by Augereau, 98
"Bucentaur," the, destruction of, ii. 16
"Bucentaure," the, at Trafalgar, ii. 240, 241
Budberg, Russian councilor, iii. 45
Budweis, Archduke Charles at, iii. 167
Buenos Ayres, English expedition against, iii. 81
"Buffer" states, ii. 260; iii. 48
Bug, River, proposed French occupation to the, iii. 7: military operations on the, 10, 11, 93; iv. 2
Bulgaria, alleged concession of, to Russia, iii. 48
Bull-fights, *N.* proposes to introduce them into Paris, ii. 265
Bülow, Gen. F. W. von, junction of Bernadotte with, iv. 32: commanding Army of the North, 52: holding Berlin, 52: strength, 52: belittled by *N.*, 54: military ability, 60: battle of Grossbeeren, 60: battle of Dennewitz, 63: cooperates with Graham in the Netherlands, 91: captures Soissons, 106: commanding reserve forces, 175: in Waterloo campaign, 180: near Beauderet, 184: at St. Lambert, 190: battle of Waterloo, 198–200
Bunbury, Sir Henry, on commission to notify *N.* of his sentence, iv. 213
Bunzlau, Blücher at, iv. 65
Buonaparte, Carlo Maria di (father of *N.*), early life of, i. 13, 14: ennobled, 13: marriage 14: submission and French naturalization, 15: character, 15, 22: death, 16, 32: ambitions and advancements, 21–24, 29, 32: mission to Versailles, 22–24: claim against the Jesuits, 24, 32: breaks down, 29: his "infamy," 50: *N.* renounces the royalist principles of, 76: his paternity of *N.* denied, iv. 151
Buonaparte, Caroline (sister of *N.*), birth, i. 16: at Nice, 144: early life, 195: gift to her brother on departure for Egypt, ii. 36: married to Murat, 127, 164, 166: resents *N.'s* abuse of Murat, iv. 90. See also MURAT, MME.
Buonaparte, Princess Charlotte, proposal to marry her to the Prince of Asturias, iii. 102: sent to Madame Mère, 103
Buonaparte, Hortense, life in Holland, iii. 27: death of her eldest son, 45: quarrels with the Grand Duchess of Berg, 139: share in the Austrian marriage negotiations, 194: Louis complains of, 207: criticized by Mme. de Stael, 227. See also BEAUHARNAIS, HORTENSE
Buonaparte, Jerome (brother of *N.*), birth, i. 16, 33: sent to school in Paris, 185: marriage to Elizabeth Patterson, ii. 164: residence in the United States, 164: deserts his wife Elizabeth, 164: service in the West Indies, 164: fails to secure divorce from his American wife, 256: marries Catherine of Würtemberg, 257; iii. 75, 76: assists in the sack of Poland, 4: commanding corps of Würtembergers and Bavarians, 11: king of Westphalia, 49, 213, 214: Pius VII. refuses to annul his marriage, 57: assumes the title of Napoleon, 67: relations with *N.*, 67, 68: ordered to raise levies in Westphalia, 105: at the Erfurt conference, 133: defeated by the Black Legion, 180: deprived of part of Hanover, 213: supplies quota to *N.'s* army, 244, 245: in the Russian campaign, 254: at Grodno, 254: military blunders and incompetence, 254: proposed allotment of Brandenburg and Berlin to, iv. 39: flees to France, 79: takes refuge in Switzerland, 149: assigned to the House of Peers, 168: battle of Waterloo, 196, 203
Buonaparte, Joseph (grandfather of *N.*), ennobled, i. 13
Buonaparte, Joseph (brother of *N.*), childish relations with *N.*, i. 20: educated for the priesthood, 22, 28: goes to Autun, 22: character, 26; ii. 168; iii. 103, 104; iv. 128: desire for military service, i. 28: search for a career, 28, 29, 41, 43, 46, 49, 74, 79, 171, 174–176: attends his father in his last illness, 29, 32: his politics, 43: studies law at Pisa, 46: early struggles, 49: claims share in framing Corsican appeal to National Assembly, 63: appointed mayor'a secretary at Ajaccio, 67: at Marseilles, 70: member of the Constituent Assembly at Orezza, 72, 74: represents Ajaccio in district Directory, 74: disappointments to, 74: political offices and schemes, 79, 81: member of Corsican Directory, 94: reminiscences of, conversations, confidences, and relations with *N.*, 104; ii. 99; iii. 41, 67, 68, 88, 110, 116, 148: leaves Corsica for Toulon, i. 123: trades on his brother's commission in the National Guard, 124: made commissary-general, 140: mar-

Buonaparte, Joseph — *continued.*
riage of, 161: deprived of employment, 169, 171: settles in Genoa, 171, 174: proposed land speculation for, 172: *N.'s* correspondence with, 173–177, 188; ii. 44; iii. 22, 143, 228; iv. 95, 103, 104, 107, 117, 205: plans for diplomatic appointment, i. 175, 176: marriage, 176: enamoured of Désirée Clary, 188: receives diplomatic appointment, 185: French minister at Rome, ii. 18, 26: demands Provera's dismissal from Rome, 26: demands his passports, 26: sends information to *N.* in Egypt, 54: political and social preferment, 65: member of the Five Hundred, 65: plenipotentiary to negotiate with Cobenzl, 122: France's representative at Lunéville, 126: his skilful diplomacy, 164: negotiates the treaty of Amiens, 168: *N.* confides the Duc d'Enghien's case to, 196: at Malmaison, 196: seeks clemency for the Duc d'Enghien, 196, 197: coolness between *N.* and, 197: the right of imperial succession in his family, 206: created Elector and imperial prince, 206: on his brother's strength with the army, 214: at *N.'s* coronation, 219: declines the crown of Italy, 226: in battle of Austerlitz, 249: made king of Naples, 255; iii. 116: dominion over Sicily, ii. 259: advised to show himself terrible at first, iii. 3: reports *N.'s* Indian scheme, 6: Pius VII. refuses to recognize his sovereignty, 57: assumes the title of Napoleon, 67: residence at Naples, 102: interview with *N.* at Venice, 102–104: the crown of Spain offered to, 103, 104: reform of Neapolitan politics, 103: ambition, 104: ordered to Bayonne, 116: king of Spain, 117, 132, 142, 214; iv. 19, 47: assumes government at Madrid, iii. 121: entreats *N.'s* assistance in Spain, 123, 124: lacks male descendants, 125: asserts his sovereignty, 147: driven from Madrid, 147: the Spaniards swear allegiance to, 148, 149: accompanies *N.* on his second marriage journey, 198: his Spanish territory contracted, 213: signs a conditional abdication, 216: bickerings with Soult, 219: Wellington moves to Madrid against, 222: temporary government at Valencia, iv. 15: acting regent in Paris, 92, 95: gives up hope, 109: sends flag of truce to Bernadotte, 113: enjoined to save the Empress and her son from Austrian capture, 117: member of the Empress-Regent's council, 128: proclaims his brother's approach to Paris, 131: prepares for defense of Paris, 131: deputy emperor, 132: overtakes the Empress at Chartres, 132: empowers Marmont to treat for surrender, 132: Napoleon's rage at, 135: takes refuge in Switzerland, 149: assigned to the House of Peers, 168: president of the council of state, 173: advised to hold the legislature in hand, 205

Buonaparte, Josephine, marital relations with *N.*, i. 280–282; ii. 44, 58, 129, 130, 163, 164, 209, 210; iii, 16, 28, 125, 126, 139, 140, 190, 194: character, licentious conduct, jealousy, etc., i. 280–282; ii. 37, 58; iii. 16, 28, 74, 75, 189, 190: domestic and social life, the Imperial court, etc., i. 280–282: ii. 162–164, 178; iii. 74–76, 113: the divorce, its causes and decretal, i. 231, 282; ii. 44, 68, 163, 164, 209; iii. 99, 125, 139, 140, 189, 190, 194: letters from *N.*, i. 194, 281, 282; iii, 39, 51, 89: visits Rome, ii. 18: joins *N.* in Paris, Dec., 1797, 18: Royalist intrigues with, 24: bids farewell to *N.* at Toulon, 37: influence over Gohier, 66: in pecuniary straits, 83: brings about marriage between Hortense and Louis Bonaparte, 164: fear of Talleyrand, 196: attitude in the Duc d'Enghien's case, 196, 197: accompanies *N.* to Boulogne, 209: ecclesiastically married to *N.*, 218: the coronation, 219–221: forbidden to follow her husband to Poland, iii. 28: reproaches *N.* with his amours, 28: travels through France, 62: accompanies *N.* to Bayonne, 111: *N.'s* harsh treatment at Fontainebleau, 139: self-abasement of, 189: withdraws to Malmaison, 190: conducts negotiations for *N.'s* Austrian marriage, 194: *N.* visits, after the divorce, 197: never preferred to power, 248

Buonaparte, Letizia, death of, i. 16: tradition concerning birth of *N.*, 19, 20: character, 20; iv. 151, 237: letter from *N.* to, i. 32: vicissitudes of fortune, 32, 33, 41, 49, 135, 174; ii. 65; iv. 237: her opinion of *N.*, i. 44: settles near Toulon, 155: disapproves *N.'s* marriage, 195: social influence, ii. 65: remark of Mme. Permon to, 86: distrusts *N.'s* elevation, 164: residence in Corsica, 164: refuses to attend the coronation, 219: Princess Charlotte's sojourn with, iii. 103: attacks on her good name, iv. 151: visits *N.* at Elba, 154, 155: thrift, 237: knowledge of *N.'s* limitations, 237

Buonaparte, Louis (brother of *N.*), birth, i. 16: prospects, 41: loses appointment to artillery school, 45: remains at Brienne, 45: *N.* aids and protects, 46, 49, 79, 82, 83, 85: fails to secure admission to Brienne, 49: certificate to his republicanism, 76: confirmed, 83: follows his brother's fortunes, 92, 156: idle career, 108: promoted adjutant-general of artillery, 140: ordered to Châlons as a cadet, 140: officer of home guard at Nice, 151: falls from favor, 151: lieutenant of artillery, 155: deprived of employment, 169: ordered to Châlons, 171, 174: promoted, 185: marries Hortense Beauharnais, ii. 164; iii. 206: his son Napoleon, ii. 180: created Constable of France, 206; iii. 78: at *N.'s* coronation, ii. 219: declines the crown of Italy for his son, 226: made king of Holland, 256; iii. 27, 78, 206: ordered to hold the Rhine, ii. 276: character, iii. 27: reprimanded by *N.* for economy, 27: character of his reign, 27, 116, 207, 212, 213: letters from *N.*, 28, 110, 116, 211, 212: relations with *N.*, 67, 68: assumes title of Louis Napoleon, 67, 78: the Spanish crown offered to, 110: refuses the crown, 116, 207: loyalty to the Dutch, 116: violates the Continental System, 204: *N.'s* affection for, 206: promoted general, 206: made councilor of state, 206: share in the Italian and Egyptian campaigns, 206: arrogates the royal dignity to himself, 206, 207: *N.'s* quarrel with, 206–212: *N.* offers to exchange the Hanseatic towns for Brabant and Zealand, 207: contemplates resistance to *N.*, 207: reduced to the position of a French governor, 207: prepares to defend Holland, 207: summoned to Paris, 207: complains of his queen Hortense, 207: virtually a prisoner in France, 207: submits to

Buonaparte, Louis — *continued.*
N., 207: permitted to return to Amsterdam, 207: opens negotiations with England, 207, 208: continues to oppose *N.*, 211: flight to Teplitz, 212

Buonaparte, Louis Napoleon (nephew of *N.*, son of Louis; crown prince of Holland), created Grand Duke of Berg, iii. 213

Buonaparte, Lucien (great-uncle of *N.*,) condition, i. 20: affection for his family, 33: illness of, 41, 43–45: political opinions, 61: death, 94

Buonaparte, Lucien (brother of *N.*), birth, i. 16: goes to Autun, 22: relations with *N.*, 28, 46, 61: advancement for, 29: at Brienne, 42: turns toward the priesthood, 42: leaves Brienne, 45, 61: efforts to enter at Aix, 49: memoirs of *N.*, 50, 123, 191–193; ii. 172: independence of, i. 79: radical leader at Ajaccio, 108: letter to Costa, 110: in diplomatic service, 117: denounces Paoli, 117: at Toulon, 123: appropriates *N.'s* birth certificate, 124: in commissary department, 124, 135: "the little Robespierre," 140: marriage, 151: deprived of employment, 169: destitution of, 171, 172: imprisoned at Aix, 174: liberated, 185: foments quarrels in Italy, ii. 59: political and social preferment, 65: member and president of the Five Hundred, 65, 66, 72, 78–80: on the 19th Brumaire, 78–80: makes a dramatic scene at St. Cloud, 79, 80: summons Bonapartist members of the Five Hundred to meet, 80, 81: harangues the mutilated chambers, 83: minister of the interior, 87: suggests plebiscite on the question of life consulship, 158: declines to marry the queen of Etruria, 164: exiled, 164: second marriage, 164: democracy of, 164: in literary society, 164: at summit of his career, 164: French minister to Madrid, 164: dispute between *N.* and Joseph concerning marriage of, 197: the savior of *N.'s* fortunes on the 18th Brumaire, 202: the right of imperial succession in his family, 206: created an imperial prince, 206: at Rome during *N.'s* coronation, 219: proposal that he take the crown of Etruria, iii. 102: opposes hereditary consulate for *N.*, 102: residence at Rome, 102: marries Mme. de Janberthon, 102: refuses kingly honors, 102, 103: refuses to divorce his wife, 102, 103: character, 102, 103: interview with *N.* at Mantua, 102, 103: sails to the United States, 212: captured by the English, 212: Mme. de Staël's complaint of *N.* to, 228: fosters revolution in Rome, iv. 156: assigned to the House of Peers, 168: member of the council of state, 173: advises a dictatorship after Waterloo, 206: endeavors to solve the difficulties after Waterloo, 206, 207: *N.* dictates his abdication to, 207

Buonaparte, Maria-Anna (sister of *N.*), i. 16

Buonaparte, Marie-Anne-Elisa (sister of *N.*), birth, i. 16: educated at Saint-Cyr, 28, 31, 32, 36: defective education, 36, 107: *N.* visits at St. Cyr, 103: quits St. Cyr and returns to Corsica, 107, 108: at Nice, 144: suitor for, 174: marriage to Felice Bacciocchi, 195; ii. 164: acquires Massa-e-Carrara and Garfagnana, 255: created Grand Duchess of Tuscany and Princess of Lucca and Piombino, iii. 213. See also BACCIOCCHI, PRINCESS

Buonaparte, Nabulione, i. 16, 17: forms of the name, 18, 19

Buonaparte, Napoleon. See NAPOLEON

Buonaparte, Napoleon Louis Charles (nephew of *N.*, son of Louis), *N.'s* partiality for, ii. 180; iii. 206: proposal to create him king of Italy, ii. 226: death of, iii. 45, 125, 206

Buonaparte, Pauline (sister of *N.*), birth of, i. 16: at Nice, 144: suitor for, 174: flirtation with Fréron, 195: marries Gen. Leclerc, ii. 152: marries Prince Borghese, 164: acquires Guastalla, 255: adviser to Maria Louisa, iii. 197: created Duchess of Guastalla, 213. See also LECLERC, MME.; BORGHESE, PRINCESS

Buonaparte family, the, i. 2, 8–16: ennobling and coat armor of, 13, 22: vicissitudes of fortune, 17, 30, 32, 33, 41, 43–46, 49, 60, 61, 74, 94, 95, 108, 109, 121, 129, 139, 169, 171, 172, 174, 195: *N.* regards himself as head of, 45, 94, 125, 185, 195: claim against the government, 46, 61: the "infamy" of, 50: Salicetti's influence over, 62: influence in Corsica, 78, 119: *N.'s* devotion to, 79, 93, 94, 143, 144: outburst against, in Ajaccio, 121: driven from their estates, 121: leave Corsica for Toulon, 123: residence in Toulon, 124, 127: flight to Marseilles, 127, 134: driven from Toulon, 129: social diplomacy of, 155: news of *N.'s* return from Egypt brought to, ii. 57: political preferment among members of, 65: meeting to consider the hereditary consulship, 157, 158: the women of, 164, 165: domestic life, 178: relations with the First Consul, 178: social triumph of, iii. 75: urge divorce from Josephine, 99: allotment of crowns among, 105, 109: consolidation of Italy under, 167: agree on the Austrian marriage, 195: arrogance of its members, 206, 207, 213: fraternal instincts, 244, 245: Austrian discovery of their royal descent, iv. 82: proscribed, 210: France again under, 218

Burgau, ceded to Bavaria, ii. 252

Burgos, Murat assumes command at, iii. 106: Ferdinand VII. at, 112: siege and fall of, 141, 144: French movement toward, 143: failure of Marmont to capture, 222

Burgundy, *N.* visits, i. 82

Burke, Edmund, influence of his oratory, i. 115, 116: on Malmesbury's mission to Paris, 279

Burrard, Gen. H., defeats Wellesley's plans at Vimeiro, iii. 123: retired from active service, 144

Busace, battle of, iii. 218: the *cantinière* of, 223

Buttafuoco, Matteo, treachery of, i. 5, 6, 9, 10: invites Rousseau to Corsica, 7: relations with Choiseul, 9: represents Corsica at Versailles, 61: attitude toward Corsican patriots, 63: popular hatred of, 65, 74, 75: succeeded by Salicetti, 73, 75: *N.'s* diatribe against, 75, 76: *N.'s* "Letters" to, 82: his marriage condemned by *N.*, 187

Buxhöwden, Gen., advance of Russian troops under, ii. 236: joins Kutusoff at Wischau, 245
Bylandt, Count de, advises Holland to defy France, iii. 207: in battle of Waterloo, iv. 196

C

Cabanis, influence on the Consulate, i. 127
Cabarrus, Jeanne M. I. T., i. 190. See also FONTENAYE, MME. DE; TALLIEN, MME.
Cadiz, Nelson loses an eye at, ii. 42: Villeneuve makes for, 231, 238, 239: Collingwood blockades, 239: Nelson's fleet off, 240: threatened invasion by England, iii. 105, 121: seizure of a French fleet at, 121, 122: Soult before, 219, 221: Soult abandons, 222: becomes the capital of the nationalists, 222
Cadore, creation of hereditary duchy of, ii, 255: Champagny created Duke of, iii. 71. See CHAMPAGNY
Cadoudal, Georges, complaints of England's harboring of, ii. 174: conspiracy to seize *N.*, 189 et seq.: leader of the Chouans, 189: arrest and execution, 190, 193: *N.'s* clemency toward his co-conspirators, 209: funeral mass celebrated for, iv. 158
Cæsar, Augustus, *N.* likened to, iii. 39
Cæsar, Julius, *N.'s* study of and admiration for, resemblances between *N.* and, i. 94, 242, 262; ii. 97, 103, 104, 148, 149; iii. 242; iv. 146, 217, 234: *N.* disclaims the rôle of, ii. 77, 80: his work for civilization, 103, 104; iii. 242
Caffarelli, Gen., bearer of *N.'s* letter to Pius VII., ii. 217: in battle of Austerlitz, 250
Cagliari, expedition against, i. 113
Cahors, birthplace of Murat, ii. 127
"Caia," and "Caius," ii. 210
"Ça Ira," i. 144, 158
Cairo, military operations at, i. 213; ii. 41: Magallon consul at, 32: the march from Alexandria to, 40: capture of, 41: failure of the promised plunder at, 41: fortification of, 45: *N.* at, 47, 52: retreat of the army from Acre to, 51: *N.'s* "triumphal" return to, 52: surrender of, 135
Calahorra, the Spanish forces near, iii. 143, 144
Calais, parallel between Magdeburg and, iii. 53
Calder, Adm. Sir Robert, encounters Villeneuve off Cape Finisterre, ii. 230: reinforces blockade of Brest, 230: encounter with Villeneuve, 239
Caldiero, occupied by Alvinczy, i. 237: Alvinczy retreats from, 238
Calendar, the Republican, i. 147
Calonne, C. A. de, taxation problems of, i. 54
Calotte, the constitution of the, i. 48
Calvi, French influence and power in, i. 62, 123: the Buonapartes seek asylum in, 121: *N.* at, 122: imprisonment of Corsicans in, 149: English capture of, 154
Cambacérès, J. J. R., dreads a new Terror, ii. 64: appointed consul, 86: minister of justice, 87: organizer of the Code Napoléon, 142, 143, 146: scheme for reform of the tribunate, 156: suggests plebiscite on question of life consulship, 158: Chancellor of France, 206: at *N.'s* coronation, 219: demurs to action against the Duc d'Enghien, 194: created Duke of Parma, iii. 71: salary, 78: arch-chancellor, 78: on *N.'s* appearance after the treaty of Schönbrunn, 189: member of extraordinary council on *N.'s* second marriage, 194: member of the Empress-Regent's council, iv. 128: character, 128: member of *N.'s* new cabinet, 167
Cambronne, Gen., P. J. E., aids in *N.'s* escape from Elba, iv. 163: in battle of Waterloo, 202
Campan, Mme., appointment in the imperial court, ii. 207
Campbell, Sir Neil, British commissioner at Fontainebleau, iv. 148, 149: *N.'s* relations with, 148, 149, 155, 160: accompanies *N.* to Elba, 153: ambassador to *N.'s* court at Elba, 156: leaves Elba for Florence, 160, 162
Camperdown, battle of, ii. 25
Campo Formio, treaty of, i. 283; ii. 12–14, 16, 20, 24, 28, 95, 98, 121; iii. 250
Canada, lost to France, i. 6, 9
Canals, Bonaparte's scheme of, ii. 178
Canino, Prince of. See BUONAPARTE, LUCIEN
Cannes, *N.'s* march through, on return from Elba, iv. 163
Canning, George, denounces *N.*, ii. 95: foreign secretary in Portland cabinet, iii. 58: responsibility for the bombardment of Copenhagen, 59, 79: despatches the fleet to the Baltic, 79, 80: demands the secret articles of Tilsit, 79, 80: fall of, 208: policy of action against *N.*, 217: enforces Orders in Council, iv. 16
Canonical institution, the question of, ii. 25, 26
Canova, Antonio, makes statue of Empress Maria Louisa, iii. 229
Cantonal assemblies, ii. 159
Cape of Good Hope, taken by England from the Dutch, ii. 8, 25: ceded to the Batavian Republic by treaty of Amiens, 150: England's rights in, 168: *N.'s* ambitions concerning, 184; iii. 235
Cape St. Vincent, battle of, i. 283; ii. 42
Cape Verd Islands, proposition to deport *N.* to, iv. 157
Caprera, expedition against, i 114
Caprino, battle at, i. 253
"Captain," Nelson's ship in battle of Cape St. Vincent, ii. 42
Capuchins, attempt to oust them from Corsican domains, i. 98
Caraccioli, Adm. F. C., execution of, ii. 191
Cardinals, the College of, transplanted to France, iii. 198, 202
Carinthia, *N.* in, i. 268: revolutionary sentiment in, ii. 28: part of, ceded to France, iii. 184
Carinthian Mountains, pursuit of Archduke John across the, iii. 165
Carlsbad, Talleyrand at, iv. 212
"Carmagnole," the, i. 144, 158
Carniola, Charles guards road into, i. 267: ceded to France, iii. 184
Carnot, Lazare N. M., minister of war, i. 133, 166: favors *N.*, 134, 179, 194: reorganizes the French army, 142, 198, 201, 202, 232: military policy of, 148: removal of, 166: escape of, 169; ii. 5, 17: member of the Directory, i. 186, 200–202: character, 200–202: at battle of Maubeuge, 202: plans the Italian campaign (1795), 207: *N.'s* correspondence with, May, 1796, 221, 222: advises restoring the Milanese to Austria, 280: relations with *N.*, ii. 5: desire for peace with Austria, 13: Barras derides his suggestions, 13: writes a justificatory pamphlet, 62: development of his conscription scheme, 63, 64: reappointed minister of war, 87, 101: influence on the fall of the Directory, 87: military genius, 101: detaches Lecourbe's force from Moreau's army, 110: possible successor to *N.*, 120: influence on the Consulate, 127: member of the tribunate, 156: remonstrates against adulation of *N.*, 188: opposes the creation of the Empire, 205: pensioned, iii. 227: commissioned to write on fortification, 227: invited to join in insurrection, iv. 160: member of *N.'s* new cabinet, 167: advises a dictatorship for France after Waterloo, 206: member of the new Directory, 207
Caroline, Queen of Naples, iii. 99: on Maria Louisa's imprisonment at Schoubrunn, iv. 155
Carpentras, lost to the Pope at peace of Tolentino, ii. 208
Carrier, J. B., crimes of, i. 138: opposes Robespierre, 148
Carrion-Nisas, A. H., "Peter the Great," ii. 225
Cartagena, Villeneuve ordered to, ii. 239: rebellion in, iii. 121
Carteaux, Gen., seizes Valence, i. 128: besieges Avignon, 128: takes Marseilles, 131: captures Ollioules, 134: besieges Toulon, 134: ignorance of military affairs, 135: removed from command, 135
Cassel, Blücher's military movements in, ii. 278: restored to its former ruler, iv. 79
Castaños, Gen. F. X. de, causes Dupont's surrender at Baylen, iii. 122: position on the Ebro, 143, 144: concerted French movement against, 144: collects his troops at Siguenza, 144
Casteggio, battle of, ii. 116
Castellane, journal of, iv. 4
Castelnuovo, disarmament of, i. 273
Castiglione, battle of, i. 234; ii. 92: Augereau's victory at, 207: celebration of the battle of, 228: Augereau created Duke of, iii. 71. See AUGEREAU
Castile, French occupation of, iii. 219: weakness of French forces in, 221: reinforcements for Masséna ordered from, 221
Castlereagh, Lord, secretary for war in Portland cabinet, iii. 58: policy of action and bitterness against *N.*, 217; iv. 157, 169: prime minister of England, iii. 249: inspires action by Bernadotte, 266: becomes foreign secretary, iv. 16, 45, 48: dissatisfied with the Frankfort terms, 80: character, 80, 99: at headquarters of the allies at Basel, 98: influence in European councils, 99: under Metternich's influence, 99: uneasiness at *N.'s* message to Francis, 105: on the European policy of 1814, 115: protests against the use of the imperial style by *N.*, 148: negotiates secret treaty between England, Austria, and France, 156, 157: protests to Talleyrand against violation of treaty obligations, 162: retires from Congress of Vienna, 173: letter from Lord Liverpool, June 20, 1815, 212
Catalonia, French occupation of, iii. 122: Duhesme evacuates, 123: military government of, 213: French possession of, iv. 15
Catharine of Würtemberg, marries Jerome Bonaparte, ii. 257; iii. 75, 76
Cathcart, Gen. W. S., besieges Copenhagen, iii. 59: heads English embassy to Russia, 267: influences the armistice of Poischwitz, iv. 45: English minister at St. Petersburg, 45: at Congress of Prague, 49
Catherine II., policy of, i. 9: iii. 44, 235: death of, i. 262, 280: *N.* shatters a gift of, ii. 14: *N.'s* admiration for, 222: share in partition of Poland, iii. 235: her life and work, iv. 223
Catherine, Grand Duchess (of Russia), mentioned for marriage with *N.*, iii. 139, 140: marries the Duke of Oldenburg, 140, 213, 236
Catholic Emancipation, the question of, ii. 134
Cato, statue at the Tuileries, ii. 97
Cattaro, Alexander I.'s scheme for acquiring, ii. 228: Russian occupation of, 262: compensation for, iii. 49
Caulaincourt, A. A. L. de, leads expedition to Offenburg, ii. 194: Master of the Horse, 207, 276: relations with *N.*, 276; iii. 86; iv. 114, 115, 128, 135, 136, 149, 166: conducts negotiations with Russia, iii. 71, 86–88, 91, 93, 94, 129, 131, 188, 236, 239, 241; iv. 38–40: connection with the d'Enghien murder, iii. 86: *N.'s* instructions to, 92: discusses partition of Turkey, 93: explains Bernadotte's dilatoriness, 93: reproved by *N.*, 129: friendship with the Czar, 129, 131: ordered to ventilate the divorce question, 140: conducts *N.'s* matrimonial negotiations in Russia, 190, 191: explains the Austrian marriage to Alexander, 196: recalled, 241, 247: knowledge of Russia, 247: French commissioner at Poischwitz, iv. 43: at Congress of Prague, 49: letter from Metternich, Nov., 1813, 81, 82: Minister of Foreign Affairs, 81, 83: letter to Metternich, Dec. 2, 1813, 83: conducts negotiations at Châtillon, 99–102, 104, 107, 114, 115: demands authority to treat after La Rothière, 100, 101: blamed for not saving his country at Châtillon, 101: letter from Maret, 114: at council at St. Dizier, 126: seeks peace at any price, 126: seeks audience with Alexander, 135, 136: at the abdication scene, 139, 140: on commission to present abdication to Alexander, 142, 143: urges the regency, 143: transfers his allegiance, 145: *N.'s* declaration to, concerning his generals, 145: memoirs of, 146: records *N.'s* first attempt at suicide, 146: member of *N.'s* new cabinet, 167: member of the new Directory, 207

Cautillon, attempt to assassinate Wellington, iv. 219: *N.'s* bequest to, 219
Cavallos, defends Ferdinand's position, iii. 112
Cavalry, *N.'s* views on, and use of, i. 30; ii. 117
Cayenne, wholesale deportations to, ii. 5
Celibacy, *N.* on, i. 77
Ceracchi, charged with conspiracy, ii. 151: execution of, 155
Ceraino, military operations near, i. 252
Cerbeau, Du, i. 81
Cervoni, i. 134, 138
Ceva, battle of, i. 213, 215, 216
Ceylon, retained by England, ii. 135, 168: France guarantees its return to Holland, 184
Chaboulon, Fleury de, sent to Naples, iv. 161, 162: reveals the state of France to *N.*, 161, 162
Chahran, Gen., forces in Savoy, ii. 110: crosses the Little St. Bernard, 111
Chabrol, imperial prefect, iv. 129
Chaillot, suspected plot of royalists at, ii. 193
Châlons, *N.* leaves Paris for, iv. 89: French concentration at, 92: *N.* reaches, 92: *N.* plans pursuing Blucher to, 97: Blucher collects his army at, 104: *N.* plans to attack Schwarzenberg at, 107: Marmont ordered to, 117–119: the allies open new communications via, 121
Cham, Archduke Charles makes a stand at, iii. 163, 167
Chamartin, the French troops at, iii. 145, 147
Chambers of Commerce, establishment of, ii. 141
Chambéry, *N.* at, ii. 17, 19: reinforcements for Augereau at, iv. 119
Champagny, L. A., created Duke of Cadore, iii. 71: appointed Minister of External Relations, 78, 104: plenipotentiary at Altenburg, 183, 184: succeeded in the Foreign Office by Maret, 241, 252: mission to Francis at Dijon, iv. 144
Champaubert, battle of, iv. 96–98
Championnet, Gen., overthrows the Neapolitan throne, ii. 59, 60: disgraceful conduct at Naples, 63
Channel tunnel, the, ii. 185
"Chant du Départ," the, iv. 137
Chaptal, J. A., member of the council of state, ii. 100
Chardon, Abbé, on *N.'s* boyhood, i. 23
Charenton, Marmont and Mortier driven back to, iv. 123
Charette, instigates royalist retaliation on republican prisoners, i. 164
Charleroi, military operations near, iv. 174, 176–178, 180, 181, 193, 201: *N.* at, 178, 179, 203, 239
Charles, Archduke, defeats Jourdan, i. 235: defeated by Moreau, 235: campaign in the Tyrol, 263, 264: ordered into Friuli, 263, 266: military genius, 263; iii. 167: guards Carniola, i. 267: battle on the Tagliamento, 267: on the river Mur, 268: cut off from succor, 269: letter from *N.*, 269: defeats Jourdan at Ostrach and Stockach, ii. 60: effect of his successes, 61: defeats Masséna at Zurich, 63: defeated by Masséna at Zurich, 93: withdraws temporarily from service, 105: resumes command after Hohenlinden, 125, 230: commanding Austrian army in Italy, 233: reaches Marburg, 236: position on the Adige, 236: commanding Austrian troops from Italy, 245: the throne of Spain offered to, iii. 130: reorganizes the Austrian army, 153, 154: declares war against France, 154: to operate in Bohemia, 164: plans to rouse the German people, 154: procrastinoates, 154: offensive movement in the Danube valley, 168: *N.'s* plan for meeting, 168: mistakes in the campaign of Eckmühl, 168–160: crosses the Isar, 169, 160: a lost opportunity, 159: plan of offense, 159: marches against Davout, 159: marches on Ratisbon, 159, 161: force at Ludmaunsdorf and Rohr, 160: force at Moosburg, 161: retires to Ratisbon, 162: in battle of Eckmühl, 162: retires before Davout, 162: *N.'s* reasons for not pursuing, after Eckmühl, 163: crosses the Danube, 163: makes a stand at Cham, 163, 167: sues for peace, 163, 167: junction with Hiller at Bisamberg, 164, 167: seizes Ratisbon, 167: at Budweis, 167: indecision of, 167: his line on the Danube, 168: advance toward Wagram, 169: attempts to break *N.'s* bridges, 170: in battles of Aspern and Essling, 170–172: conduct after Aspern, 173, 174: seeks the offices of diplomacy, 174: battle of Wagram, 175–179: withdraws toward Znaim, 177: orders Archduke John to attack, 178: pursued by *N.* and Marmont, 181: asks an armistice, 181: quarrels with the Emperor and John, 182: resigns his command, 182: at marriage of Maria Louisa, 197
Charles Emmanuel, succeeds Victor Amadeus, i. 216: retires to Sardinia, ii. 26, 69, 93
Charles Emmanuel IV., invited by Russia to return to Turin, ii. 93
Charles Ludwig Frederic, of Baden, marries Stephanie Napoleone, ii. 257
Charles the Great, his work for civilization, ii. 103, 104: *N.'s* emulation of, 103, 104; iii. 231, 233: French longings for a modern, ii. 138: restoring the empire of, 149: reversion to state and titles of the reign of, 206, 207: coronation of, 208: gift to the Papacy, 222: his system of "marches," iii. 48: *N.* resumes the grant of, 94: magnificence of his empire, 104: Spanish territory of, 105: his donation to Hadrian I. revoked by *N.*, 166: his ideal, 242: *N.* compared with, 242; iv. 241: the second, iii. 250: imitation of his times, iv. 171: influence on Europe, 241
Charles IV. (of Spain), attachment to Godoy, ii. 131: king of Spain, 184: subserviency to France, and relations with *N.*, iii. 59, 60, 100, 101, 110: conspires against his son's succession, 60: unites with *N.* in coercing Portugal, 95: scheme to acquire Portugal, 96: character, 98: announces his son's conspiracy, 100: blames the French minister at Madrid, 100: correspondence with *N.*, 101, 104, 105: pardons Ferdinand, 101: proposes to cut off Ferdinand's succession, 101: *N.* reveals his policy to, 104:
Charles IV.—*continued.*
panic-stricken at the French invasion, 105: deposes Godoy, 106: last days of his kingdom, 106: abdicates, 107: repudiates his abdication, 108, 109, 114: seeks Murat's protection, 109: virtual prisoner in the Escorial, 111: deposed, 113–115: summoned to Bayonne, 114: refuses Ferdinand's offer to surrender the crown, 114: pensioned, 115: restrains Gen. Solano's movements, 116: at Compiegne, 116: goes to Marseilles, 117: weakness of, 117: goes to Italy, 117
Charles V., magnificence of his empire, iii. 104
Charles X. See also ARTOIS, COUNT OF
Charles XII. of Sweden, military despotism of, ii. 80
Charles XIII., king of Sweden, ii. 270: succeeds Gustavus IV., iii. 215: makes Bernadotte his successor, 215: under *N.'s* protection, 215: feebleness of his rule, 241
Charters, destruction of feudal, i. 57
Chartres, flight of the Empress and Joseph through, iv. 132
Chartres, Duc de (Louis Philippe), scheme to place him on the French throne, iv. 159
Chateaubriand, F. A., friendship with Mme. Bacciocchi, ii. 164: literary works, 165, 166: envoy to Valais, 166: a disciple of Rousseau, 166: envoy to Rome, 166: supposed sponsor for the Concordat, 166: influence, 166: his name omitted from the honor list of 1810, iii. 229: on the new constitution, iv. 168
Château-Thierry, French occupation of, iv. 96: Blucher's retreat through, and sack of, 96: Macdonald's failure at, 102: military movements near, 119
Châtelet, military operations near, iv. 177, 179, 181
Chatham, Earl of, compared with Carnot, i. 201: policy toward France, ii. 134
Châtillon, Congress of, iv 99–105, 107, 108, 114, 115: Caulaincourt's carte blanche at, 100, 101, 104: rumored preliminaries of peace at, 103: sends ultimatum to *N.*, 104, 105: closes, 105, 106: capture of some of the diplomats of, 120
Chaumont, surrenders to one Wurtemberg horseman, iv. 87: treaty of, 166, 167, 170: military operations near, 116
Chemnitz, the Saxon army at, ii. 276: contemplated movements at, iv. 67
Chenier, André, ii, 225
Chenier, M. J., driven from the tribunate, ii. 156: "Cyrus," 225: suppresses his writings, iii. 72: rewards for his literary work, 227: opposes the empire, 229; made inspector-general of the University, 229
Cheops, Pyramid of, *N.* in the, ii. 45
Cherasco, capture of, i. 215, 216
Chevreuse, Mme. de, pert remark to *N.*, and banishment, iii. 76
Chimay, Princess de, i. 190. See also TALLIEN, MME.
China, *N.'s* attention turned toward, i. 40
Chiusa Veneta, capture of fort at, i. 267
Choiseul, C. A. G., refuses protectorate to Corsica, i. 6: his policy toward Corsica, 8, 9: disgrace of, 22: *N.'s* hatred for, 26: scheme of Egyptian conquest, ii. 31
Chouans, the, rebellion of, i. 164, 197, 278: legislation against, ii. 64: the Cadoudal conspiracy, 189 et seq.
Christian VII., imbecility of, iii. 59
Christianity, *N.'s* confusion of ideas concerning, i. 39
Church, the, *N.'s* attitude toward, and relations with, i. 39, 83, 167; ii. 104, 113, 132, 133, 138, 139, 158, 165, 169, 170, 257, 263, 264; iii. 67, 58, 70, 72, 73, 94, 95, 121, 147, 166, 186, 187, 192, 198, 199, 201, 202, 232, 233, 240; iv. 15, 25: demands for reform of, in Corsica, i. 62: enforced contributions by, at Ajaccio, 70: attitude of the French governments toward, and relations with the nation, 70, 144; ii. 62, 87, 139, 165, 208 et seq.: *N.'s* study of the Gallican, i. 86: reorganization of its property, 87: changes in, 94: sequestration of lands of, 94, 160: Louis XVI.'s support of, 160: *N.'s* speculation in sequestered lands of, 172: plotting in, 178: question of allegiance of the clergy, 247: relation to education, ii. 145–147: influence in Austria and Germany, 169: reconstruction in France, 203: scheme for unity of, in Germany, 260: archbishops created counts, iii. 71: degradation in Spain, 98: pillaged in Spain, 123: repressed in the Tyrol, 156: the bishops' court pronounces *N.'s* first marriage null, 194: attitude toward *N.'s* second marriage, 198, 199: the College of Cardinals transplanted from Rome to Paris, 198, 202
Cicero, statue at the Tuileries, ii. 97
Cintra, Junot surrenders at, iii. 123 124, 144
Cisalpine Republic, the, formation of, ii. 6, 14: pillage of, 26: treaty with France, March, 1798, 26: the Valtellina incorporated with, 27: recognized by Prussia, 29: dissolution of, 57: picks a quarrel with Sardinia, 59: reëstablishment of, 113, 120, 149: tribute levied on, 120: question of a president for, 149: English efforts to discredit France in, 169
Cispadane Republic, the, i. 247: question of a constitution for, ii. 6
Citadella, battle of, i. 237
"Citizen," use of the term in France, ii. 127
Citizenship, liberty, equality, and fraternity in, i. 57: the primary duty of, 183
Ciudad Rodrigo, Spanish defense of, iii. 218: storming of, 222, 242
Civil Code, introduced into Warsaw, iii. 56. See also CODE
Civil liberty, developed in inverse ratio to political liberty, ii. 143
"Civism," i. 99, 106, 190
Clacy, captured by *N.*, iv. 108
Clanship, i. 3
Clarke, Gen., letter from *N.*, Nov. 19, 1796, i. 245, 246: at Montebello, 280: meeting with *N.*, 280: mission to Vienna, 280: French agent in treaty of Campo Formio, ii. 13: recalled to Paris, 13, 15: forbidden to enter Vienna, 28: guardian to King Louis's widow, 150: drives British ships from Tuscan

Clarke, Gen.—*continued.*
harbors, 183: created Duke of Feltre, iii. 71: ordered to fortify the Spanish frontier, 100: minister of war, iv. 128: member of the Empress-Regent's council, 128, 130: advises the flight of the Empress, 130: prepares for defense of Paris, 131: *N.'s* rage at, 135
Clary, Eugénie-Bernardine-Désirée proposal to wed *N.* to, i. 176, 187, 188: affianced to Duphot, ii. 26, 29: marries Bernadotte, 29
Clergy, the, position at outbreak of the revolution, i. 52, 53, 55: attitude in Corsica, 61: *N.'s* attitude toward, and relations with, 67, 83, 261; ii. 7: revolution among the clergy of Dauphiny, i. 81, 87: constitutional reforms for, 87: upheaval among, 94: attitude of the Directory toward, ii. 2, 24: transported to Cayenne, 5: Talleyrand a leader among, 22: released from the Jacobin ban, 87: abolition of celibacy of, 132: conformists and nonconformists to the civil constitution, 132, 138, 139: a "consecrated constabulary," 139: restoration to the ecclesiastical fold, 222: encourage rebellion in Spain, iii. 121. See also CHURCH; PAPACY; PIUS VII.; ROME
Cleves, Prussia's price for, ii. 170: ceded to France, 251
Cleves and Berg, the Grand Duchy of, ii. 261: French garrison in, 261
Clichy Club, the, ii. 2, 3, 5, 15
Coalition of 1813, centrifugal forces in, iv. 90–92
Cobenzl, Count L., Austrian plenipotentiary at Campo Formio, ii. 13, 14: at Congress of Rastatt, 18: negotiates with France after Marengo, 122: on universal conquest, iii. 39
Coblentz, headquarters of French royalists, ii. 81
Coburg, military operations near, ii. 278
Cockburn, Adm. Sir George, conveys *N.* to St. Helena, iv. 214, 216
Code Civil, its contravention by Jewish legislation, iii. 64
Code Napoléon, the, ii. 142–144; iv. 244: introduced into Parma and Piacenza, ii. 227: abolition of the law of entail and primogeniture, iii. 69: *N.'s* excuse for overruling, 70: introduced into Holland, 212: in Italy, iv. 79
Code of Commerce, the, ii. 144; iii. 61
Code of Criminal Procedure, the, ii. 144
Coignet, Private, *N.'s* friendly familiarity with, ii. 128
Coignet, writes of the entry into Berlin, iii. 3: on the march to Russia, 248: reports demoralization after Dresden, iv. 59
Coigny, Mlle. de, married to Savary, ii. 267
Coimbra, military movements near, iii. 218
Colborne, Sir J., in battle of Waterloo, iv. 202
Col di Tenda, the French line at, ii. 105
College of Cardinals, increased French representation in the, iii. 94
College of France, the, ii. 145
Colli, Gen., commanding Piedmontese troops, i. 213, 215: reinforcements for, defeated, 215
Collingwood, Adm. Cuthbert, his knowledge of the enemy's movements, ii. 238: blockades Cadiz, 239: at Trafalgar, 240
Cologne, Macdonald entrusted with defense of, iv. 89
Colombier, Caroline du, *N.'s* first love, i. 40, 85
Colombier, Mme. du, i. 39, 85
Colonization, Talleyrand's views on, ii. 22
Colonna, represents Corsica in the National Assembly, i. 62, 63: member of the Directory of Corsica, 73
Colonna-Cesari, leads Corsican expedition against Sardinia, i. 114
Column of Vendôme, erection of the, iii. 62
Comédie Française, members accompany *N.* to Erfurt, iii. 135
Commerce, condition of, at outbreak of the Revolution, i. 63: influence on the social life of the world, ii. 31: encouragement of, 141: revived by the Peace of Amiens, 151: improved condition of, 165: the scope of British, 173
Committee of Public Safety, usurps supreme power, i. 123: aided by Carnot, 133: Corsicans denounced in, 149: keeps *N.* under surveillance, 152: plans expedition against Rome, 155: abolished, 165, 172: the new, 174, 175, 178: appoints *N.* on military commission, 175: proposes to transfer *N.* to Constantinople, 178: considers policy of excluding English goods from the Continent, iii. 5: difficulties with Mme. de Staël, 227
Communal list, the, ii. 84
Compiègne, Spanish royal exiles at, iii. 116: meeting of the Emperor with his Austrian bride at, 197, 198, 200, 206: Blücher besieges, iv. 112
Compignano, Countess of. See BUONAPARTE, MARIE-ANNE-ELISA
Compulsory loans, ii. 88
Compulsory military service, i. 128
Concordat, the, ii. 133, 138, 192, 208 et seq., 260; iv. 229, 242, 244: service in honor of, ii. 138, 139: its effect in France, 139: "the vaccine of religion," 139: contempt of the Army of the Rhine for, 151: the supposed sponsor for, 166: effect in Germany, 169: extension to Venice refused by Pius VII., iii. 67: Venetia admitted to, 94: undoing the work of, 95: rupture of, 233
Concordat of Fontainebleau, the, iv. 26, 27
Condé, evacuation of, i. 133
Condé, the Great, ii. 192
Condé, Prince of, ii. 197
Condorcet, J. A. N. de C., believer in equality of the sexes, ii. 145
Conegliano, creation of hereditary duchy of, ii. 256: Moncey created Duke of, 71. See MONCEY
Confederation of the Rhine, the, organization of, ii. 259–262 271: Hesse-Cassel refused admission to, iii. 7: levies of troops for France in, 24, 152, 157, 158, 244, 245; iv. 23, 28: recognized at Tilsit, iii. 47: Saxony united with, 48: relations with France,
Confederation of the Rhine—*continued.*
61, 62, 214; iv. 19: additions to, iii. 184: called to arms by Prussia, iv. 31: proposed abandonment of French protectorate over, 38: proposed dissolution of, 44: proposed dynastic independence for sovereigns of, 49: purpose of the allies to free, 66: resolved into its elements, 79: forced by allies to raise military contingents, 89
Confiscation, opposition to the reintroduction of, ii. 156: principle of punishment by, iii. 225, 226
Coni, surrendered to France, i. 215
Connewitz, military operations near, iv. 70–73
Consalvi, Cardinal, negotiates the Concordat, ii. 133: memorialist of Pius VII., 222: dismissed from the Papal service, 256
Conscription, the, i, 163, 232; ii. 60, 63, 64, 160, 195, 233, 255, 265, 274; iii. 11, 24, 26, 27, 63, 64, 100, 104, 153, 222, 245, 248; iv. 15, 22, 23, 25, 43, 65, 84–87, 123, 153, 171; development of Carnot's scheme, ii. 63, 64: *N.'s* influence on the laws of, 160: how enforced, 195: Jewish evasions of the, iii. 63: Jews made subject to, 64
Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, founded, i. 167
Conservatory of Music, reorganization of, i. 167
Constable, creation of the office of, ii. 206
Constabulary, abolition of the, i. 80
Constance, city of, ceded to Baden, ii. 252
Constance, Lake, the Austrian camp on, ii. 234
Constant, *N.'s* valet, iv. 149
Constant de Rebecque, Henri-Benjamin, dreads a new Terror, ii. 64: member of the tribunate, 100, 155: driven from the tribunate, 156: president of the council of state, iv. 167: supports the chambers, 206, 207
Constantine, Grand Duke, in battle of Austerlitz, ii. 249, 250: Bennigsen writes to, after Friedland, iii. 32: leader of the peace party, 32, 34: at Tilsit, 45: with the Army of the South, iv. 62
Constantine the Great, *N.* likened to, ii. 210
Constantinople, proposal to send *N.* to, i. 177: *N.'s* eye on, 262: proposed mission for Talleyrand to, ii. 45: Russia to aid in defense of, 49: *N.* given leave to march on, 49: fleet sent to relief of Acre from, 60, 51: Russian ambition to acquire, 228; iii. 29, 84, 87, 91: a British fleet at, 23: French influence at, 33, 81: proposed disposition of, after Tilsit, 48: revolution in, 127: England threatens to bombard, 244
Constitutional checks, i. 88
Constitution of 1799, prohibition against First Consul's military leadership, ii. 106
Consular Guard, the, at Marengo, ii. 117, 118: strengthening of, 178
Consulate, proposed formation of a, ii. 69: a disguised monarchy, iv. 237
Continental System, the, ii. 183, 242, 258; iii. 80–82, 125, 128, 153, 185, 192, 196, 201–215, 217, 220, 225, 231, 232, 236, 240, 245, 249, 250; iv. 15, 38, 47, 60, 242: England's policy against, iii. 81, 82
Copenhagen, battle of, ii. 135: bombardment of, iii. 69, 79–81, 214
Coppet, Mme. de Staël's residence at, ii. 267; iii. 227
Corday, Charlotte, assassination of Marat, i. 138
Cordova, French capture and abandonment of, iii. 122
Corfu, *N.* proposes to seize, i. 277: France's jealous care of, ii. 21: Adm. Brueys ordered to, 42: blockade of, 46: Russian occupation of, 226, 228, 229, 262: French occupation of, iii. 81, 88, 89: English naval watch on, 90: proposed expedition to Egypt from, 91
Corizier, wounded at Acre, ii. 52
Corneille, Pierre, *N.'s* study of, iii. 134; iv. 216
Cornet, starts the proceedings of the 18th Brumaire, ii. 70
Cornwallis, Lord Charles, character, ii. 168: negotiates the treaty of Amiens, 168
Cornwallis, Adm. William, junction of Nelson and, before Brest, ii. 230
Corona, military operations at, i. 251, 254
Correggio, A. A., plunder of the works of, i. 225, 228
Corsica, external relations, i. 2–5, 11, 12: physical features and population, 2–5, 19, 156: Rousseau's views on, 2, 7: the Buonaparte family in, 2, 12 et seq., 119: feudalism in, 3, 7: Paoli's share in history of, 4 et seq., 62–68, 70, 72, 73, 117, 121–123: national heroes and patriotism in, 4, 21, 61, 62: Jews in, 6: French schemes concerning, expeditions against, and occupations of, 8–11, 41, 65, 66, 69, 89, 96, 119–123, 153, 155, 206, 248, 260: *N.'s* love for, residences in, schemes concerning, and peculiar relations to, 6, 7, 26, 27, 30, 42, 45–47, 49, 59, 62, 63, 66, 67, 74, 93–99, 107–110, 124–126, 138, 150, 151, 153, 205, 206; ii. 104, 161: Montesquieu's views on, i. 7: joins the Bourbon-Hapsburg alliance, 9: ceded by Genoa to France, 9, 10: England's interests in, protectorate over, conquest and abandonment of, 10, 64, 68, 116, 121–123, 152–155, 248, 260: disaffection, riots and rebellion in, 11, 21, 43, 58–66, 78, 83, 97–100, 117, 151, 248: compared with Sardinia, 12: *N.'s* history of, 39, 44, 47–51: introduction of silkworm culture into, 41: the betrayal of, 60: the Revolution in, 58–66: scheme of liberation, 59 et seq.: plan for elective council in, 60: rival parties and classes, schemes and intrigues in, 61–66, 94, 95, 97, 99, 109, 112, 118–125: desired reforms for, 62: representation in the National Assembly, 62–66: the council of twelve nobles in, 63: Genoa's claims to, 64, 65, 69, ecclesiastical and religious troubles, 70, 94, 98: democracy in, 72: meeting of the constituent assembly at Orezza, 72–74: Bastia declared the capital, 74: the National Guard in, 74, 78, 90–92, 96, 97, 109, 114: *N.* leaves for Auxonne, 79: *N.* mobbed in, 83: customs in, 95: *N.* leaves, 99, 100: expedition against Sardinia from, 111–114: enforcement of the Convention's decrees in, 117: Salicetti deserts the

Corsica — *continued.*
cause of, 119: *N.* appointed inspector-general of artillery for, 119: new commissioners sent to, 121: the Buonapartes leave, 123: success of revolt against the Convention, 129: Convention commission for, 131: *N.'s* expedition against, 138, 152, 153, 155: employment of refugees from, 149: Salicetti blamed for insurrection in, 151: wretched internal plight, 154: charges against refugees from, 156: *N.'s* last visit to, ii. 57
Corsican Feuillants, the, i. 95
Corsican Jacobins, the, i. 95
Corso, Cape, Paoli's landing at, i. 68
Corte, the town of, i. 4: removal of seat of government from, 11: Carlo Buonaparte at, 13–15: a Paolist center, 62: Joseph Buonaparte at, 94: *N.* ordered to, 109, 120: meeting between Paoli and *N.* at, 112: *N.* a suspect at, 120
Corunna, the junta of, iii. 123: Moore's retreat to, and death at, 146, 147: England's tardiness at, 149
Cossacks, military achievements of, iii. 14, 15, 19, 23: harass the retreating French army, iv. 4, 6: relieve Hamburg, 33: in battle of Leipsic, 71: in the campaign of 1814, 95: advance to Nemours and Fontainebleau, 103: at the battle of Laon, 108: fears of, in Paris, 130
Costa, letter from *N.* to, i. 109, 110: letter from Lucien to, 110
Council of Ancients, the, i. 161
Council of Juniors, the, i. 161
Council of State, the, ii. 85, 99–101: stripped of its supremacy, 159: approves *N.'s* action against the Duc d'Enghien, 194: its functions, iii. 68
"Count of Essex," the, i. 44
"Courier," the London, publishes Spanish manifesto of *N.*, iii. 217
Coustou, Abbé, attends Carlo Buonaparte's deathbed, i. 32
Coxe's "Travels in Switzerland," *N.'s* study of, i. 85
Cracow, ceded to the grand duchy of Warsaw, iii. 184: Schwarzenberg seeks shelter in, iv. 27
Crancé, Dubois de, i. 133: reorganization of the French armies by, 198: organizes national conscription, 232
Craonne, battle of, iv. 107
Crema, withdrawal of the Austrians from Milan to, ii. 113
Croatia, Austrian recruiting in, i. 236: part of, ceded to France, iii. 184
Cromwell, Oliver, *N.* disclaims the rôle of, ii. 77, 80: the need of a second, in France, 181: *N.* compared with, 148
Cronstadt, Alexander fears for, iii. 80
Crôsne, Sieyès accepts the estate of, ii. 86
Crottendorf, military operations near, iv. 70
Crusades, the, ii. 31
Cuneo, associated with *N.* in Corsica, i. 62
Custine, Gen. A. P., occupies Frankfort, i. 115: defeat of, 115
Cyprus, Sir Sidney Smith puts into, ii. 56
"Cyrus," by Chénier, ii. 225
Czartoryski, A. G., memoirs of, ii. 228: Russian minister of foreign affairs, 228: on the Russian policy in 1805, 246: friendship with Alexander I., iii, 9, 235; iv. 20: on the hereditary disease of the Romanoffs, iii. 44: retirement of, 235: schemes in regard to restoration of Poland, 235, 240; iv. 20: transfers faith from Alexander to *N.*, iii. 240
Czernicheff, Count, aide-de-camp to Alexander I., iii. 250: *N.* offers terms to, 250

D

Dagobert, *N.* in the iron chair of, ii. 209
Dalberg, Archbishop, scheme to unify the German Church, ii. 259, 260: Prince-Primate, 260: at the Erfurt conference, iii. 133: receives Ratisbon in exchange for Frankfort principality, 204: his territory erected into a grand duchy for Eugène, 244: estimate of *N.'s* influence, 245: characterization of Talleyrand, iv. 130: at peace council in Paris, 134: member of the executive commission, 134, 135: attainted, 165
Dalmatia, ceded to Austria at Leoben, i. 271: alterations of boundaries near, ii. 14: ceded by Austria to Italy, 252: creation of hereditary duchy of, 255: assigned by *N.* to Italy, 262: *N.* offers to exchange, iii. 24: French dominion recognized at Tilsit, 47: Soult created duke of, 70 (see SOULT): French strength in, 91: proposed surrender of, to Austria, iv. 38
Dalrymple, Sir H. W., retired from active service, iii. 144
Damascus, garrison of El Arish ordered to, ii. 47: reinforcements for Acre from, 48
Danican, Auguste, royalist leader, i. 178: the Thirteenth Vendémiaire, 181
Danilevsky, on the allies reaching Paris, iv. 131
Danton, G. J., becomes head of the Jacobin commune, i. 110: member of the National Convention, 111: dictator of France, 115: overawes the Girondists, 138: murder of, 148
Dantzic, military movements near, iii. 13, 15, 17: siege of, 17, 23: surrender of, 24, 29: freedom restored to, 49: independence of, 61: Lefebvre created Duke of, 71 (see LEFEBVRE): Davout ordered to hold, 204: French military stores in, 253: Murat's position at, untenable, iv. 21: measures for the relief of, 28: held by the French, 33: Rapp commanding at, 34: proposed new capital for Prussia, 39: proposed division of the domain of, 39: proposed cession of, to Prussia, 44, 49
Danube River, the, rebellion against Turkey on, ii. 32: Kray retreats toward, 109: proposed Indian expeditions via, 134: military operations on, 233, 235, 236; iii. 5, 85, 91, 93, 127, 157, 158, 160, 163, 164, 167–169, 171, 175, 239: Mack essays to cross at Günzburg, ii. 235: the French march from the Rhine to, 242: annihilation of Mortier on, 243: *N.'s* line of retreat to, 276:
Danube River, the — *continued.*
Russian successes on the lower, iii. 23: *N.* plans redistribution of territories on, 44: proposed Russian acquisitions on, 48: topographical features, 168: the crossing at Lobau, 168, 169, 171, 175: defeat of Russians by Turks on, 191: Russia warned not to cross, 239: Russian successes on, 243: withdrawal of Russian troops from, 244: effect of the rising of, at Essling, iv. 19
Danubian Principalities, proposed partition of, iii. 44: Alexander's ambition to acquire, 85, 87, 92, 93: *N.* offers to exchange them for Silesia, 86, 87, 90. See also MOLDAVIA; WALLACHIA
Dardanelles, the, Alexander I.'s scheme for seizing, ii. 228
Darmagnac, Gen., invades Navarre, iii. 105: seizes Pamplona, 105
Darmstadt, relations with Russia, ii. 170: strengthening of, 170: quota of men, 261
Daru, P. A. N., advises wintering in Moscow, iii. 267
Daunou, P. C. F., dreads a new Terror, ii. 64: ideas of government, 85: named as consul, 86: member of the tribunate, 100: influence on the Consulate, 127: driven from the tribunate, 156: attempt to admit him to the senate, 156: upholds Machiavelli's theses concerning the Church of Rome, iii. 201
Dauphiny, the peasantry of, i. 79–81: *N.* travels in, 79: revolutionary feeling among the clergy of, 81, 87: anti-royalist feeling in, iv. 163
David, Abbé, arrest of, ii. 189
David, Jacques L., painter, ii. 225
Davidowich, Gen. P., defeated at Roveredo, i. 234, 235: strength in the Tyrol, 236: defeats Vaubois, 236, 237, 240: retreats to the Tyrol, 240
Davout, Gen. L. N., service in Egypt, ii. 36, 207: service in the Army of England, 185: created marshal, 207: character, 234; iii. 75: watches the Russian army, ii. 235: in battle of Austerlitz, 245, 247, 249, 250: at Nordhalben, 278: at Naumburg, 280: in battle of Jéna, 280–283: captures Wittenberg, iii. 2: sacks Poland, 4: at Golynin, 12: strength in Poland, 13: in the Eylau campaign, 17, 19–21: in battle of Heilsberg, 29, 30: pursues Lestocq from Friedland, 32–34: created Duke of Auerstädt, 71: income, 71: *N.'s* opinion of, 75: recalled from Poland to Silesia, 129: commanding in Saxony, 154: Archduke Charles plans to attack, 154: his command in the fifth Austrian war, 157: forces in Stettin, Bayreuth, Hanover, and Magdeburg, 157: to concentrate at Bamberg, 158: commanding on the Isar, 159: Archduke Charles marches against, 159: to concentrate at Ingolstadt, 159–161: movements before Ratisbon, 161: on the Laber, 161: in battle of Eckmühl, 162: forces back Archduke Charles, 162: battles of Aspern and Essling, 171, 172: battle of Wagram, 177, 178: ordered to hold Baltic positions, 204: revenue of, 226: occupies Swedish Pomerania, 244: letter from *N.*, 246: strength, March, 1812, 246: reproved for his reports of Prussia, 248: slowness of action at opening of the Russian campaign, 254: drives Bagration eastward, 255: battle of Borodino, 261: on the retreat from Moscow, iv. 1, 2, 5: battle of Wiazma, 3: at Krasnoi, 6: division commander under Eugène, 28: in campaign of 1813, 34: occupies Hamburg, 37, 42: Vandamme goes to his assistance, 42: to threaten Berlin, 51: *N.'s* instructions to, 54: mediocrity of his troops, 64: besieged in Hamburg, 90: invited to join in insurrection, 160: member of *N.'s* new cabinet, 167: advises *N.* after Waterloo, 206: suggests *N.'s* use of force, 207
"Day of the Paris sections, the," i. 181–188
Debry, J. A. J., *N.'s* friendship with, i. 175; ii. 61: member of Congress of Rastatt, 61: wounded at Rastatt, 61: accusations against, 61
De Bussy, in the La Fère regiment, iv. 107: gives *N.* worthless information at Craonne, 107
Décadi, decadence of the festival, ii. 165
Decrès, Adm., French minister of marine, ii. 185: letter from *N.*, Sept. 13, 1805, 185: warns *N.* against his career of conquest, iii. 247: member of *N.'s* new cabinet, iv. 167
Defermon J., ii. 137
Dego, battle of, i. 213, 215, 216; iv. 97
Deichsel River, Blücher retreats behind the, iv. 55
Delacroix, French minister of foreign affairs, i. 279: French agent in the Netherlands, ii. 26
Demagogues, disgust with, in France, ii. 88
De Maistre, *N.* refutes his theory of social order, iii. 72, 73: on the supineness of Pius VII., 202
Democracy, a pure, i. 72, 244: Germany's opposition to, 146: its good and bad qualities, iv. 233
Denfort, royalist intrigues of, iv. 129
Denmark, joins the "armed neutrality," ii. 126; iii. 41, 56: proposed commercial war against England, 48: *N.* calls for alliance with, 56: importance of her sea power, 58: ordered to declare war against England, 58: England offers to seize her fleet, 58: refuses England's offer, 58; yields to Bernadotte, 59: losses of Norway, Schleswig, and Holstein, 59: yields to England, 59: humiliation of, 59: vassalage to France, 59, 214: England seeks to conciliate, 80: bombardment of Copenhagen, 81: Alexander I. demands reparation for, 81: *N.* urges England's restoration of her fleet, 84: Spanish troops in, 124: seizure of American ships by, 211: hostility to England, 214: holds Norway, 214, 215: friendly to France, 242: despatches troops to Hamburg, iv. 37: shifts her assistance from Russia to France, 37: strengthening the alliance between France and, 48
Dennewitz, battle of, iv. 63, 64
Denon, D. V., accompanies *N.* on his return from Alexandria, ii. 56
Departmental list, the, ii. 84

De Pradt, in charge of Polish affairs, iv. 14: interview between *N.* and, at Warsaw, 14, 19: royalist intrigues of, 129, 130
Desaix, Louis-Charles-Antoine, a product of Carnot's system, i. 202: crosses the Rhine near Strasburg, 272: defeats the Austrians in the Black Forest, 272: service in Egypt, ii. 36, 41, 63, 64, 65: battle of the Pyramids, 41: ordered to leave Egypt, 56, 116: reaches Stradella, 116: battle of Marengo, 116–119: killed, 119, 121, 123: contrasted with Ney, iv. 205
Desenzano, military operations near, i. 252
Desgenettes, Dr., heroism at Jaffa, ii. 51
Des Mazis, *N.'s* friendship for, i. 31, 33: appointed to the regiment of La Fère, 34
Dessau, captured by Lannes, iii. 2
Dessolles, Gen., ii. 107
"Destiny," *N. s,* i. 41
Deutsch-Wagram, Archduke Charles advances to, iii. 169. See also WAGRAM
D'Hilliers, Gen., service in Egypt, ii. 36
"Dialogue on Love," by *N.,* i. 40, 82
Diderot, Denis, co-author with Raynal, i. 38
Diebitsch, Gen. H. K. F. A., encounters a Prussian force, iv. 21: military adviser to Alexander, 122
Dieppe, landing of the Cadoudal conspirators near, ii. 190
Diet, the, reduction of Austria's power in the, ii. 126
Digeon, Gen. A. E. M., seduced by Marmont, iv. 142
Digne, *N.'s* march through, on return from Elba, iv. 163
Dijon, *N.* visits, i. 82: formation of an army of reserve at, ii. 92: surrenders to the allies, iv. 98, 99: Francis in, 134, 144
Diodorus Siculus, *N.'s* study of, i. 40
Diplomacy, the language of, i. 8
Dippoldiswalde, military movements near, iv. 58
Directory, the, establishment of, i. 161, 183, 186, 199–201: social life under, 166, 167: Europe and, 197–203: financial war policy, 205: assumes to dictate military plans, 209, 215: plans to belittle *N.,* 221, 227: entrusts *N.* with diplomatic powers, 222: yields to *N.'s* plans, 222, 227: contributions sent to, 223, 224: plans for campaign in Germany, 235: attitude toward Italy, 244–249: *N.'s* relations with, 221–227, 244–249, 259, 261–263, 271, 272, 280; ii. 4, 5, 17, 20, 22–24, 28, 29, 33–35, 46, 49, 55, 56, 60–67, 73–75; iv. 220, 221: ratifies the treaty of Leoben, i. 272: letters from *N.,* April 19, 1792, 272; May 27, 1797, 277: Pitt's negotiations for peace with, 278, 279: refuses to treat with England, 279: antagonism to the, ii. 2: plot of Louis XVIII. and Pichegru against, 3, 4: Moreau's relations with, 3, 4: gains complete control on the 18th of Fructidor, 5: reliance on the army, 5: effects of the 18th Fructidor on, 15: attitude toward Italy and Venice, 15, 16: approves the treaty of Campo Formio, 16, 20: relations with Talleyrand, 22, 23: members of, 23: attitude toward emigrants, 24: attitude toward clergy, 24, 28: attitude toward royalists, 24, 132: attitude toward the German ecclesiastical principalities, 28: Eastern policy, 32: Jacobinism in, 33, 64: fails to secure alliance with Turkey, 45: misunderstanding between the United Irishmen and, 46: weakness, 45, 62, 63: desires the escape of the army in Egypt, 56: reconstruction of, 57, 62, 63: blunders in Italy, 60, 61: corruption in, 62, 63: Gohier president of, 66: *N.* pays official visit to, on return from Egypt, 66: relations with Moreau, 68: last days and downfall, 70 et seq.; iv. 228, 237: Carnot's influence on its fall, ii. 87: suppresses freedom of the press, 96: incorporates Belgium with France, 101: attitude toward Prussia, 102, 103: relations with Sieyès, 103: liberty of conscience under the, 132, 133: suspends diplomatic relations with the United States, 136: pretensions toward the United States, 136: financial maladministration, 140: recourse to forced contributions, 141: plans for invading England, 185: system of licenses for English goods, iii. 214: difficulties with Mme. de Staël, 227: organization of a new, iv. 207
Divine right, kings by, ii. 264: abolition of, in France, iv. 227
Divorce, *N.'s* share in codifying the law of, ii. 143: under the Code, 144: *N.'s* advocacy of easy, 164
Dnieper River, military operations on the, iii. 240, 254, 256, 257, 259; iv. 6
Dniester River, Turkish movements on the, iii. 5
Doctoroff, Gen., in battle of Austerlitz, ii. 250: in battle of Eylau, iii. 19
Dôle, publications of *N.'s* literary work at, i. 82
Dolgoruki, Prince, mission from Alexander I. to *N.,* ii. 247
Dolgoruki, Princess, on *N.'s* receptions, ii. 128
Dölitz, military operations near, iv. 72, 73
Domination, the power of, iv. 221
Domo d'Ossola, Bethencourt near, ii. 113
Don, River, proposed Indian expeditions via, ii. 134: the Cossacks of the, iii. 14
Donaueschingen, the Austrian headquarters at, ii. 105: abandoned by Kray, 108
Donauwörth, military movements near, iii. 158: *N.* reaches, 159
Donzelot, Gen. F. X., in battle of Waterloo, iv. 196, 197, 202, 203
Dora Baltea River, Austrian force on the, ii. 111
Dora Ridaria River, Austrian force on the, ii. 111
Dornburg, military movements near, ii. 281, 283
Dorothea, Empress-Dowager of Russia, disapproves *N.'s* proposed marriage to Anne, iii. 191: hatred of *N.,* 191
Douay, *N.* ordered to, i. 41, 42
Doulaincourt, *N.* at, iv. 126, 128
Doulevant, *N.* at, iv. 126
Doumerc, Gen. J. P., moves from Sézanne against Blücher, iv. 95
Dover, scheme of naval demonstration off, ii. 212
Drac, River, iv. 164
Draft, use of, in France, ii. 64
Drave, River, military movements on the, i. 268; iii. 168
Dresden, death of Moreau before, ii. 191: *N.* at, iii. 55, 56; iv. 14, 25, 28, 39, 44, 45, 49, 55, 57, 59, 63, 65: Bernadotte to concentrate in, iii. 158: Saxon troops in, 158: *N.'s* strategy at, 167: seized by the Duke of Brunswick, 181: meeting of the allied sovereigns at, 250, 251: the climax of the Napoleonic drama, 251; iv. 62: *N.'s* incognito journey through, 14: interview between *N.* and Metternich at, 25: interview between *N.* and Frederick Augustus at, 28: French forces at, 28: Eugène to hold, 28: welcomes Alexander and Frederick William III., 32: discontent at military occupation, 32: retreat of the allies behind, 37: destruction and rebuilding of the bridges at, 37: French occupation of, 37, 39: defense of, 51, 59, 63: held by Saint-Cyr, 55: French advance to Zittau from, 55: menaced by the allies, 56: battle of, 56–59, 63: demoralization of the army after, 59: *N.'s* mistakes after, 60, 61: *N.'s* physical ailments at, 61: *N.'s* successes at, 63: Schwarzenberg moves on, 63: Oudinot at, 65: Blucher advances on, 65: boy-soldiers at, 65: *N.'s* retreat from, 55, 57: *N.'s* scheme to hold, 67: Frederick's love for, 68: French garrison in 68, 70: Maret's influence over *N.* at, 100: *N.* acknowledges his mistake in not making peace at, 150
Drissa, weakness of, iii. 255: Bagration establishes communication with, 266
Drouot, Gen. A., in battle of Austerlitz, ii. 250: battle of Leipsic, iv. 71, 73: advises a return to Lorraine, 135: attachment to *N.,* 137: strength after the surrender of Paris, 137: accompanies *N.* to Elba, 149: advises against the escape from Elba, 162
Düben, *N.* at, iv. 68, 69
Dubois, Gen., in battle of Waterloo, iv. 197
Duclos's "Memoirs of the Reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV.," *N.'s* study of, i. 85
Duero, River, military movements on the, iii. 123, 124, 222
Dufresne, ii. 137
Dugommier, Gen. J. F., appointed commander-in-chief before Toulon, i. 135, 136: influence at Toulon, 137
Dugua, Gen. C. F. J., service in Egypt, ii. 36: in battle of the Pyramids, 41
Duhesme, Gen. P. G., invades Spain, iii. 105: at Barcelona, 105: occupies Catalonia, 122: evacuates Catalonia, 123: besieged in Barcelona, 142: in battle of Waterloo, iv. 199
Dulaure's "History of the Nobility," *N.'s* study of, i. 85
Dumanoir, Adm., at Trafalgar, ii. 241
Dumolard, J. V., interpellates the government as to *N.'s* independence, ii. 2
Dumoulin, Jean, comes to *N.'s* aid at Laffray, iv. 164
Dumouriez, Charles F., takes part in the conquest of Corsica, i. 65; on the northeastern frontier, 108; wins battle of Jemmapes, 115; defection of, 117; correspondence with Nelson, ii. 193; suspected of royalist plots, 193, 195
Dünaburg, preparations for the siege of, iii. 253: Ney advances toward, 254, 255
Duncan, Adm. Adam, wins the battle of Camperdown, ii. 25
Dunette, Gen., marches to relief of Paris, iv. 125
Dunkirk, besieged by Duke of York, i. 133
Duphot, Gen. L., affianced to Désirée Clary, ii. 26, 29: killed at Rome, 26
Dupont, Gen. Pierre, in battle of Friedland, iii. 31: ordered to invade Spain, 101, 102: invades Spain, 105: advances on Andalusia, 122: holds the Tagus, 122: capitulates at Baylen, 122, 124, 130
Durango, Blake advances from, iii. 143
Duroc, Gen. G. C. M., wounded at Acre, ii. 52: *N.'s* aide-de-camp, 58: *N.'s* envoy to Prussia, 103, 180: Grand Marshal of the Palace, 207: offers Hanover to Prussia, 232: personal attendance on *N.,* 276; proposes terms after Tilsit, iii. 35: blamed for Queen Louisa's failure, 52: proposes indemnity for Maria Louisa, 57: created Duke of Friuli, 71: at Bayonne, 113: foresees France's discontent, 247: killed at Reichenbach, iv. 40: *N.'s* grief for, 40: *N.* contributes to monument to, 64: *N.* proposes to take the name of, 210
Dürrenstein, destruction of Mortier's division at, ii. 236, 243
Durutte, Gen. J. F., sent to Ligny, iv. 182, 183: battle of Waterloo, 196, 197, 199, 200, 202
Düsseldorf, Jourdan's army at, i. 209: Jourdan crosses the Rhine at, 235
Dutch Flanders, ceded to France, i. 164
Duteil, *N.'s* acquaintance with, i. 49: *N.* seeks aid from, 90: grants *N.* permission to sail for Corsica, 106
Duteil, Gen. J., general of artillery before Toulon, i. 136: on *N.'s* ability, 137
Dutheil, N. F., devises plan of campaign for Austria and England, i. 206
Dutot, takes *N.'s* place in the West, i. 175
Duval's "William the Conqueror," ii. 225
Duvernet's "History of the Sorbonne," *N.'s* study of, i. 85
Dwina, River, fortifications on the, iii. 240: military movements on the, 255, 256, 259; iv. 2, 4
Dyle, River, military movements on the, iv. 186, 188

E

East, the, *N.'s* attention turned toward, i. 40: *N.'s* comparison of Europe with, ii. 31: *N.'s* dreams of empire in, see NAPOLEON
East Friesland, scheme to incorporate it with France, iii. 204
East Galicia, part of, ceded to Warsaw, iii. 184

East India Company, lends the island of St. Helena to the government, iv. 213
East Indies, England watches French policy concerning, ii. 171
East Prussia, Ney moves on, iii. 14
Ebelsberg, battle of, iii. 164
Ebrington, Lord, *N.'s* characterization of Cornwallis to, ii. 168: *N.'s* declaration to, concerning the Duc d'Enghien, 199
Ebro, River, military movements on, iii. 105, 123, 124, 142: proposed exchange of territory on, 105: boundary of French annexed territory, 213
Ecclesiastical princes, *N.* on the status of, ii. 18
Ecclesiastical principalities, secularization of, on the Rhine, ii. 125, 126
Ecclesiasticism, *N.'s* confusion of ideas concerning, i. 39
Eckmühl, the campaign of, iii. 157 et seq.
Education, demands for, in Corsica, i. 62: *N.'s* interest in, system and reforms of, 103; ii. 144–147, 203, 264; iii. 28, 72–74; iv. 230
Égalité, Philip, member of the National Convention, i. 111
Églé, Mme., guardian of the Beauharnais children, i. 190
Egypt, *N.'s* plans of conquest of, i. 262; ii. 11, 12, 21, 31–36, 184; iii. 85: scandals of Mameluke administration in, ii. 11, 32: French schemes of conquest, 11, 31–36; iii. 90, 91: importance of, ii. 31: rebellion in, 32: the expeditionary forces, 32–36: scholastic branch of the expedition, 36: plunder of, 36–38, 45: departure of expedition from Toulon, 37: character of the population, 38–41: the Mamelukes, 40: terrors of the campaign, 40, 41: the army disheartened, 41: Nelson follows the French fleet to, 42: *N.'s* rule in, 44, 45: *N.'s* religious masquerading in, 44, 45: establishment of printing presses in, 45: insurrection suppressed in, 45: establishment of an Institute in, 45: dearth of news from France, 45, 46, 54: rumors of *N.'s* death in, 46; despatches from France, Feb., 1799, 49: *N.* given leave to remain in, 49: importance of *N.'s* conquering, 50: Turkish preparations for the relief of, 51: attempted risings in, 52: Adm. Bruix sent to relieve the army in, 55; *N.* returns from, 55–58: the colonial idea, 56: the turning-point of success in, 56: Kléber prepares to evacuate, 94: Desaix recalled from, 116: desperate situation of the French in, 122, 123: Kléber's administration in, 123: assassination of Kléber, 135: French disasters in, 135: restored to Turkey, 135: England to evacuate, 168: Turkey's suzerainty over, 168: question of reëstablishing French colonies in, 176: *N.* disclaims designs on, 179: *N.'s* irritation at England's occupation of, 179: Davout's campaign in, 207: *N.'s* immoralities in, 209: plan to allure Nelson to, 212: the object of the expedition against, 215, 216: English commerce with, iii. 43: English expedition to seize, 81: French expedition against, in 1811, 234, 236: the tactics of the army in, adopted in Russia, iv. 2: *N.'s* desertion of the army in, likened to his conduct at Smergoni, 14: work on, compiled by *N.'s* order, 208: history of, 242
Eichstädt, portion of, acquired by Grand Duke of Tuscany, ii. 170: ceded to Bavaria, 252
Eisdorf, fighting at, iv. 36
Eisenach, military movements near, ii. 276, 278: the allies outwitted at, iv. 76
El Arish, siege and surrender of, ii. 47: massacre of the garrison, 47, 48: treaty between Sir Sidney Smith and Kléber at, 122, 123
Elba, *N.'s* literary labors at, i. 103; iv. 167: secured to France, ii. 132: France to evacuate, 168: Countess Walewska follows *N.* to, iii. 16: the sentence of exile to, iv. 145: the monarch of, 145, 148, 161: *N.'s* journey to, 149–154: possibility of her not receiving the imperial exile, 150: imperialist and royalist sentiment in, 154: *N.* begins his new administration, 154: *N.'s* life in, 154 et seq.: Bourbon spies in, 155: visitors to, 156: scheme to deport *N.* from, 157: *N.'s* escape from, 161–163, 204: the naval patrol at, 162: *N.'s* monograph on, 217
Elbe, River the, the Prussian base on, ii. 278: key to the valley of, iii. 2: English blockade of, 6, 42: western boundary of Prussia, 48: commanded by fortress of Magdeburg, 49: the kingdom of Westphalia created on, 49, 61: preparations to oppose English landing on, 60: French occupation of the coast near, 204: military movements on, iv. 27, 36, 37, 51, 55, 56, 63, 65–69: scheme of Hanoverian extension on, 32: territory on, offered to Sweden, 32: French recovery of the lower part, 37: boundary of a neutral zone, 43: exhaustion of the French on, 64: French garrisons on, 76
Elbing, military movements near, iii. 14, 17
Elchingen, Ney created Duke of, iii. 71. See NEY
"Elective Affinities," iii. 134
Electoral Colleges, ii. 159
Eliot, Sir Gilbert, viceroy of Corsica, i. 154
Elliott, killed at Arcole, i. 246
Elsfleth, escape of the Black Legion to, iii. 181
Elster, River, the, military operations on, iv. 35, 36, 65, 70–72, 75
Élysée, the, *N.* takes up residence at, iv. 167: *N.* returns from Waterloo to, 206, 207
Embabsh, battle of, ii. 41
Embargo, the, ii. 183, 251, 258; iii. 5
Emigrants, plots by, i. 100, 164, 197; ii. 193: confiscation of property of, and harsh legislation against, i. 100, 182, 191; ii. 64, 140: the aristocrats of the, i. 127: *N.'s* speculation in lands of, 172: attitude of the Directory toward, ii. 2, 24: *N.'s* secret dealings with, 6: Talleyrand among the, 22: encouraged to return, amnesty to, and indemnity for, 87, 158, 207, 266: *N.* complains of England harboring, ii. 174: *N.* demands their expulsion from Naples, 229: return to France under Louis XVIII., iv. 158: banished again from France, 165
Emigration, the, i. 57, 80, 87, 90, 169, 160
Emperor of the Two Americas, the, iii. 96
Empire, the French use of the term, ii. 160
Empire of the West, *N.* threatens to resuscitate the, ii. 175
Engen, battle of, ii. 109
Enghien, Duc d', arrest and murder of, i. 105; ii. 155, 194–197, 200, 202, 211, 267; iii. 86; iv. 152: monarchical schemes and plots of, ii. 154, 155, 192–194: character, 192: married to Princess Rohan-Rochefort, 192: seeks service with England, 192: residence at Ettenheim, 192–194: prepares to retire to Freiburg, 193: *N.* examines papers of, 195: *N.* defends the execution of, 198, 199: *N.* blames Talleyrand for his murder, 199; iii. 153: statements concerning *N.'s* connection with his murder, 162: *N.'s* self-blame for murder of, iv. 218
England, France's emulation of, i. 9: hampered by parliamentary opposition and American disquiet, 9: the American uprising against, 10, 11: Paoli's relations with, asylum in, and aid from, 10, 11, 68, 99, 116–118, 121–123, 154: gives aid to, establishes protectorate over, and takes possession of Corsica, 10, 64, 112, 121–123, 152–155: transformation of parties in, 11: *N.'s* study of history of, 40, 49, 60, 90: sympathy with France in, 80: French admirers of the constitution of, 81: constitutional government in, 87: closes the Scheldt, 115: republican ideas in, 115, 116: effect of execution of Louis XVI. in, 116: hostility between France and, 116, 197; ii. 21, 23, 96, 134, 173, 176–182, 259; iii. 6, 54, 89; iv. 16: *N.'s* ideas of serving, i. 123, 129, 192; ii. 10; iv. 226: subsidizes European powers, i, 131, 132; ii. 96, 121, 134, 169, 225, 230, 231, 241, 259, 274; iii. 217, 224; iv. 31, 32, 45, 48–50, 72, 73, 89, 99, 106, 170: naval establishment, expenses, and activity, i. 132, 260; ii. 134, 185; iii. 182: captures Ollioules, i. 134: in the defense and occupation of Toulon, 136, 141: naval operations and power on the Mediterranean (other than specifically mentioned items), 141, 153; ii. 10–12, 38, 167; iii. 89, 90: influence in Genoa, i. 143: prints counterfeit French money in Genoa, 145: fails to help the allies in Piedmont, 152, 153: *N.'s* attitude toward, Sept., 1794, 153: naval supremacy, 153, 197; ii. 10, 11, 33, 43, 134, 185, 238, 241, 242; iii. 41–43, 88–90, 205, 235; iv. 80: alliances with Austria, i. 164, 268; ii. 103, 105, 121, 122: sends fleet to northern coast of France, i. 178: subsidizes French royalists, 197: the fleet driven from Leghorn, 228: seizes Porto Ferrajo, 245: insurrection in Corsica against rule of, 248: blamed by *N.* for embroiling France and Austria, 269: rupture of the coalition with Austria, 272: military condition in 1796, 278: desire for peace with France, and negotiations leading thereto, 278, 279, 283; ii. 8, 59; iii. 208; iv. 44: interest in the Netherlands and Belgium, i. 279: prestige, magnificence of empire, influence, independence, etc., of, 283; ii. 30, 37, 50, 135, 169, 180, 254, 259; iii. 41, 61, 89, 147, 241, 242; iv. 47, 77, 153: defeats Spain at Cape St. Vincent, i. 283: price of consols, March, 1797, 283: effect of the treaty of Leoben in, ii. 8: conquest of Dutch colonies, 8, 25: *N.'s* personal hostility to, 9, 11, 94, 122, 179–182, 211; iii. 4–6, 43, 55, 56, 72, 88–91, 235, 250, 268; iv. 38, 105: speculations in Paris as to operations against, ii. 21: financial condition, 21, 134: Talleyrand expelled from, 22: defeats Holland at Camperdown, 25: acquires the Cape of Good Hope, 25: protects Sardinia, 26: *N.'s* schemes of invasion of, 32, 33, 184–187, 209, 211–216, 230–232: *N.'s* views on political history of, 34: her Indian possessions, and French and Russian schemes to strike her through them, 35, 126, 134, 168, 176; iii. 88, 90, 91: naval operations at Acre, ii. 48, 50: fleet at Alexandria, 55: joins the second coalition, 62, 90, 94: military operations in Holland, 62, 63; iii. 182, 208, 217, 224: completion of the work of the Revolution in, ii. 92: relations, negotiations, and alliances with Russia, 93, 135, 228, 229, 259, 262, 273; iii. 38, 43, 48, 59, 79–81, 83, 85, 93, 240, 244, 266, 267; iv. 26, 45, 80: reception of Russian soldiers in, after Alkmaar, ii. 93: siege, capture, and occupation of Malta, and negotiations concerning its cession and tenure, 93, 126, 135, 168, 171, 175, 176, 179, 182, 184, 225, 226, 228, 259: attitude toward the Bourbons, 94: declines to negotiate with *N.*, 94: prepares to invade France, 94: denounced by *N.* as author of the war of 1799, 94: debate in Parliament on *N.'s* accession as First Consul, 94, 95: hatred of revolutionary excesses, 95: alliance with Portugal, 102: opposes spread of revolutionary ideas, 103, 104: blockades Genoa, 108: formation of the "armed neutrality" against, 126: accused by Paul I. of treachery, 126: the Continental System and the embargo, *N.'s* commercial warfare against, 131, 132, 173, 183, 222, 242, 251, 258; iii. 5, 6, 40–43, 48, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60, 80, 82, 83, 88, 128, 185, 203, 205, 206, 208, 214, 217, 224, 225, 231, 232, 234, 249; iv. 47 (see also BERLIN DECREE; CONTINENTAL SYSTEM; MILAN DECREE): Portugal forced to withdraw from alliance with, ii. 132: reply to the "armed neutrality," 134, 135: *N.'s* demands for colonial cessions, 135: concludes peace with France, Oct. 1, 1801, 135: retains Ceylon and Trinidad, 135: treaty of Amiens, 135, 169, 171, 173, 175 et seq.; iv. 232: treaty of commerce with the United States, 1794, ii. 136: recognizes neutrality of United States, 136: attempts to put down San Domingo insurrection, 152: surrender of Rochambeau to, 153: schemes for restoration of Charles X. in, 154: to evacuate Egypt, 168: Paul I.'s antipathy to, 168: efforts to discredit France in Europe, 169 et seq.: disapproves *N.'s* reconstruction of Europe, 170, 171: appoints Lord Whitworth ambassador to Paris, 171: refuses to admit French consuls, 173: protests against the slave-trade, 173: commerce of, 173, 177; iii. 41, 43, 95, 203–205, 214, 220, 224, 235, 240; iv. 50, 80: position with regard to the Alien Act ii. 174: freedom of the press in, 174: complaints against, of harboring emigrants and Bourbons, 174: attacks of the French press on, 174, 187: *N.* attempts to muzzle the press in, 174, 228: *N.'s* answer to remonstrances from, 175:

England — *continued.*
occupation of Alexandria, 179: suspects France's war preparations, 179, 180: *N.'s* treatment of her representative, 179: the royal message of March 8, 1803, 180: the militia called out, March 10, 1803, 180: diplomatic rupture with France, 182: publication of Lord Whitworth's despatches in, 182: declares war against France, May 18, 1803, 182: declares embargo on French ships, 183: commencement of hostilities, 183: attacks Spanish commerce, 184: panic in, 185: plans for defense, 186, 210: puts Caraccioli to death, 191: interest in Jacobin insurrection, 191: active diplomacy in, 192: the Duc d'Enghien seeks to enter the service of, 192: *N.'s* attempt to fix the death of Duc d'Enghien on, 199: Pitt's return to power, 210: nature of the war with, 210: expulsion of her envoys from Stuttgart and Munich, 211: naval aid from Portugal, 212: war with Spain, Dec., 1804, 212: acquires Trinidad, 212: blockades Brest, 213: Addington succeeded by Pitt, 216: justice of the war with, 225: European alliances, 225: bad faith of, 225: *N.* insists on no asylum for the Bourbons in, 228: fails to secure Prussia's alliance, 229: *N.'s* policy toward, 231: author of the Third Coalition, 231: Mack's ideas of her invading France, 235: naval shortcomings, 238: battle of Trafalgar, 240-242: reception of the news of Austerlitz in, 254: lethargy after Trafalgar, 257: declares war against Prussia, 258: Fox assumes power, 258: *N.* considers peace with, 258, 259: Lord Yarmouth's negotiations, 261: *N.* offers European territory to, 261, 262: end of negotiations with, 262: alliance with Prussia and Russia, 262: demands the surrender of Sicily, 262: proposal to give Hanover to, 271, 273: state of war with Prussia, 274: her vulnerable point, iii. 5: "enemy's ships make enemy's goods," 5: the soul of Continental coalitions, 5: right of search and impressment, 6, 42, 81: Orders in Council, 6, 42, 81, 82, 203, 205, 208, 244; iv. 16: Turkey declares war against, iii. 23: sends fleet to Constantinople, 23: refuses subsidy to Russia, 23: Afghanistan incited against, 24: Persia stirred up against, 24: proposal for a new coalition, 25: naval operations in the Baltic, 26, 34, 35, 79, 80, 93: withholds subsidies, 34: troops in Pomerania, 35: Alexander promises to oppose, 38: opposed to Prussia's neutrality, 40: necessity for *N.'s* humbling, 40–43: France declares war against (1793), 41: "All the Talents" ministry, 41: Duke of Portland's ministry, 41: commercial rivalry with the United States, 41: the "rule of 1756," 41, 42: understanding with the United States, 42: declares blockade from Brest to the Elbe, 42: war with France (1803), 42: decline of manufactures, 42: failure of commercial negotiations with Sweden and Russia, 43: French demands on, 48: Russia to mediate between France and, 48: seizes the Portuguese fleet, 57: gains entrance to and is expelled from Leghorn, 67: offers to seize Denmark's fleet, 58: Denmark ordered to declare war against, 58: threatens to make Spanish South American colonies independent, 59: bombards Copenhagen, 59: enmity of Alexander I. to, 59: Parliament compared with the French tribunate, 68: decadence of primogeniture in, 69: seeks to conciliate Denmark, 80: Egyptian expedition, 81: expedition to Buenos Ayres, 81: Russia declares war against, 81, 83, 85: retaliates on Russia by Orders in Council, 81: announces blockade of European ports, 81, 82: decline of trade with the United States, 82: the war of 1812, 83, 244: Austria's secret sympathy with, 84: *N.* urges her restoration of the Danish fleet, 84: *N.'s* desire for peace with, 84, 90, 124, 207, 208; iv. 27, 83: contempt for the blockade, iii. 88: withdraws troops from Sicily, 89: sends troops to Portugal, 89, 96, 97, 123, 217: supposed assistance to Sweden, 91: proposed menace to, 91: blockades the Russian fleet, 93: promised coöperation of the Papal States against, 94: Portugal enforces the Berlin and Milan decrees against, 95: fate of her allies, 96: supports the House of Braganza, 96: outbreak of the Peninsular war, 97: benefits accruing from the troubles in Spain, 103: scheme to capture Cadiz, 105, 121: negotiations with Austria, 128: proposed humiliation of, 132: plans of *N.* and Alexander at Erfurt concerning, 137: *N.* fears an alliance between Turkey and, 137: exasperated at the capitulation of Cintra, 144: supposed plan to abandon Portugal, 145: tardiness at Corunna, 149: offers to subsidize Austria, 150: Austria appeals for assistance to, 174: escape of the Duke of Brunswick to, 181: expedition to Flushing, 182: necessity of bringing her to terms, 192: *N.'s* allegations against, 200: the lesson of Trafalgar, 202, 203: paper blockade by, 205: the neutralization system, 205: licenses violations of the Orders in Council, 205: Louis opens negotiations with, 207, 208: rejects Fouché's agent, 208: loss of trade with Portugal, Spain, and Triest, 208: threatened with loss of trade with Hanseatic towns and Holland, 208: United States prohibition of commercial intercourse with, 210: the Walcheren expedition, 208, 217, 224: *N.* proposes that she withdraw the Orders in Council of 1807, 208: proposal that she send joint expedition with France to establish Louis XVIII. in America, 208: seizure of American ships by, 211: Fouché's English-Dutch conspiracy, 211: destruction of her wares on the French borders, 214: Denmark's hostility to, 214: divided councils in, 217: expedition to Sicily, 217, 224: finds support in Spanish popular feeling, 217: strength of forces in the Peninsula, 217: attitude toward affairs in the Peninsula, 220, 221: depreciation of the currency, 224: expedition to Spain, 224: Mme. de Staël in, 229: *N.* hopes to meet her on the sea, 231, 232: threatened with bankruptcy, 232: exchange of prisoners with, 234: her colonial interests, 235: Russia opens her ports to, 240: refuses *N.'s* offer of peace in Spain, 242: armistice with Russia, 244: threatens to bombard Constantinople, 244: under Castlereagh's leadership, 249: to be driven from Spain, 249: arouses Sweden against France, 266: negotiates peace between Turkey and Russia, 266: distracted condition of politics in, iv. 15: naval defeats, 16: United

England — *continued.*
States declares war against, 16: assassination of Mr. Perceval, 16: negotiates treaty between Russia and Spain, July, 1812, 26: in grand European coalition against *N.*, 27: Metternich's negotiations with, 29: returns to Pitt's policy, 32: abandons Hanoverian schemes, 32: proposal to bleed her colonies, 38: proposed isolation of, 38: the allies' reliance on, 43: guarantees a war loan, 45: treaty with Prussia, June 14, 1813, 45: treaty with Russia, June 16, 1813, 45: issues paper money, 45: to be kept out of the Continental peace, 46: Metternich proposes that she continue the war, 47: commercial agreement with Sweden, 50: influence in Holland, 72, 80, 99: determination to crush France, 73: at the Congress of Frankfort, 80: proposal that she hand back French colonies, 80: "maritime rights," 80, 83: prolongation of the war in Spain, 87: desire to establish equilibrium in Europe, 99: signs treaty of Chaumont, 106: effect of the triple alliance on, 106: troops occupy Bordeaux, 114: party to the treaty of Fontainebleau (April, 1814), 148: distinction in, between the two Napoleons, 148: *N.* contemplates taking refuge in, 150: *N.'s* eulogy of her civilization and chivalry, 153: negotiates secret treaty with Austria and France, 157: regency in, 168: lack of suitable leaders in, 168: her dynastic alliances, 168, 169: effects of *N.'s* restoration on, 169: member of the Vienna Coalition, 170: campaign of Waterloo, 174–176: losses at Waterloo, 205: claims the glory of annihilating *N.*, 205: watches the harbor of Rochefort, 208, 209: *N.* throws himself on the generosity of, 209, 210: reasons for *N.'s* surrender to, 210, 211, 214: asylum for political refugees, 211: intolerance of death penalty for political offenses, 212: resolves to banish *N.*, 212–215: *N.* desires to acquire citizenship in, 213: sympathy for *N.* in, 214, 216, 217: passes special acts for government of St. Helena, 215: *N.'s* last wishes for, 218: the Seven Years' War, 230, 245: character of the wars with France, 233, 234: *N.'s* struggles with, 245: wars with the United States, 247

English Channel, the, marching French troops to, ii. 16: naval operations in, 35: obstacles to *N.'s* crossing, 185, 186: *N.'s* hope to hold, 212: French plans for seizing, 213: Villeneuve ordered to, 230: Villeneuve's attempt to enter, 239

Enns, River, military operations on the, ii, 236; iii. 167

Entail, restoration of the right of, iii. 67: abolition of the law of, 69

Enzersdorf, military operations near, iii. 169, 170, 175

Enzersfeld, military movements near, iii. 168

Épernay, captured by the allies, iv. 119

"Epochs of My Life," i. 42

Eppes, Marmont at, iv. 108

Equality, *N.'s* affectation of love for, ii. 20: one of the meanings of the word, 142

Equality of citizenship, decreed, i. 57

Erasmus, tomb of, iv. 220

Erding, battle of, iii. 164

Erfurt, military movements near, ii. 276: the Duke of Brunswick at, 278: fall of, iii. 2: meeting of *N.* and Alexander at, 132 et seq.: treaty of, 137, 138, 182, 188, 191, 239: *N.'s* maladroitness at, 138: *N.'s* vacillation at, 140: the conference at, 150: Alexander redeems his promise made at, 182: offered to Alexander and refused by him, 220: the throne of, offered to the Duke of Oldenburg, 234: Alexander offers to exchange Oldenburg for, 249: French troops ordered to, 249: French forces at, iv. 28: *N.* goes to, 33: plan of winter quarters at, 67: Saxon and Bavarian troops at, 76: Murat deserts at, 90

Erlon, Gen. d', in the Waterloo campaign, iv. 174, 175, 179, 185: battle of Quatre Bras, 182–186: *N.'s* expression of indignation at Ney to, 186: battle of Waterloo, 196, 197, 200

Erskine, Lord, on England's attitude with regard to France, ii. 95

Escoiquiz, Canon, tutor to Ferdinand VII., iii. 99: letter to *N.*, Oct. 12, 1808, 99, 100: defends Ferdinand's position, 112: notified by *N.* of Ferdinand's deposition, 113, 114: infamy of, 117

Escorial, Godoy's intrigues at the, iii. 100: Charles IV. a virtual prisoner in, 111

Escudier, J. F., commissioner of the National Convention, i. 131

Esdraelon, battle on the plains of, ii. 49

Esla, River, military movements on the, iii. 146

Espagne, Gen. J. L. B., in battle of Aspern, iii. 170

Espinosa, defeat of Blake at, iii. 144

Essarts, Ledru des, evacuates Meaux, iv. 123: seduced by Marmont, 142

"Essay on Revolutions" (Chateaubriand's), ii. 165, 166

Essen, Gen. H. H., in campaign of Eylau, iii. 18

Essenbach, military operations near, iii. 160

Essling, battle of, iii. 169–172, 174–176, 179: *N.* exposes himself at, 185: effect of rising of the river at, iv. 19

Essling, Prince of. See MASSÉNA

Essonne, River, military operations on the, iv. 136

Essonnes, *N.* at, iv. 128: Marmont at, 142: Marmont's defection at, 144

Establishment of St. Louis, the female academy at St. Cyr, i. 107. See also ST. CYR

Estates, the, meetings at Versailles, i. 49, 56

Estates, the three, i. 22: in the seventeenth century, 55

Estates-General, meetings of the, i. 44, 45, 55, 56: fusion of the three bodies, 56: troops ordered to control the, 56

Esterhazy, Princc, at the marriage of Maria Louisa, iii. 197

Étoges, battle of, iv. 97: military movements near, 97, 119

Etruria, creation of the kingdom of, ii. 132: death of King Louis, 149, 150; iii. 57: exchanged for Louisiana, ii. 174: under French protection, 229: *N.* calls for alliance with, iii. 58: neutrality of, 56: scheme to incorporate in Italy, 56: proposal

Etruria — *continued.*
that Lucien take the crown of, 102: abdication of the queen regent, 102: incorporated into the kingdom of Italy, 102: the crown offered to Ferdinand VII., 114: *N.*'s disposition of, 128
Ettenheim, residence of the Duc d'Enghien at, ii. 192–194: reputed emigrant conspiracy at, 193: Ordener's expedition to, 194: arrest of the Duc d'Enghien at, 194: Caulaincourt's mission to, iii. 86
Eulen Mountains, military movements near, iv. 42
Euphrates, proposed military operations on the, iii. 91
Europe, movement of civilization in, i. 1, 2: the revolutionary epoch and spread of revolutionary ideas in, 1, 52 et seq.; ii. 30, 59, 103: absolutism, its decay and abolition, i. 34; iii. 213; iv. 169, 225, 241: aroused feelings, concerted movements, and coalitions against France, i. 80, 197; ii. 35, 46, 59, 62, 90, 93, 95, 126, 173, 210, 211, 223; iii. 5, 60, 86; iv. 15, 19, 27, 28, 32, 45, 157, 168–170: *N.* on the sovereigns of, i. 90: the Directory and, 197–203: neutrality of northern, 206: conditions of civilization and warfare in (1796), 210: the destinies of, dependent on fate of Italy, 212, 256: *N.* a citizen of, 248: schemes of reconstruction of the map of, 262; ii. 170, 228, 259; iii. 45, 48, 60, 61, 154; iv. 32, 48, 52, 55, 156, 157: schemes of pacification of, i. 277; ii. 131, 137, 228; iii, 234; iv. 19, 38, 43, 44, 46, 47, 105: France's foreign policy in, ii. 2: schemes of Napoleonic and French empire over, 6, 19, 138, 175, 215, 227; iii. 87, 91; iv. 38: *N.* on the freedom of, ii. 20; iii. 68: *N.*'s relations to, and influence on, ii. 25, 91, 137, 175; iii. 139; iv. 148, 246: upheavals in the politics of, ii. 27–30, 170: compared by *N.* with the Orient, 31: general armament of (1798), 46: *N.*'s visions of military domination in, 50: situation of affairs at close of 1799, 59: jealousy in, concerning the Mediterranean, 90: *N.* the destroyer of, 95: influence of England in, and her subsidies to the powers of, 96, 121, 134, 169, 225, 230, 231, 241, 259, 274; iii. 217, 224; iv. 31, 32, 45, 48–50, 72, 73, 89, 99, 106, 170: situation of affairs at beginning of 1800, ii. 101 et seq.: efforts of the Directory to extend the French system in, 102, 103: Prussia's place in, 102; iii. 22: military situation in (1800), ii. 105: the "armed neutrality," 126: reduction of Austria as a power in, 126: the old dynasties and the dynastic idea in, 126, 173, 202, 203; iii. 56, 120, 127, 154; iv. 44, 82: anxiety in, as to permanency of Peace of Amiens, ii. 167: destruction of the balance of power, 170: *N.*'s warning to, March 13, 1803, 182: *N.*'s views on Continental conquest, 185: *N.*'s notification to, in the murder of the Duc d'Enghien, 202: the embargo, blockades, and other commercial warfare in, 214, 222, 242; iii. 6, 6, 43, 48, 80–82, 88, 110, 214, 234, 249 (see also BERLIN DECREE; CONTINENTAL SYSTEM; MILAN DECREE): outbreak of war in 1805, ii. 223: *N.* arrayed against, 225: the price of the hegemony of, 253: Fox upholds existing sovereignties in, 261: necessity of colonial produce to, iii. 6: Russia's ambition to be included in, 40: general warfare in, 41: English monopoly of commerce, 41: law of colonial trade, 41: Alexander I. on politics of, 45: St. Petersburg holds the peace of, 65: *N.*'s hopes of a coalition in, against England, 65: general Sanhedrim of, 63, 64: influence of the peace of Tilsit on, 77: a moment of universal anarchy for, 84: the situation in, 94: power of the word "legitimacy" in, 116: growth of the national idea in, 120, 127, 154, 206; iv. 241 (see also GERMANY; PRUSSIA): the right of force in, iii. 128: the French idea of their great cause in, 165, 166: views on *N.*'s second marriage, 197: publicity of *N.*'s domestic concerns throughout, 212: system of private confiscations, 226: rejoicings over the birth of the king of Rome, 230: the condition of, set forth in *N.*'s reply to the Paris Chamber of Commerce, 231, 232: *N.*'s coast-system of protection, 234: apprehensions of war in, 239, 241: tendency toward rupture of the peace of, 241: the Russian march of French troops over, 250: *N.*'s scheme for two powers in, 250: responsibility of Kutusoff for bloodshed in, iv. 13: Austria a pivotal state in, 35, 39, 40: *N.* desires to avoid the reprobation of, 43: a neutral zone for, 43: peace congress of, 43, 44: nervousness among the allies, 64: Prussia acquires the hegemony of Continental, 77: distrust among the allies, 79, 80: the commercial key to central, 80: struggle for manhood suffrage in, 82: exactions of the allies in central, 89: the armed forces of, Jan. 1, 1814, 90: jealousies among the powers, 91, 92: England's desire to establish equilibrium in, 99: military outrages in, 124: mobilization of troops, 170: notified that the Empire means peace, 170: possible consequences of *N.*'s success at Waterloo, 205: the doctrine of legitimacy, 212: France the teacher of, 225: abolition of feudalism and ecclesiasticism, 225: progress of reform in, 231: a bellicose age in, 232: influence of Charles the Great on, 241: the armies of modern, 243: the alliances of, 243: the national politics of, 246
Eutritzsch, military operations near, iv. 72
Exagérés, the, i. 138
Executive Council, establishment of the, i. 111: military preparations by, 115
Exelmans, Gen. R. J. I., corresponds with the Emperor, iv. 159: in Waterloo campaign, 176
Extravagance, at outbreak of the Revolution, i. 54
Eylau, the campaign of, iii. 17 et seq.; iv. 176: the causes of *N.*'s weakness at, iii. 28: the grand army after, 40: the lessons of 259

F

Family relations, under the Code, ii. 144
Fanaticism, iv. 231, 232
Fauvelet, *N.*'s school friend, i. 104
Faypoult, G. C., French political agent in Genoa, ii. 7
Feltre, creation of hereditary duchy of, ii. 255: Clarke created Duke of, iii. 71. See CLARKE
Feraud, murder of, i. 168
Ferdinand, Archduke, commanding Austrian army in Germany, ii. 233: escapes into Bohemia, 235: at Ulm, 235: commanding in Bohemia, 245: invades Poland and captures Warsaw, iii. 154, 166: vicissitudes in Poland, 164: evacuates Warsaw, 165: on the way to Charles's assistance, 174
Ferdinand of Parma, ii. 132
Ferdinand I., King of Naples, ii. 229; iii. 242. See also FERDINAND IV.
Ferdinand III., flees to Vienna, ii. 59, 60
Ferdinand IV., position in 1797, i. 260: evacuates the Papal States, 131: compelled to restore plunder, 131
Ferdinand VII. (see also ASTURIAS, PRINCE OF), letters to *N.*, iii. 108, 112, 116: seeks *N.*'s favor, 108, 117: enters Madrid, 109: doubtful recognition of his throne, 110: hinted order that he go to Bayonne, 111, 112: at Vitoria, 112: revulsion of Spanish feeling against, 112: goes to Bayonne, 112, 113: *N.*'s attitude toward, 112–118: orders for his arrest, 113: deposed, 113–115: character, 114, 116, 117: offers to surrender his crown, 114: the crown of Etruria offered to, 114: trial at Bayonne, 114: popularity in Spain, 114, 121: pension and grant to, 115: in virtual custody of Talleyrand, 115, 116: cowed into submission, 115, 118: asks *N.*'s adoption and permission to appear at court, 200: release of, iv. 87, 88: relapses into absolutism and ecclesiasticism, 88
Fère-Champenoise, the Emperor at, iv. 114: military movements near, 117: retreat of the French through, 123
Fermo, consolidated with the kingdom of Italy, iii. 94
Ferrara, the Pope prepares to recover, i. 245: new scheme of government for, 247: surrendered to France, 260: ceded to Venice at Leoben, 271: incorporated in the Cisalpine Republic, ii. 14
Ferrol, reported junction of French and Spanish fleets at, ii. 230: blockade of, 231: Villeneuve's retreat to, 239: supposed English schemes at, iii. 145, 146
Fersen, Count, essays to represent Sweden at Congress of Rastatt, ii. 18
Fesch, Joseph, i. 15: childhood with *N.*, 20: appointed to seminary at Aix, 22: *N.*'s correspondence with, 28, 41, 79, 80: enters the priesthood, 32: returns to Corsica, 59: literary collaborator with *N.*, 67, 83: member of the constituent assembly at Orezza, 72: custodian of *N.*'s papers, 77: supplanted as head of family by *N.*, 94: radical leader at Ajaccio, 108: leaves Corsica for Toulon, 123: in commissary department at Toulon, 124: storekeeper in commissary department, 135: escapes arrest, 151: at Aix, 174: conforms to the civil constitution, ii. 132: archbishop of Lyons and cardinal, 165: reënters the church, 165: Grand Almoner, 207: selects a physician for *N.*, iv. 218
Feudal system, in Corsica, i. 3, 7: remnants of the, 34: absorption of its power in the French crown, 52: abolition of, 67, 87, 114; ii. 144; iii. 70, 147; iv. 225: the oath of the Legion of Honor concerning, ii. 159: *N.*'s influence on, iii. 245: French hatred of, iv. 81, 82
Feuillants, the, i. 88: form a ministry, 102: fall of the ministry, 105
Fichte, J. G., member of the reform party in Prussia, ii. 270: influence on Prussian regeneration, iii. 83
Fifth Regiment (French) *N.* offers himself to the bullets of the, iv. 164
Fifty-second Regiment (English), in battle of Waterloo, iv. 202
Figueras, captured by the French, iii. 105
Filangieri, Gaëtano, *N.*'s study of, i. 40
Finance, an occult doctrine of, iv. 25
Finisterre, Cape, Calder encounters Villeneuve off, ii. 230
Finkenstein, *N.* at, iii. 22, 23, 26: Persian envoy at, 23
Finland, Russian ambition to acquire, iii. 35, 80, 91, 131, 137: Russia's claims to, recognized at Tilsit, 47: acquired by Russia, 54, 182, 191, 205, 215, 236, 240: Russian invasion of, 92, 93: Russia threatened with the loss of, 239: offered to Sweden by *N.*, 243
Fioravente, Gen., captured at Verona, i. 273
First Consul, the office of the, ii. 85
Fischbach, military movements near, iv. 63
Fismes, *N.* aims to strike the Prussians at, iv. 106: Marmont rallies his troops at, 109, 110: junction of Marmont and Mortier at, 119: Marmont retreats to, 123
Fitz-James, Edward, royalist intrigues of, iv. 129
Fiume, reoccupied by Austria, i. 268: seized by *N.*, 268: *N.* proposes to cede, iv. 49
Five Hundred, the, i. 161: their representation of public sentiment, ii. 1: inquiry in, as to *N.*'s independence, 2: its members proscribed, 5: Jacobin majority in, 64, 66: Bonapartes among, 65: Lucien Bonaparte elected president, 66, 72: *N.* at the meetings of, 18th and 19th Brumaire, 72, 76–81: counterplots against *N.* among, 74: opposition by, 75–80: meeting of Bonapartist members of, 80, 81: adopts the Consulate, 83: deposition of members, 84: rewards among, for complacency, 84
Flahaut, Gen. A. C. J., sent to seek Marmont's advice, iv. 135: advises a return to Lorraine, 136: bearer of despatch from *N.* to Ney, 185
Flanders, *N.* in, i. 41, 42: *N.*'s journey to, iii. 237. See AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS; BATAVIAN REPUBLIC; DUTCH FLANDERS; HOLLAND; NETHERLANDS
Fleurus, battle of, i. 163: Jourdan's victory at, ii. 206: military operations near, iv. 176–178, 181: *N.* at, 181, 185
Florence, the Buonaparte family in, i. 12, 14, 22, 23, 41: position in the French empire, iii. 214: sends deputation to Paris, iv. 17
Flushing, Holland's indemnity for, ii. 102: English capture of, iii. 182: *N.* builds ships at, 183

Fombio, battle of, i. 218
Fontainebleau, Pius VII. at, ii. 218: treaty of, iii. 69: social vices at, 75: treaty of (Oct. 10, 1807), 84: *N.'s* court at, 87, 189, 230: diplomatic negotiations at, 94: treaty of (Oct. 28, 1807), for partition of Portugal, 95, 96, 104, 105, 116, 118: *N.'s* harsh treatment of Josephine at, 139: imprisonment of Pius VII. at, 187; iv. 15, 25, 26: the decree (of Oct. 18, 1810), iii. 214: the Concordat of, iv. 26, 27: military movements near, 100, 103, 126: *N.* at, 128, 136, 166: *N.* reviews the Guard at, 136, 137: treasonable utterances of the marshals at, 137, 138: scene of *N.'s* abdication, 139, 140: council of war at, 144: treaty of (April, 1814), 148, 150, 151, 153, 155–157, 162: *N.* leaves, for Elba, 150
Fontanes, Marquis de, oration on Washington by, ii. 97, 98: retires from presidency of the senate, iii. 225: grand master of the university, 225
Fontenaye, Mme. de, i. 190. See also TALLIEN, MME.
Forchheim, *N.'s* base, ii. 275, 276
Forez Regiment, the, i. 81
Forfait, P. A. L., Secretary of the Navy, ii. 87
Förstgen, military operations near, iv. 66
Fort Bard, ii. 111, 113
Fort Carre, *N.'s* confinement in, i. 150–162
Fortification, *N.'s* essay on, iv. 217
Fort Luco, fires on French ship at Porto di Lido, i. 273, 276
Fort Mulgrave, capture of, i. 136
Fouché, Joseph, describes atrocities at Toulon, i. 137: opposes Robespierre, 148: Minister of Police, ii. 63, 206, 267: joins the Bonapartist ranks, 72: detection of plots by, 74: *N.'s* confidence in, 99: attitude toward the conspirators of Nivôse, 154, 155: suspected of Jacobinism, 155: disgraced, degraded, and banished, 155, 177; iii. 139, 211: character, ii. 177; iii. 149, 195, 204, 208; iv. 169: instigates Moreau's letter to *N.*, ii. 191: urges action against Bourbon plotters, 194: ordered to supervise correspondence from the army, iii. 27: created Duke of Otranto, 71: licenses vice in Paris, 76: whips in the nobility to the imperial court, 76: favors Ferdinand VII., 99, 100: share in the matter of Josephine's divorce, 139, 140: raises national guards for service in the Netherlands, 183: on the second marriage of *N.*, 195: advocates alliance with Russia, 195: member of extraordinary council on *N.'s* second marriage, 195: raises troops to repel the Walcheren expedition, 195: the superserviceable Mephistopheles of the empire, 208: intervenes in Holland's negotiations with England, 208: English-Dutch conspiracy, 211: returns from exile in Italy, 247, 248: memorializes against war, 248: warns *N.* of the fate of Charles XII., 248: recalled to active service, iv. 48: double intrigues of, 159: neutrality of, 165: member of *N.'s* new cabinet, 167: military conspiracy of, 168: plots against *N.*, 170, 171: attitude after Waterloo, 206, 207: member of the new Directory, 207: refuses responsibility for *N.'s* safety, 208
Fougé, Mme., *N.'s* relations with, ii. 209
Fouquier-Tinville, A. Q., execution of, i. 162
Fourcroy, A. F., member of the council of state, ii. 100, 137: organizer of the educational system of France, 146, 147
Fourth Artillery, treason in the, i. 101
Fourth Regiment, *N.'s* service in the, i. 85, 92
Fox, Charles James, on French military successes, i. 163: reports *N.* as favorable to peace, ii. 175: defends France in Parliament, 175: visits *N.* at Paris, 175: bias toward France, 180: lays aside French sympathies, 186: secretary of state, 254: becomes prime minister, 258: declares war against Prussia, 258: negotiations with *N.*, 258, 259, 261, 262: supposed peace policy of, 259: upholds the claims of existing sovereignties in Europe, 261: compelled to adopt Pitt's program, 262: death, 262; iii. 41
Foy, Gen. M. S., Masséna's envoy to Paris, iii. 220, 221: brings orders for reinforcements, 221: in the Waterloo campaign, iv. 175: battle of Waterloo, 195
France, convention with Genoa regarding Corsica, i. 6, 8: emulation of England, 9: her colonial ambitions, possessions, and losses, 9, 279; ii. 2, 153, 174, 179; iii. 48, 69; iv. 244: precedent for her aid to American colonies, i. 10: relation of the army to the throne, 34: *N.* studies her history and politics, 40, 49, 103: *N.'s* bitterness against, 41, 42, 44, 47, 66, 75, 76: outbreak of the Revolution of 1789 in, 52 et seq.: social conditions and customs, the domestic relations, etc., 52–57, 114, 158, 173; ii. 30, 127, 129, 130, 137, 144, 203; iii. 63, 65–71, 73, 125; iv. 24, 25, 27, 85, 229, 231, 244: financial troubles, issues of paper money, financial policies and reforms, i. 54, 172, 198; ii. 32, 88, 89, 120, 140, 141, 148, 203, 265, 266; iii. 27, 61, 62, 65, 153, 225, 232; iv. 24, 25, 229: declared a limited monarchy, i. 55: the rise of popular government, 57: destruction of feudalism, 67; iii. 70, 245: adoption of the tricolor, i. 57: the end of absolutism, 64: the title and position of the king, 64, 86, 91: Corsica and Navarre joined to, 65: disorganization of the army, 79: changes in, 79–81: patriotism, spirit of national unity, military enthusiasm, etc., 79, 89, 91, 92, 116, 158–160, 198; ii. 96, 103, 145, 204; iii. 13, 153, 245, 246; iv. 22, 23, 104, 175: the first stage of transformation in, i. 86: famine, 86: the problem of government, 86–88, 91, 92: geographical reconstruction, 87: failure of reform, 87, 88: split on the subject of monarchy, 88: the national oath, 89: fear of war, 89, 90: vicissitudes of royalism in; Bourbon and anti-Bourbon sentiment and intrigues, 89, 159, 165, 178; ii. 5, 15, 65, 82, 87, 151, 192; iv. 86, 109, 134, 135, 143: desertion of troops to Austria, i. 101: anarchy, 101, 138: outbreak of insurrection, June 20, 1792, 102: the Republic, 103: expected coalition against, 110: efforts at and failures of constitutional government, 110, 158, 168; ii. 63, 68, 69, 77, 82, 158; iii. 225; iv. 165, 167, 171, 227 (see also specific constitutions mentioned infra): abolition of the monarchy, i. 111, 115, 158; ii. 203: declaration of the republic, i. 111:
France — *continued.*
establishment of an executive council, 111: political parties, 111: the republican calendar, 111; ii. 165, 222, 262: the dictatorship, i. 115: preparing for foreign war, 115: declares war against England, 116: *N.'s* personal relations with and influence on; the likes and dislikes of the French people for *N.*, 124–126, 196, 225, 226; ii. 19, 66, 67, 88, 94, 100, 101, 120, 130, 138, 140, 175, 187, 210; iii. 10, 27, 55, 61, 62, 65, 66, 125, 131, 240; iv. 17, 22, 80–83, 85, 86, 89, 124, 141, 142, 147, 148, 158, 160, 162, 218, 226, 229, 231, 242–245: civil war, i. 127 et seq.; ii. 94, 96: massacres, i. 138: militarism, 147–149, 183; ii. 50; iii. 125: difficulties of a new political programme, i. 159–161: confiscation of lands, 160: adoption of ancient Roman governmental systems, 160, 161: the Directory, 161 et seq.: land and labor troubles, 162: purging of the army, 163: military successes, 163: territorial ambitions, 164: suspected influences in the army, 165: the constitution of 1795, 165, 175, 178, 179, 182–184, 186, 200–202; ii. 1, 63, 66: reaction in, i. 166: condition of the press, 167; ii. 96, 162, 174, 187: growth of science, literature, and the arts, i. 167; iii. 27, 28, 72, 227, 229: woman in, i. 173: British views of affairs in, 178: English fleet on northern coast, 178: military dictatorship, 183: parties, 183, 184: the regicides in, 186: coalitions against, 197; ii. 26, 59, 62, 90: cursed by absolutism, i. 198: the popular conception of its boundaries, 198: struggle for and achievement of liberty and civil rights, 198, 199; ii. 84, 90, 167, 187, 202; iii. 68; iv. 77, 78, 167, 244: the Thirteenth Vendémiaire, i. 199: foreign policy, 199: intestinal troubles, 199: military dictator of Europe, 202: condition at opening of 1796, 202, 203: a new lease of national life for, 204: military strength and recuperative power, 208–210; ii. 6, 8, 9, 105; iii. 29, 246; iv. 23, 24, 33, 84, 86, 93, 109, 125, 128: vicissitudes of her naval power, i. 208, 210; ii. 212, 214, 230, 231, 238, 241, 242; iii. 239; iv. 105: apex of revolutionary greatness, i. 212: preëminence in Europe, 212: rejoicings over Lodi, 220: foreign populations well disposed toward, 236: Eastern policy, 262; ii. 32: dissatisfaction with treaty of Leoben, i. 272: desire for peace, ii. 1, 92, 121, 157, 255; iii. 90, 153; iv. 64, 87, 88, 165: suicide among naval officers, ii. 2: internal administration, offices and office-holders, and public works, 2, 85, 99–101, 139–148, 174, 178; iii. 62, 74, 125, 192, 226, 227, 230; iv. 85, 244: the Eighteenth of Fructidor, ii. 5: martial law in, 6: punctiliousness in exacting war indemnities, 8: exasperation at England's mastery of the seas, 10, 11: aspirations toward "liberty of the seas," 11: educational methods and reforms, 22, 144–148; iii. 28, 72–74; iv. 230, 244: *N.* constructive commander-in-chief, ii. 24: makes war only against tyrannical dynasties, 28: schemes of world-conquest, 31: popular ideas concerning the Egyptian campaign, 46: *N.* summoned to take supreme command, 55: elections, May, 1799, 62: relations between church and state, religious sentiment, the clergy, etc., 62, 87, 132, 133, 138, 139, 144, 146, 165, 203, 257; iii. 57, 73, 95, 233; iv. 24–26, 158, 159, 167, 225, 229, 244: fears of a revival of the Terror, ii. 63: the draft in, 64; iv. 22, 23 (see also CONSCRIPTION): arbitrary tariff in, ii. 64: thirst for glory and booty in, 64, 127, 160, 172, 232; iii. 13, 68, 245; iv. 85, 221: the constitution of 1799, ii. 66, 68, 69, 80, 81, 84, 85, 90, 97, 99, 100, 106, 165, 156, 158, 167: "the pear is ripe," 67, 70: need of a Cromwell, 81: feelings of the various parties, 83: adoption of the Roman consular system, 83: the plebiscite of Dec. 15, 1799, 86, 90: the new charter, 86: compulsory loans, 88: disgust at demagogues, 88: results of the upheaval of Brumaire, 88: taxation methods and reforms, 89, 101, 141, 224; iii. 65, 232; iv. 24: end of the provisional consulate, ii. 90: two policies open to *N.*, 91: confidence in the new administration, 92: English preparations to invade, 94: the inveterate foe of England, 96: salaries of the First Consul, consuls, and other officers, 99, 100: the legislative system, 99–101, 155; iii. 68 (see also titles of its various branches): the judicial system, and legal abuses and reforms, ii. 99–101, 142–144, 195, 204; iv. 229, 244: isolation against England and Austria, ii. 103: *N.'s* scheme of leadership among nations, 103: her fate identified with that of *N.*, 104: inefficiency of the department of war, 108: use of the term "citizen," 127: public festivals, 127: use of the term "empire," 127, 160: the center of a system of republics, 132: characteristics and temperaments of her people, 132, 162, 167, 202; iii. 199; iv. 82, 175, 225: satisfaction with the peace of Amiens, ii. 137: *N.'s* reorganization of, 137 et seq.: aspirations toward a European empire, 138: position in Europe in 1801, 138: political centralization, 139, 187; iii. 126; iv. 118, 121, 229, 230, 242, 243: usury in, ii. 140, 141; iii. 63, 64; iv. 85: speculation in, ii. 140: the Ministry of the Interior, 140: crime in, 140: confiscation of crown and emigrants' lands, 140: levy of forced contributions by, 141: revival of the public credit, 141: commerce, agriculture, and industries in, 141, 174, 223, 224; iii. 62, 63, 125, 192, 203, 225, 231, 232; iv. 15, 85: compared with the Roman empire, ii. 143: tendency toward one-man government, 148: discontent of the republicans, 148: tendency toward a paternal government, 151: the Consulate compared with the Roman empire, 151: plebiscite on question of hereditary consulship, 158, 159: prerogatives of the government, 160: her cup of satisfaction full, 160: *N.* the personification of, 162: autocratic power of the government, 162: restoration of public confidence, 165: sanctions *N.'s* schemes of European reorganization, 170: arbitrary shipping regulations, 173: protective policy, 173: restores the slave-trade, 173: sequestrations of English property in, 173: influence of the bourgeoisie, 178: prepares naval armaments, 179: importation of English goods into, forbidden, 183: disregard for treaty stipulations, 183: seizure of English prisoners of war in, 183: declares embargo on British ships, 183: failure of the Revolution to give political freedom to, 187: effect of Moreau's fate on the moderate republicans,

France—*continued.*
191: police system, 191, 267; iv. 229: law of treason in, ii. 195: indignation over the death of the Duc d'Enghien, 199: the days before the empire, 202 et seq.: *N.'s* conception of the empire, 202, 203: question of consular heredity, 203: reforms in, 203, 204: creation of the empire, 205 et seq.: the constitution of 1804, 205, 206: the question of hereditary empire, 206: imperial titles in, 206: creation of marshals, 206: *N.'s* civil list, 206; the imperial heraldic device, 206, 207: *N.'s* distinction between the state and the empire, 207, 255, 261: scheme of a great empire, 211: her generals and admirals contrasted, 214: blockades European ports, 214: destruction of the Pope's hopes for ecclesiastical matters in, 221, 222: restoration of the Gregorian calendar, 222: European apprehensions as to her assumptions, 223: decline in government bonds, 224; iii. 26; iv. 85: union of the crowns of Italy and, ii. 226: position in the European balance, 227; iii. 41: military commanders, ii. 234: naval power shattered at Trafalgar, 241, 242: preeminence of, 254: the court of (1806), 262, 263, 266, 267: the imperial catechism, 264: venality of officials, 265; iii. 225: Continental conquests, 6: right of search and impressment, 6: the supports of the empire, 26: likened to a cephalopod, 26: founding of military factories, 27: declares war against England (1793), 41: colonial trade, rule of 1756, 41, 42: closes harbors to English ships, 42: to mediate between Russia and Turkey, 48: desire for naval allies, 56: effect of the treaty of Tilsit in, 60: her European relations, 61: lays other countries under commercial tribute, 62: journeys of the Emperor and Empress through, 62: the Semitic question in, 62–64; iv. 229: panic of 1805, iii. 65: appreciation of government bonds, 65: prosperity, 66: creation of hereditary legislators, 67: the right of entail, 67, 69: the aristocracy, 69–71: creation of a noble class, 70, 71: salaries of ministers and ambassadors, 71: the prefecture, 72: restriction of commerce with the United States, 83: lack of an heir to the throne, 90: proposed supremacy in Europe, 91: secret compact with Spain for partition of Portugal, 95: negotiates for rights in Spanish colonies, 105: welcome to the grand army in, 141: rival schools of history in, 162: the army and nation exhausted, 173: discontent in, 180, 192, 247; iv. 85–88. cession of Austrian territory to, iii. 184: growing independence of the nobility, 192: absolutist tendency, 196: enthusiasm over *N.'s* second marriage, 198–200: transplantation of the ecclesiastical establishments from Rome to, 198, 202: creation of the Papal departments of Rome and Trasimenus, 201, 202: overpowered by England at sea, 202, 203: monopolies in, 204: violations of the Continental System in, 204: scheme to incorporate new lands into, 204: seizure of American vessels by, 210, 211, 244: part of the North Sea coast incorporated into the empire, 213, 220: enlargement of the empire, 214: vassal states, 214: a central bureaucracy in, 214: proposal to incorporate Spain into, 216: the natural extensions of, 216: principle of punishment by confiscation, 226: Russian discrimination against goods from, 220: enthusiasm in, over birth of the King of Rome, 230: the successor to the Frankish dominion of Charles the Great, 231: military expenses, 232: revenue from contributions, 232: the war method of replenishing the treasury, 232, 235: exchange of prisoners with England, 234: expeditions against Sicily, Egypt, and Ireland, 234, 235: Russia's virtual declaration of war against, 237: effect of the Continental System on industry, 245: "flying columns," 245: admiration for the empire in, 245: general confidence in, 248: intrigues leading to the Russian campaign of 1812, 249–252: scarcity of provisions in, 250: Malet's conspiracy, iv. 4, 14, 15: revolutionary spirit in, 14, 15: effect of the Russian failure in, 15: civil officials whipped into line, 17: relief for soldiers' families, 17: plan of regency for, 18: reception of stragglers from Russia in, 22: the stimulus of bad news in, 22: seizure of communal domains, 24, 25: proposed "guard of honor," 25: *N.* threatens to abolish the legislature, 25: value of the Austrian alliance to, 25, 26: possibility of *N.'s* becoming king of, 32: proposed territorial concessions by, 38: scheme to confine her to the west bank of the Rhine, 49: exhaustion of, 51: demoralization of the marshals, 59, 60: military reverses, 64: revulsion of feeling of Bavaria and Saxony regarding, 64: England's determination to crush, 73: death-throes of the empire, 77: her "natural boundaries," 80: the Frankfort proposals as to territorial changes, 80–83: hatred of dynastic rule, 81: failure of popular sovereignty, 81: hatred of feudalism, 81, 82: movements for the expulsion of the invaders, 82: publication of the allies' proclamation in, 83; losses of the wars of 1812–1813, 84: the home guard, 86: radical agitation in, 86: "sedentary" volunteers, 86: panics, 87: imperialist sentiment in, 87–89: invaded by the allies, 88 et seq.: disaffection in the National Guard, 88, 89: schemes of the allies for invasion of, 89, 91, 92, 100: the allies determine to confine her to her royal limits, 99: the Czar's determination to conquer, 99: proposal that she continue the war with England, 105: attempt to confine *N.* to the boundaries of royal, 106: marauding excesses of the allies, 113: irregular warfare in, 123: empty arsenals in, 129: the dissolution of the empire, 131: proposed forms of government for, 134: under three forms of government, 135: the provisional government seeks the Emperor's death by assassination, 138: regeneration of, 139: proposed perpetuation of the empire, 139: *N.* renounces the throne of, 147: pensions *N.*, 148: the virtue of the French burgher, 154: fails to pay *N.'s* pension, 155, 156, 160: formation of the new upper chamber, 157: restored to position of a great power, 157: Louis XVIII.'s constitution, 157: change of public opinion, 157–160: comparative expenses of the kingdom and the empire, 158: return of the emigrants to, 158: restriction of the suffrage, 158: release of prisoners of war, 158, 159: "paternal anarchy" in, 158, 160:

France—*continued.*
abolition of orphan asylums, 159: *N.'s* march through, on his return from Elba, 163–166: visions of a reunited, 165: *N.'s* plans for, on returning from Elba, 165: returned emigrants banished from, 165: *N.* the "liberator" of, 165: the apostle of popular sovereignty in, 167: abolition of privilege and divine right, 167, 227: the new cabinet, 167: reconstruction of the House of Peers, 167, 168: promulgation of the Additional Act, 167, 168: plebiscite in, 168: the specter of war in, 168, 171: bitterness of the nobles, 171: pledged to self-defense only, 172: reconstituted corps of marshals, 172: the "French fury," 175: Austrian and Prussian schemes for the humiliation of, 205: Carnot advises a dictatorship for, 206: organization of a new Directory, 207: demands for *N.'s* abdication, 207: appointment of committee of public safety, 207: the allies in, 208: the White Terror, 210: reconstruction, 212: confiscation of the imperial domain, 218: the Revolution in, 224–226: the teacher of Europe, 225: the heir of Rome, 225: enthusiasm for principle, 225: the Third Estate, 228, 231: overthrow of the old régime, 229: Protestantism in, 229: the new régime, 229: tendency toward revolution, 230: the Terror, 231: conspiracies in, 232: rupture of the treaty of Amiens, 232: trial of a single-headed government, 233: abandonment of the people to *N.'s* purposes, 233: character of the wars with England, 233, 234: the French tradition, 240: present conditions of government, 243: hopes for the future, 244: progress between 1802 and 1815, 244: *N.* the forerunner of modern, 244: the Seven Years' War, 245. See also names of persons or places connected with events in, passim

Francis I. (Emperor of Austria), scheme of territorial aggrandizement, i. 198: opposes the army of the Rhine, 206: greed for Italian territory, 262, 270; ii. 93: prepares for flight into Hungary, i. 270: offers *N.* a principality and settled income, ii. 13: declines to send diplomatic agent to Paris, 28: *N.* writes personal letter to, 94, 95: military plans for 1800, 105: letter from *N.* to, June, 1800, 121: his claims of empire, 210: dismemberment of his empire, 226: advised of *N.'s* seizure of the crown of Italy, 226: declares war against France, Sept. 3, 1805, 233: attempts negotiations with *N.*, 237: inaugurates peace negotiations, 246: secures an armistice, 251: interview with *N.* after Austerlitz, 251; iii. 36; iv. 72: proposes to continue the war, ii. 251, 252: abandons his Germanic crown, 261: outwitted by Andréossy, iii. 8: resolves on neutrality, 8, 9: attitude during the Eylau campaign, 24: *N.* offers Silesia to, 24: his "divine right," 36: character, 36: the Czar's influence with, 130: *N.* demands that he disarm, 132: compact between Russia and France against, 137: reproached by *N.* from Erfurt, 138: decides to strike *N.* during his Spanish difficulties, 150: abused by *N.*, 165, 193: treatment of Hungary, 166: seeks aid of Frederick William, 174: fails to secure advantage after Aspern, 174: obstinacy of, 174: his position after Wagram, 179: hopes of continuing the war, 181: assumes command of the army, 182: trusts to dilatory negotiations, 182: concedes *N.'s* demands, 182: gets no support from Alexander, 182: proposal that he abdicate, 183, 184, 193: peace negotiations between *N.* and, 183: angered at the treaty of Schönbrunn, 188: at marriage of Maria Louisa, 197: asks aid against Russian aggression, 239: alarmed at Russian successes on the Danube, 243: acquires Galicia, 251: dean of the sovereigns at Dresden, 251: *N.* seeks to hold his adhesion, iv. 14: lukewarmness toward *N.*, 21: dread of *N.*, 28, 29: letter from *N.*, 29: *N.'s* reply to his peace proposals, 38: *N.'s* dread of, 42: at Gitschin, 43: conference with Nesselrode, 43: political use of his daughter, 44: seeks alliance with Alexander, 47: letter from Metternich, June 29, 1813, 47: ratifies the treaty of Reichenbach, 48: reception of *N.'s* attempts to bribe Austria, 49: fears French invasion of Vienna, 53: letter from *N.*, Sept., 1813, 65: declines to treat after Leipsic, 73: anxiety for the future of absolutism, 79: distrust of his allies, 79, 80: discovers the royal ancestry of the Buonapartes, 82: proposed cession of Alsace to, 99: to Maria Louisa on the situation, 99: *N.* demands the Frankfort proposals from, 104, 105: narrow escape from capture at Bar-sur-Aube, 120: joins the Army of the South at Lyons, 121: relations with his allies, 122: letter from *N.* to, March 28, 1814, 126: at Dijon, 134, 144: *N.* seeks the aid of, through Maria Louisa, 144: Maria Louisa takes refuge with, 149, 155: seeks the dissolution of his daughter's marriage, 150: desires *N.'s* exile, 152: keeps his daughter a virtual prisoner, 165: besought for *N.'s* release, 217

Francisco, Don (Infante of Spain), ordered to Bayonne, iii. 115

Franconia, treaty with France, 1796, i. 279: French occupation of, ii. 262; iii. 129: the campaign in, 18: exploits of the Black Legion in, 180, 181

Frankfort on the Main, occupied by Custine, i. 115: member of the Confederation of the Rhine, ii. 260: French demonstrations near, 276: the principality transferred from Dalberg to Prince Eugène, iii. 204: furnishes new levies, iv. 28: parley of the allies at, 79–83, 99, 101: *N.* adheres to the proposals of, 101, 103, 105

Frasnes, military operations at, iv. 179, 184, 187

Fraternity, decreed, i. 57

Frederick VI., signs treaty of Fontainebleau, iii. 59: hopes to acquire Sweden, 214: assists in the Continental System, 214

Frederick August I., Elector of Saxony, accepts French terms after Jena, iii. 7: proposed exchange of Poland for Saxony, 44: made king of Saxony, 48: acquires the grand duchy of Warsaw, 48: interview with *N.* at Dresden, iv. 28: peculiar relations toward *N.*, 14, 28, 29, 38: offers his troops to Austria, 32: difficult position of, 32: declares himself favorable to France, 37: love for his capital, 68: sent prisoner to Berlin, 75: released by *N.* from his engagements, 78

Frederick the Great, opinion of Paoli, i. 6: defeats Austria, 197: his military genius and principles of warfare, 210, 232, 242; ii. 272, 274; iv. 234, 235: contrasted with *N.*, i. 210, 242; ii. 107: attitude toward Austria, 27: statue at the Tuileries, 97: territorial acquisitions, 268: *N.'s* visit to, and spoliation of the tomb of, iii. 3: self-coronation, 36: end of his system, 83: *N.* repudiates the military ideas of, 120: *N.'s* analysis of the wars of, 217: *N.'s* study of, 234
Frederick William I., his civil and military administration, ii. 268: school system of, 269.
Frederick William II., reign of, ii. 268
Frederick William III., Sieyes's mission to, ii. 28: *N.* offers the friendship of France to, 102: character and personality, 102, 258, 268, 274; iii. 7, 39, 40, 45, 49, 50, 53; iv. 54: refuses to make alliance with *N.*, ii. 126: neutrality of, 126, 199, 232, 268: motive in joining the "armed neutrality," 126: *N.'s* threatening message to, 180: friendly to France, 222: letter to *N.*, May, 1805, 228: swears friendship with Alexander I., 243: joins the Third Coalition, 242, 243: signs away Prussian independence, 258: threatens to abdicate, 271: proposes the organization of a North German Confederation, 271, 272: mobilizes the army, 273: demands the French evacuation of Germany, 273, 274: declares war, 274: at Naumburg, 276: reluctance for war, 278, 279: military blunders, 279: in battle of Auerstädt, 282, 283: sues for peace, iii. 1: flight from Jéna, 1, 2: refuses to accept an armistice, 7: desperation of, 7: precarious situation at Konigsberg, 15: *N.* opens negotiations with, 21: refuses *N.'s* overtures, 22: refuses to negotiate separate peace, 35: desperate situation, 36: his "divine right," 36: *N.'s* attitude toward, 38, 40, 84: armistice arranged with, 38: meeting with the Emperors at Tilsit, 38–40, 43–45: humiliation of, 49: calls on his queen for aid, 49: spoils interview between *N.* and his queen, 50: death of, 53: residence at Memel, 87: in need of comforts, 87: sequestration of his Westphalian estates, 126: friendship with Alexander, 151: at St. Petersburg, 151: proposes alliance with Austria, 174: refuses aid to Francis, 174: secret armament by, 174: denounces Schill, 180: withdraws from offer of alliance, 182: sounds Austria, 243: offers alliance to Alexander, 243: at Dresden, 251: *N.* seeks to hold his adhesion, iv. 14: Prussian disregard of, 19: nominally degrades York, 21: forced to a decision, 29: negotiates with *N.*, 29, 30: removes the court to Breslau, 30: grief at death of the Queen, 30: mobilizes the army, 30, 31: declares war, 31: proposed allotment of territory to, 39: mediocrity in military affairs, 54: in military council at Trachenberg, 55: anxiety for the future of absolutism, 79: distrust of his allies, 79, 80: dissatisfied with the Frankfort terms, 80: seeks the retention of Prussian acquisitions, 99: letter to Blucher, Feb. 26, 1814, 105: at Congress of Châtillon, 106: attitude toward Francis, 122: favors movement on Paris, 122: violates armistice before Paris, 131: his relations with Alexander, 133: enters Paris, 133, 134: at the peace council in Paris, 134: approves the Bourbon restoration, 134: deceived by the Parisians' reception, 134: alleged indelicacy of his visit to the Empress at Rambouillet, 150: system of promotion in the army, 175
Frederick William IV. (crown prince), a suitor for a Napoleonic princess, iii. 251: persuades York to rejoin Blucher, iv. 109
Frederick, king of Würtemberg, at the Erfurt conference, iii. 133: marries his daughter to Jerome Buonaparte, 257
Free trade, demand for, in Corsica, i. 62
Freiburg, Duc d'Enghien prepares to retire to, ii. 193: military movements near, ii. 280
Fréjus, *N.* lands at, ii. 57; iv. 153: *N.'s* triumphant progress to Paris from, ii. 58: place of *N.'s* embarkation changed from St. Tropez to, iv. 152, 153: arrival of *N.* at, 153
"French Citizen," the, change of name to "French Courier," iii. 72
"French Courier," the, iii. 72
French Empire, the, the Emperor the head of, ii. 255: distinguished from France, 261
French language, *N.'s* use of the, i. 44
Frère, Gen., success at Segovia, iii. 122
Fréron, Louis S., in siege of Toulon, i. 136, 137: bloodthirsty character, 137: *N.'s* friendship with, 139: opposes Robespierre, 148: influence among the Thermidorians, 151: social life in Paris, 173: a Dantonist, 173: uses influence in *N.'s* behalf, 175, 177: flirtation with Pauline Buonaparte, 195: commissioner at Marseilles, 195
Friant, Gen., marches toward Ingolstadt, iii. 161: in battle of Borodino, 261
Fribourg, the plundering of, ii. 27
Frick Valley, to be ceded to Austria, ii. 27
Friedland, battle of, iii. 31–33: the campaign reviewed, 32–35: Alexander's pliableness after, 266: battle of, compared with that at Beresina, iv. 77
Friedrichshamn, treaty of, iii. 191
Friedrichstadt, fighting at, iv. 57
Friends of the Constitution, the i. 89
Frischermont, the farms of, iv. 191: the French position at, 193
Friuli, retreat of Wurmser's troops through, i. 235: Quasdanowich's strength in, 236: Archduke Charles in, 263: campaign in, 266 et seq.: ceded by Austria to Italy, ii. 252: creation of hereditary duchy of, 255: Duroc created Duke of, iii. 71. See DUROC
Fromentières, military operations near, iv. 97
Fructidor, the 18th of, ii. 5: *N.'s* responsibility for, 15, 21, 95: Talleyrand's views of, 23: counterstroke to, 63: amnesty for the victims of, 87: ruptures negotiations at Lille, 95
Fructidorians, attitude toward *N.*, ii. 15: the radical wing of the, 29
Fuenterrabia, *N.* seeks information concerning, iii. 101
Fulton, Robert, tries to interest *N.* in steam, ii. 214
Fuentes de Onoro, battle of, iii. 221
Fusina, the French army at, i. 274

G

Gaëta, creation of hereditary duchy of, ii. 255
Gaffori, i. 61: fails to arouse enthusiasm in Ajaccio, 63
Galicia, Russian troops in, ii. 233: Austria's forces on the frontier of, iii. 25: Russian invasion of, 182: *N.* demands cession of, 184: part of, ceded to Russia, 184: territory of, ceded to grand duchy of Warsaw, 184, 236, 237: Austria stipulates for acquisition of, 243: ceded to Austria, 251: Poniatowski commanding in, iv. 34: Alexander proposes to exchange Alsace, for, 99
Galitzin, Prince, in battle of Eylau, iii. 19, 20: invades Galicia, 182: letter from Alexander I., 237: Alexander's friendship with, 267: character, 267
Gallican Church, the, *N.'s* study of, i. 86: a voluntary, ii. 132: *N.'s* threat to liberate it from Rome, 58: regulation of its relations with Rome, 201, 202: *N.'s* failure to change, iv. 229
Gallo, Austrian plenipotentiary at Leoben, i. 270: Austrian plenipotentiary in treaty of Campo Formio, ii. 13: bribed by *N.*, 13
Gambling, suppression of, iii. 75
Ganteaume, Adm., member of the council of state, ii. 100: commanding at Brest, 213: plan of naval operations for, 213: fails to run the blockade of Brest, 213
Gap, *N.'s* welcome at, on return from Elba, iv. 163
Garat, D. J., Bonapartist agent in Naples, ii. 61: royalist intrigues of, iv. 129
Garda, Lake, military operations near, i. 226, 232–234, 252–254
Gareau, rapacity of, i. 230
Garfagnana, given to Elisa (Buonaparte), ii. 255
Gasparin, A. E., member of Convention commission for Corsica, i. 131
Gassendi, *N.'s* host in Nuits, i. 83
Gassicourt, Cadet de, story of Lannes's deathbed, iii. 173: prepares poison for *N.*, iv. 207
Gaudin, M. M. C., appointed to the treasury, ii. 87, 141: member of *N.'s* new cabinet, iv. 167
Gaza, capture of, ii. 47
Gembloux, *N.* at, iv. 181: military movements near, 184: Grouchy ordered to, 185, 186, 188
Genappe, *N.'s* flight through, iv. 203
Gendarmerie, formation of the system of, i. 80
Geneva, *N.* in, ii. 17: to be ceded to France, 27: Berthier sent to, 92: Mme. de Staël's exile in, iii. 27: Augereau confronting Bubna at, iv. 91: surrenders to the allies, 98
Geneva, Lake of, French forces on the, ii. 110
"Genius of Christianity" (Chateaubriand's), ii. 166
Genoa, relation of Corsica to, i. 3, 4: loses its hold on Corsica, 4–6, 9: convention with France regarding Corsica, 6, 8: cedes Corsica to France, 9, 10: the Buonaparte family in, 13: Paoli's fears concerning, 62: claims to Corsica, 64, 65, 69: *N.'s* relations with and attitude toward, 66, 145–147, 150, 207; ii. 7, 10: relations with France, i. 141, 143–145: English influence in, 143: seizure of French vessel in harbor of, 143: counterfeit French money in, 145: her neutrality violated, 145: preparations for war with, 145–147, 150: *N.'s* scheme of operations against Sardinia and, 146: neutrality, 147: the road opened to, 152: reopening of commerce with Marseilles, 153: political status in 1796, 207: levy of enforced contributions from, 208, 229; ii. 102: military operations against (1796), i. 217: French proposition to revolutionize, 227: guerrillas from, 228: coercive measures against, 228: makes alliance with the Directory, 248: disposition by treaty of Leoben, 271: French intervention in, ii. 7: sends an embassy to Montebello, 7: revolution in, 7: disappearance of Genoa the Superb, 7: commercial greatness, 10: plunder of, 11: transformed into the Ligurian Republic, 14: trampled under foot by *N.*, 95: the French line at, 105: Austria's plans against, 105: English expedition against, 105, 108: Masséna forced back into, 108: siege of, 108, 110, 113, 114: the key of, 113: surrender of, 114: *N.* learns of Masséna's disaster at, 116: accepts a consular constitution, 149: contributes men to France, in war of 1803, 184: Masséna's defense of, 207: French acquisition of, 227, 229: position in the French empire, iii. 214
Gentili, member of the Directory of Corsica, i. 73: delegate to the National Assembly, 74: places Ionian Islands under French protection, ii. 11
Gentz, Friedrich von, manifesto against *N.*, iii. 155: on the campaign of 1813, iv. 79
George III., recalls Paoli to England, i. 154: incurs the ill will of Paul I., ii. 93: receives personal letter from *N.*, 94: pasquinades on, 96: quarrel with Pitt over Catholic emancipation, 134: character, 173: fears for absolutism, 173: on treaty of Amiens, 177: message to Parliament, March 8, 1803, 180: Elector of Hanover, 183: effect of his imbecility, 210: letter from *N.*, Jan. 2, 1805, 225: negotiations for the return of Hanover to, 258, 259, 271, 273: use of German troops in the American colonies, 272: ousts the "All the Talents" ministry, iii. 41: joint letter from *N.* and Alexander to (1808), 140: retirement of, iv. 168: rupture of the treaty of Amiens, 232
George IV. (Prince Regent), attitude toward France (1795), i. 178: regency of, iv. 168: character, 168: besought for asylum for *N.*, 210
Georgia, France undertakes to drive the Russians from, iii. 24
Gera, military movements near, ii. 281

Gérard, Gen. E. M., created baron, iii. 227: battle of Borodino, 261: seizes Montereau, iv. 103: moves toward Vitry, 119: attachment to *N.*, 137: strength after the surrender of Paris, 137: in the Waterloo campaign, 175 et seq.: at Châtelet, 177: crosses the Sambre, 177, 181: battle of Ligny, 182, 183, 187: at Wallain, 189
Gerasdorf, military operations near, iii. 176: Archduke Charles advances to, 169
German Church, *N.'s* threat to liberate it from Rome, iii. 58
Germanic Diet, Prussia's growing ascendancy in the, i. 262
German Empire, *N.'s* scheme to rival the, ii. 215: abolished, 252
German-Roman Empire, decadence of, ii. 27
Germany, honors to Paoli in, i. 10: *N.'s* study of, 40: opposition of, to democracy, 146: cedes the left bank of the Rhine to France, 164: growth of liberal ideas in southern, 164: neutrality of northern, 164: secularization of church lands in, 164; ii. 169: republican schemes for, i. 200: to be forced to yield the Rhine frontier, 203: military operations in (1795), 206: Jourdan's disasters in, 235, 270: *N.* enters, 268: *N.'s* influence in, 278: claim to Malta, ii. 12: Augereau's blundering in, 25: plundering in, 25: French military arrogance in, 27: attitude of the Directory toward the ecclesiastical principalities of, 28: anti-revolutionary sentiment in, 29: Jourdan ordered to command in, 60: Archduke Charles commanding in central, 93: the seat of liberalism in, 102: billeting of French troops in, 103: France's pecuniary demands upon, 103: *N.'s* plan for a campaign in central, 107: Moreau levies contributions on, 120: adjustment of the temporal and spiritual principalities of, 125, 126, 169: reduction of Austria's ascendancy in, 126: France's rights in, according to Peace of Lunéville, 126: Franco-Russian agreement concerning 135, 136: the Code Napoléon in, 143: effect of the Concordat in, 169: question of indemnifying displaced princes, 169: England's active diplomacy in, 169 et seq., 192: *N.'s* policy of reorganization in, 169, 170: rearrangement of territories, 170, 226, 252: development of national spirit, regeneration, and unification in, 170, 226; iii. 77, 126, 155, 165, 243, 250; iv. 19, 21, 28, 30, 31, 49, 51, 64, 77, 79, 91, 246: strength of the military party and anti-French sentiment in 1875, ii. 172: *N.'s* eye to invasion of, 186: Moreau's levies on, 188: homage to *N.* by the princes of, 210: *N.'s* claim to, 227: Alexander I.'s scheme for partition of, 228: *N.* threatens to invade, 232: Archduke Ferdinand commanding in, 233: high-handed proceedings of the French army in, 242: extension of the French empire in, 256: humiliation of, 256 et seq.: state of religion and morality in, 257: scheme for unity of the Church in, 259, 269: good-will to *N.* in western, 260: the Germanic empire abolished, 261: French occupation of southern, 262, 271: Russia's pretensions in, 272: *N.'s* intention to evacuate, 273: Frederick William demands the evacuation of, 274: Austria asks for rearrangement of, iii. 25: its composite character, 49: French nobility endowed with lands in, 71: liberal movement in, 83: Austria looks for indemnities in, 151: hopes of the Hapsburgs to regain lost territory in, 154: Archduke Charles's address to, 155: insurrections in, 180: hatred of *N.* in, 185: French occupation of the coast, 204: French evacuation of southern, 204: confiscation in, 226: Mme. de Staël's book on, 229: withdrawal of French troops from, 234: influence of Prussia in, 243: proposed new boundaries for, 243: feelings toward *N.* in, 245: withdrawal of the Hapsburgs from the leadership of, 250: conspiracies in, iv. 14: revolutionary feeling in, 19: Russian proclamation to, 31: Sweden sends troops to, 32: Austria aims at recovering ascendancy in, 49: purpose of the allies to restore states in, 66: the retreat from, 76: proposed influence for *N.* in, 80: Prussia's ambition for leadership in, 115: *N.'s* influence in the creation of modern, 246: the federation of, 246
"Germany in her Deepest Humiliation," ii. 271
Gernstädt, military operations near, ii. 282
Gerry, Elbridge, Talleyrand attempts to corrupt, ii. 23
Ghent, flight of Louis XVIII. to, iv. 168
Giacominetta, *N.'s* childish love, i. 20
Gibraltar, i. 9: Nelson sails for, ii. 230: Nelson waters his ships at, 239: importance of, iii. 89
Gibraltar, Straits of, Villeneuve ordered to, ii. 239
"Gilded Youth," the, i. 161
Gilgenburg, Ney and Bernadotte escape to, iii. 15: military movements near, 18, 19
Ginguené, P. L., Bonapartist agent in Turin, ii. 61
Gironde, Department of the, exempt from legislation concerning Jews, iii. 64
Gironde, River, *N.* proposes to seek asylum on American ship in the, iv. 209
Girondists, the, form a ministry, i. 100: the fall from the ministry, 102: leaders of, 111: position in the National Convention, 111: struggle between the Jacobins and, 111: favor Louis XVI., 115: failure of their policy, 127: defeat the Jacobins in Marseilles, 128: movement of Marseillais on Paris, 128: retreat from Avignon, 129: their cause discussed in the "Supper of Beaucaire," 130, 131: prepare Toulon for siege, 131, 132: deliver the fleet at Toulon to Lord Hood, 132: murders of, at Toulon, 137: overawed by Danton and Marat, 138: effects of their policy, 147: failure of, 158, 159: their part in organizing the Directory, 161: influence on the new constitution, 165: royalism among, 186
Girzikowitz, military operations near, ii. 249
Gitschin, Francis I. at, iv. 43
Glatz, siege of, iii. 23
Glogau, held by the French, iv. 33: relieved by Victor, 42
Glory, the French passion for, ii. 160, 232; iii. 13
Gneisenau, Gen. August, institutes military reforms in Prussia, iii. 83: military ability, iv. 60, 93, 183, 184: spurs up Bernadotte at Leipsic, 73: aims to annihilate *N.*, 91: warns Blucher against over-confidence, 95: in Waterloo campaign, 175, 179, 180: orders the Prussian retreat to Wavre, 183, 184: his title to fame, 183, 184: holds Blucher's troops, 191: doubts Wellington's ability to stand at Waterloo, 191: in battle of Waterloo, 203, 204
Godoy, Manuel de, prime minister of Spain, ii. 131, 132, 184: relations with Queen Louisa, 131, 184, 212; iii. 60, 98, 99, 112, 117: the "Prince of the Peace," ii. 184; iii. 98: proposed kingdom for, in Portugal, 57, 96: Spanish revolt against, 59: treachery to *N.*, 59, 60: ill-gotten wealth, 98, 99: relations with *N.*, 98, 99, 104: waning power and downfall of, 99, 101, 106, 107, 114: causes arrest of Ferdinand, 100: Ferdinand's charges against, 100: becomes aware of *N.'s* policy, 104: skill in diplomacy, 104: refuses to assent to French seizure of Portugal, 105: appalled at the French invasion, 105: contemplates a Bourbon monarchy in America, 106: clamor for his death, 106, 107: capture of, 106, 107: seeks protection of Ferdinand, 107: destruction of his property, 107: proposed trial of, 107, 112: hinted order that he come to France, 110, 111: summoned to Bayonne, 114: popular hatred of, 114: at Compiègne, 116: infamy of, 117
Goethe, Johann W. von, meetings with *N.*, iii. 134: decorated at Erfurt, 137: on *N.*, 242, 245: the idealist among thinkers, iv. 242
Gohier, M., member of the Directory, ii 63: represents Jacobin element in the Directory, 64: falls under Josephine's influence, 66: president of the Directory, 66: joins the Bonapartist ranks, 66, 67: proposed resignation of, 69: seeks counsel with Barras, 72, 73: refuses to resign, 73: imprisonment of, 74, 78
Gohlis, military operations near, iv. 72, 73
Goldbach, River, military operations on the, ii. 248–250, 253
Golden Book, the. See VENICE
Goltz, at Tilsit, iii. 43, 49: interview with *N.*, 51
Golynim, military operations near, iii. 12
Görz, ceded to France, iii. 184
Göss, castle of, treaty of Leoben signed in, i. 270
Gosselies, military operations near, iv. 178, 179
Gotha, imprisonment of St. Aignan at, iv. 80
Göttingen, Bernadotte ordered to, ii. 232: patriotism in the university, iv. 31
Gourgaud, Gen., accompanies *N.* to Paris, iv. 128: advises a return to Lorraine, 136: requests interview with Souham, 143: accompanies *N.* to Rochefort, 208: goes to London to seek English asylum for *N.*, 210, 211: accompanies *N.* to St. Helena, 214: mission to secure *N.'s* release, 217: assists *N.* on his history, 217
Government, Rousseau's views on, i. 2: the centralization of, ii. 139: the mystery of, iv. 25
Gradisca, storming of, i. 267
Graham, Gen., commanding English troops in the Netherlands, iv. 91
Grain, monopoly of trade in, i. 54
Grand army, the, *N.'s* distrust of, iii. 40: passes from Prussia to Spain, 141: Murat commanding the remnants of, iv. 12: demoralization of, 13: crosses the Niemen, 20
Grandmaison, charges plots among the Five Hundred, ii. 79
Granville, Lord, on affairs in France, i. 178
Grasse, *N.'s* march through, on return from Elba, iv. 163
Graudenz, precarious situation of the garrison of, iii. 15: Bennigsen attempts to succor, 15: demanded by *N.* as a pledge, 35
Gravina, Adm., escapes from Trafalgar, ii. 241
Great Britain, the modern empire of, ii. 37. See also ENGLAND
"Great Elector," the office of, ii. 85, 206
Great Görschen, fighting at, iv. 36
Great Raigern, military operations near, ii. 247
Great St. Bernard Pass, the passage of the, ii. 110, 111
"Great Terror," the, i. 148
Greece (ancient), influence on French art, iii. 72: effects of ambition in, iv. 230: the history of, 242
Greece, Nelson seeks the French fleet at, ii. 42: proposal that France take, iii. 44: *N.* plans the liberation of, 44: the national awakening of, iv. 247
Grégoire, Henri, influence on the Consulate, ii. 127: royalist intrigues of, 129
Gregorian calendar, restoration of the, ii. 222
Gregory VII., ii. 218
Grenadier Guards, in battle of Waterloo, iv. 196
Grenier, Gen., in battle of Hohenlinden, ii. 125: division commander under Eugène, iv. 28
Grenoble, Pius VII. a prisoner at, iii. 95, 187: *N.'s* march to, on return from Elba, iv. 163: imperial proclamation at, 164: obeys *N.'s* summons to surrender, 165: *N.'s* welcome at, 165: *N.* at, 171
Grenville, Lord, letter to Talleyrand from, ii. 94: on *N.'s* wickedness, 95
Grisons, the, quarrel between the Valtellina and, ii. 7: Austrian violation of neutrality in, 49: Kray's communications via, to be cut, 107
Grodno, Jerome at, iii. 254
Gros, A. J., painter, ii. 225: created a baron, 227
Grosbois, residence of Barras, ii. 81
Grossbeeren, battle of, iv. 60, 61, 64
Gross-Ebersdorf, military operations near, iii. 168
Grouchy, Gen. E. in battle of Hohenlinden, ii. 125: at Tilsit, iii. 45: commanding cavalry in Russian campaign of 1812, 246: in battle of Vauchamps, iv. 97: recreated marshal, 172: move-

Grouchy, Gen. E.—*continued.*
ments and orders in the Waterloo campaign, 174 et seq., 181, 185, 186, 188–190, 196, 204, 205, 235: letter to *N.*, June 17, 1815, 186, 189: suspected unwillingness of, 186: Gérard to cooperate with, 187: uneasy conscience of, 188: garbled account of Waterloo by, 188, 189: at Walhain, 189, 205: criticisms of, 189: at Wavre, 191: *N.'s* reliance on, 200, 205: ordered to retire on Namur, 203, 205: responsibility for disaster at Waterloo, 205: victory at Wavre, 205: leads his army back to France, 205
Guadarrama Mountains, *N.* crosses the, iii. 145, 146
Guadeloupe, French plans to strengthen, ii. 213
"Guardian Angel, The," near Craonne, the Emperor's night at, iv. 107, 108
"Guard of honor," the proposed, iv. 25
Guards (English), in battle of Waterloo, iv. 201, 202
Guastalla, given to Pauline (Buonaparte) ii. 256: granted to Maria Louisa, iv. 148
Guastalla, Duchess of, Pauline created, iii. 213
Gudin, Gen., in battle of Pultusk, iii. 12: in the Eckmühl campaign, 161
Guérin, Pierre N., created baron, iii. 227
Guernsey, Russian soldiers transported to, ii. 93
Guiana, Pichegru escapes from, ii. 105
Guidal, engaged in Malet's conspiracy, iv. 15
Guieu, Gen., in the Rivoli campaign, i. 251, 254
Guilleminot, Gen., mediator between Russia and Turkey, iii. 86: in battle of Waterloo, iv. 195
Guillotine, the, the work of, i. 148
Güldengossa, military operations near, iv. 71
Günzburg, Mack essays to cross the Danube at, ii. 236
Gustavus Adolphus, scene of his defeat of Wallenstein, iv. 35
Gustavus IV., king of Sweden, hated by his subjects, iii. 34: in Pomerania, 35: weakness of, 35: gives place to Charles XIII., 215
Guyot, battle of Waterloo, iv. 198
Gyulai, Austrian diplomatic agent, ii. 246
Gyulay, Gen., battle of Leipsic, iv. 71, 74

H

Hadrian I., Charles the Great's donation to, revoked by N., iii. 166
Hague, The, removal of the capital to Amsterdam from, iii. 212
Hal, Wellington's troops at, iv. 188, 193
Halberstadt, the Black Legion's escape through, iii. 181
Halkett, Hugh, in battle of Waterloo, iv. 202
Halle, Bernadotte's victory at, iii. 1: the Black Legion's escape through, 181: patriotism in the university, iv. 31: Blücher's advance to, 69, 70
Hamburg, negotiations between France and Prussia concerning, ii. 102: laid under contribution, 183: closed to British commerce, 183: seizure of Rumbold at, 211: proposal to give it to Prussia, 258: French occupation of, iii. 7: Spanish troops in, 124: Bernadotte's force in, 157: smuggled commerce of, 203: scheme to incorporate with France, 204: position in the French empire, 214: sends deputation to Paris, iv. 17: rising against the French garrison, 33: captured by Vandamme, 37: Danish troops sent to, 37: occupied by Davout, 42: the status quo to be maintained in, 43: *N.* offers the city to Austria, 50: end of *N.'s* defensive line, 51: Davout besieged at, 90
Hameln, attempt to besiege, ii. 270: capitulation of, iii. 2
Hamilton, Alexander, U. S. treasury system, iv. 229
Hanau, Ondinot's command in, iii. 157: battle of, iv. 76: compared to Krasnoi, 76
Hannibal, *N.'s* allusion to, i. 217: his passage of the Alps, ii. 110, 120
Hanover, *N.* threatens to seize, ii. 180: George III., Elector of, 183: French occupations of, 183, 211, 271; iii. 7, 157, 204: Prussia negotiates with France for, ii. 228, 229, 232: the French garrison replaced by Prussians, 232: ceded to Prussia, 251, 258, 261: negotiations for its return to George III., 258, 259, 271, 273: attempt to drive the French from, 270: troops in Pomerania, iii. 35: allotted to Jerome, 204: Jerome deprived of part of, 213: excepted from the scheme of Prussian aggrandizement, iv. 31: England abandons scheme for extension of, 32: Prussia promises to cede part of Saxony to, 45: proposed cession of Hildesheim to, 45: restored to its former ruler, 79: campaign of the Hundred Days, 174 et seq.
Hanover, the House of, ii. 202, 203
Hanseatic towns, free cities, ii. 261: Joachim I.'s aspirations concerning, 270: proposal to include in North German Confederation, 272: hesitate to reply to Prussia, 273: neutrality of, iii. 41: virtual dependence on France, 56: smuggled commerce of, 203: scheme to incorporate them with France, 204: *N.* offers to evacuate, 208: offered to Louis for Brabant and Zealand, 207: England threatened with loss of trade with, 208: *N.* refuses to cede points concerning, iv. 27: proposal that France evacuate the, 38: proposed independence of the, 44, 72
Happiness, *N.* on, i. 77
Hapsburg, House of, end of its policy of territorial expansion, ii. 125: effect of the Bayonne negotiations on, iii. 127 et seq.: seeks indemnity for lost domains, 151: hopes of regaining lost territory, 154: demoralization in, 167: matrimonial alliance with *N.*, 189, 193; iv. 82: democratic blows at the dignity of, iii. 196; iv. 77: withdrawa from the leadership of Germany, iii. 250
Harcourt, on affairs in France, i. 178
Hardenberg, Prince K. A. von, aims at consolidation of Prussia, ii. 229: dismissal of, 258; iii. 38, 44: Prussian minister, ii. 269; iii. 36: at Tilsit, 44: proposes the partition of Turkey, 44: seeks refuge in Vienna, 138: effect of his reforms, 243: Metternich's negotiations with, iv. 29: hostility to *N.*, 30
Harel, share in the execution of d'Enghien, ii. 198
Hassenhausen, engagement at, ii. 282
Hatzfeldt, Prince, court-martialed and sentenced to death, iii. 3: the sentence commuted, 3
Haugwitz, Count, Prussian envoy to France, ii. 246, 258: policy after Austerlitz, 251: concludes treaty with France, 258: demand for the disgrace of, 271
Hauterive, Duhoux d', royalist leader, i. 178: reviews French situation in 1801, ii. 138
Havelburg, French troops at, iv. 28
Havre, France's alleged naval preparations at, ii. 182
Hébert, J. R., leader of the Exagérés, i. 138: terrorist, 148
Heddersdorf, defeat of the Austrians by Hoche at, i. 272
Heidenheim, the French position at, ii. 235
Heilsberg, Ney retreats from, iii. 15: Bennigsen reaches, 15, 19: battle of, 29, 30: *N.* concentrates his army at, 30: the Russians abandon, 32: *N.'s* peril at, 34
Heinrichsdorf, engagement near, iii. 31
Heliopolis, battle of, ii. 123
Helvetian Republic, the, alliance with France, ii. 27: formation of, 27, 59: neutrality violated by Austria, 49: *N.* Grand Mediator of the, 150: English efforts to discredit France in, 169: in vassalage to France, iii. 214
Henry, Prince of Prussia, ii. 269
Henry III., *N.* likened to, ii. 218
Henry IV., heads the Bourbon dynasty, i. 103: *N.* discerns likeness to himself, ii. 225: *N.* emulates in uxoriousness, iii. 198
Herat, proposed Franco-Russian expedition via, ii. 126
Herbois, Collet d', member of the National Convention, i. 111, 137
Hercules, Pillars of, "the new," iii. 236
Hereditary nobility, abolished, ii. 144
Heredity, *N.* on, i. 77
Herodotus, *N.'s* study of, i. 40
Hesse, French march through, ii. 233: furnishes contingent to *N.'s* army, iii. 246
Hesse-Cassel, excluded from the Confederation of the Rhine, ii. 260; iii. 7: proposal to include in the Confederation, ii. 272: hesitates to reply to Prussia, 273: French occupation of, iii. 7: neutrality of, 7: organized into the kingdom of Westphalia, 49
Hesse-Cassel, House of, extinction of, iii. 7
Hesse-Darmstadt, member of the Confederation of the Rhine, ii. 260, 261: quota of men, 261: turns from *N.* to the allies, iv. 79
Heymès, Col., records *N.'s* orders to Ney at Quatre Bras, iv. 178, 184
High Admiral, creation of the office of, ii. 206
Highways, *N.'s* scheme of, ii. 178
Hildesheim, apportioned to Prussia, ii. 170: proposed cession of, to Hanover, iv. 45
Hill, Lord, joins Wellington in the Peninsula, iii. 217: occupies Bordeaux, iv. 114: in Waterloo campaign, 176
Hiller, Gen., military operations on the Inn, iii. 154: movements to support, 158: movements before Ratisbon, 161: driven back to Landshut, 162: flees to Neumarkt, 162: Bessières pursues, 162: crosses the Danube at Mautern, 164: battle of Ebelsberg, 164: defeats Wrede at Erding, 164: effects junction with Charles at Bisamberg, 164, 167: drives Eugène over the Adige, iv. 79
Hilliers, Baraguey d', capture of his command in Russia, iv. 2
History, the functions and study of, i. 1, 2; iv. 223: *N.'s* study and theory of, i. 40, 70, 85, 86
"History of Corsica," i. 47, 48, 67, 69, 70
Hoche, Gen. Lazare, defeats Wurmser at Weissenburg, i. 163: commanding Army of the West, 209: military genius, 211; ii. 122: campaign in the Netherlands, i. 263: defeats Austria on the Rhine, 271, 272: expedition to Ireland, 278, 279: considered for minister of war, ii. 4: distrusted by the people, 4: death of, 5, 6
Hofer, Andreas, exploits in the Tyrol, iii. 181: capture, trial, and death of, 186: his family ennobled, 186: his patriotism and fame, 186: compared to Tell, 186
Hohenems, acquired by Wurtemberg, ii. 252
Hohenlinden, battle of, ii. 124–126
Hohenlohe, Prince of, commanding at Chemnitz, ii. 276: at Blankenhain, 278: defeated by Bernadotte at Schleiz, 279: in battle of Jéna, 280, 281, 283: retreats to Prenzlau, 283: surrender of, iii. 2
Hohen-Thann, military movements near, iii. 160
Hohenzollern, member of the Confederation of the Rhine, ii. 260
Hohenzollern, House of, ii. 202, 203: *N.* in the palace of the, iii. 3: its territories, 6: *N.* contemplates its extinction, 6: provisions for French evacuation of its lands, 53: *N.'s* attitude toward, 86, 243: humiliation of, 127, 128
Holitsch, interview between Francis I. and *N.* near, ii. 251
Hollabrunn, Bagration's stand at, ii. 244: Soult at, 244
Holland, honors to Paoli in, i. 10: *N.'s* study of the history of, 90: expected enmity of, 110: closes the Scheldt, 115: becomes the Batavian Republic, 164: conquest and occupation by France, 197; ii. 3, 150; iii. 212: republican schemes for, i. 200: plunder of works of art from, 225: organization of the Orange party in, 278, 279: efforts to check democracy in, 278, 279: English conquests of colonies from, ii. 8: proposal to make her a dependency of France, 8: loss of colonies by, 25: compulsory enrol-

Holland — *continued.*
ment in the republican system, 25: Brune's campaign in, 60, 62, 63, 207: loyalty to *N.*, 97: indemnity for Flushing, 102: the Code Napoléon in, 143; iii. 212: a new constitution imposed on, ii. 150: indemnity to House of Orange, 168: French guarantees to, 184: share in the war of 1803, 184: independence of, 227: *N.'s* claim to, 227: Prussia bound to secure the liberties of, 243: Louis made king, 256; iii. 78, 206: enlistments from, under the French eagles, 11: Louis's reign in, 27, 206, 207, 212, 213: vassalage to France recognized at Tilsit, 47: relations of France with, 61: smuggled commerce of, 110, 203, 204: Louis's loyalty to the Dutch, 116: Oudinot ordered to coerce, 204: England's paper blockade of, 205: visit of *N.* to, 206: violates the Continental System, 206, 207: *N.* reduces Louis to the position of a French governor, 207: geographically a part of France, 207, 216: *N.'s* scheme for the annexation of, 207, 208: England threatened with loss of trade with, 208: *N.* offers to evacuate, 208: opposition to *N.* in, 211: seizures of American ships in, 211: Fouché's English-Dutch conspiracy, 211: Louis abdicates, 212: removal of the capital to Amsterdam, 212: annexed to France, 212: popularity of Louis in, 212: prosperity under French rule, 212, 213: the national movement in, 213: "the alluvium of France," 216: English expedition to, 224: incorporated into the French empire, 225: *N.* refuses to cede any part of, iv. 27: riots in, 27: Eugène to guard, 28: proposal that France evacuate, 38: mediocrity of soldiers of, 64: *N.* offers to restore independence of, 72: English influence in, 72, 80: recalls the Prince of Orange, 79: proposed independence of, 80

Holland, Lord, advocates *N.'s* cause in Parliament, ii. 94

Holstein, threatened French invasion of, iii. 58: Denmark's loss of, 59

Holy Alliance, the, iv. 50, 212

Holy Inquisition, abolished in Spain, iii. 147

Holy League, the, i. 103

Holy Roman Empire, dismemberment of the, ii. 170: abolition of, 272: desire to substitute a Western Empire for, 255: title of the heir to, iii. 200

Hood, Lord, seizure at Toulon, i. 132

Hortense, Queen, at Malmaison, iv. 208. See BEAUHARNAIS, HORTENSE DE

Hostage Law, the, ii. 64, 88, 89

Hougomont, the farm-house of, iv. 191, 194: fighting at, 195–197, 200

Hoyerswerda, *N.* moves toward, iv. 62

Hugo, Victor, on *N.*, i. 230: at school in Madrid, iii. 223

Humanity, the cause of, i. 158

Hyères, retreat of the Corsican expedition to, i. 155

Hulin, Gen. P. A., presides at trial of Duc d'Enghien, ii. 196–198: transfers his allegiance to Louis XVIII., iv. 147

Humboldt, William von, member of Prussian reform party, ii. 269: reorganizes the educational system of Prussia, iii. 83: at Congress of Prague, iv. 49

Hundred Days, the campaign of the, iv. 174 et seq.: *N.'s* monograph on, 217: the political question of the, 244

Hungary, Francis I. prepares for flight into, i. 270: French machinations in, ii. 28: importance of securing to the allies, 246: Archduke John in, iii. 165, 168, 174, 175, 178: *N.'s* policy of winning the people of, 166: Leopold II.'s reign, 166: Francis I.'s treatment of, 166

I

Iberian Peninsula, proposed appropriation of, iii. 89

Ibrahim Bey, in the battle of the Pyramids, ii. 41: fails to assist the Rhodes expedition, 53

Ile Dieu, landing of Count of Artois on, i. 182

Iller, Gen., commanding in the Tyrol, ii. 122

Iller, River, Austrian forces on the, ii. 233, 234

Illyria, Austrian recruiting in, i. 236: Marmont in, iii. 174: constitution of, 184: military government of, 213: proposed surrender of, to Austria, iii. 243; iv. 27, 38, 44, 49, 72

Imagination, *N.'s* prophetic utterance on a disordered, i. 77

Imperial Guard, at Kronach, ii. 278: discontent among the, iii. 12: strength in Poland, 13: at Eylau, 19, 20: battle of Heilsberg, 29: battle of Friedland, 31: exclusiveness of, 71: service in Spain, 105, 203, 217: accompanies *N.* from Spain to Paris, 146: strength in March, 1812, 246: omission of *N.* to use them at Borodino, 263: at Smolensk, iv. 5: at Krasnoi, 6: on march from Smolensk to Lithuania, 5: *N.'s* address to, near Orcha, 7: demoralization of, 7: jealousy of the proposed "guard of honor," 25: at Rippach, 35: in battle of Lutzen, 36: the allies' belief in *N.'s* use of, 53: at Lauban, 55: feat of marching, 56: battle of Dresden, 56, 57: its losses, 107: *N.* reviews the, 136, 137: in Waterloo campaign, 174–202: battle of Ligny, 183: battle of Waterloo, 193, 200, 201: personnel and morale, 201: "dies but never surrenders," 202

Imperial University, founding of the, iii. 72

Imposts, the regulation of, i. 22

"Inconstant," the, *N.'s* escape from Elba in, iv. 162, 163

India, *N.'s* attention turned toward, i. 40: *N.'s* aspirations for a career in, 123, 129, 192; ii. 10: *N.* given leave to march on, 49: importance of *N.'s* conquering, 50: Russia's ambition in, 102, 126, 168: Franco-Russian plans for invasion of, 126, 134: *N.'s* dreams of empire in, 184; iii. 235, 267, 268; iv. 226: *N.'s* plans for attacking England in, ii. 213: proposed French expedition to, iii. 6: proposed Franco-Persian invasion of, 24: England's vulnerable heel, 88, 90, 91: the highway to, 89

Indus, River, the, proposed Indian expeditions via, ii. 134

Industry, improved condition of, ii. 165: *N.* advises encouragement of, 222

Infantado, Duke del, leader of Ferdinand VII.'s party, iii. 99: commissioned governor of New Castile, 100

Infantry, *N.'s* early views concerning, i. 28, 30

"Influence of the Passions," *N.'s* study of Mme. de Staël's, ii. 36

Ingolstadt, Bernadotte marches to, ii. 234: Davout to concentrate at, iii. 159–161

Inn Quarter, ceded to Austria, ii. 27: embodied in the Confederation of the Rhine, iii. 184

Inn, River, the, military movements on, ii. 124, 233, 236; iii. 154, 159, 164, 181

Innocent II., contrasted with Pius VII., 202

Innsbruck, seized by the Tyrolese, iii. 156: garrisoned by Austrians, 156: Lefebvre drives Tyrolcans from, 165

Inquisition, the Holy, blamed for disorders in Spain, iii. 124

Institute of France, reorganization of, i. 167: Talleyrand a member of, ii. 22, 32: elects *N.* a member, 67, 214: part of the educational system of France, 145

Institutions, *N.'s* study of, i. 40

International law, the law of colonial trade, iii. 41, 42: neutral ships and neutral goods, 41–43: the "rule of 1756," 41, 42: right of search, 42, 81: contraband of war, 42: sanctity of all flags on high seas, 48: the law of neutrals, 203, 205, 214: use of "simulated papers," 205, 210

International understandings, a hoped-for system of, iv. 243

Invalides, Hospital of the, trophies from Aboukir deposited at, ii. 97: inauguration of the empire at, 209: distribution of Legion of Honor crosses at, 231: relics of Frederick the Great sent to, iii. 3

Ionian Islands, taken under French protection, ii. 11: worship of *N.* in, 11: France retains, 14: suzerainty of Turkey over, 168: occupied by Russia, 211: compensation for, iii. 49: England's naval watchfulness over, 90: military government of, 213

Ireland, Hoche's expedition to, i. 278, 279: plans of French invasion of, ii. 33, 46, 213, 214, 238: arrest and dismissal of French consuls in, 173: *N.* foments disturbance in, 175: volunteer forces in, 186: English troops sent to Portugal from, iii. 97: French expedition against (1811), 234, 235

Iron Mask, the Man in the, i. 12

Isar, River, military movements on the, ii. 124; iii. 159–162

Isenburg, member of the Confederation of the Rhine, ii. 260

Iser Mountains, military movements near, iv. 55

Islam, *N.* professes the religion of, ii. 45

Isola Rossa, patriot success at, i. 64

Isonzo, River, military operations on the, i. 267: proposed boundary for Italy, ii. 16

Istria, ceded to Austria at Leoben, i. 271: Austrian forces in, ii. 111: ceded by Austria to Italy, 252: creation of hereditary duchy of, 255: Bessières created Duke of, iii. 70, 71. See BESSIÈRES

Italian Church, *N.'s* threat to liberate it from Rome, iii. 58

Italian Republic, *N.* president of the, ii. 149

Italy, affinity with Corsica, i. 2, 3, 11, 12: the root of the Buonaparte family in, 12, 13: expected enmity of, 110: movements of the French fleet against, 113: *N.'s* plan of campaign in, 141, 144–146: suspension of offensive operations in, 152: opening the roads into, 152, 208: uneasiness in, at English proximity, 155: French schemes against English influence in, 155: growth of liberal ideas in, 164: *N.* claims the honors of the campaign in, 174: adoption of *N.'s* plan of campaign against (1795), 175, 176: Austria's gaze on, 198: *N.'s* peculiar relations to, and knowledge of, 205–207, 225: the battle-field of rival dynasties, 207: status in 1796, 207: revolutionary spirit in, 207: wealth, 207, 225, 229: cost of the war in, 211: *N.'s* successes in (1796), 211: French pillage in, 211, 261, 276; ii. 8, 12, 21: the destinies of Europe dependent on fate of, i. 212: "an artichoke," 213: the garden of, 216, 217: crushed at Lodi, 219, 220: levying contributions in, 219, 220, 223–225, 228, 229: the fate of Europe dependent on campaign in, 236: *N.'s* personal views of his campaign in, 242: *N.'s* negotiations with, 244–249: relations with France, 244–249: the campaign in, 250 et seq.: Austria's fourth attempt to retrieve position in, 250: the key of, 252: Spain's mastery of, 260: Austria's greed for territory in, 262: Austria's determination to fight in, 263: spread of the revolutionary movement in, 264, 265: *N.'s* organization of native forces in, 267: scheme of a central republic for, 271: general disarmament of, 273: *N.* has free hand in rearrangement of, ii. 4: *N.'s* schemes to master, 6: lands in, ceded to Austria, 14: attitude of the Directory toward, 15, 16: *N.'s* reports on the people of, 15, 16: *N.* the deliverer of, 17: the enlightenment of, 25: France's policy toward, 26: keeping open gateways into, 27: Polish troops in, 28: *N.'s* forces in, 28: reasons for success of revolutionary propaganda in, 30: proposed movements of the allies in, 49: Joubert's command in, 49: French disasters in, 55, 92: dissolution of the republics in, 57: France foments quarrels in, 59: Schérer's blunders in, 60: Russian military operations in, 62, 63: Francis I. determined to hold northern, 93: *N.'s* bad faith with the states of, 95: French and Austrian troops in, 105: *N.'s* plan of campaign in, (1800), 106 et seq.: the reserve army ordered to, 107: Lecourbe ordered to, 110: Austrian successes and forces in, 110, 111: open to *N.'s* armies, 113: Austria agrees to evacuate northern, 119: Austria seeks concessions in, 122: Masséna's maladministration in, 124: Murat commanding in central, 124: Brune's and Macdonald's movements in, 125: Austria's line in, as fixed at Lunéville, 125: alleged plans of *N.* to secure principality in, 126: *N.'s* problems in, 131 et seq.: influence of France in, 133: Franco-Russian agreement concerning, 135, 136: the Code Napoléon in, 143; iv. 79: reorganization of the Cisalpine Republic, ii. 149: *N.'s* grip on, 168: Austria's share in, 170: Moreau's soldiers drafted into, 188: the second campaign in, 188:

Italy — *continued.*
restriction of the temporal power in, 208: necessity for reorganization, 222: union of the crowns of France and, 226: coronation of *N.* as king, 226: *N.'s* scheme of independence for, 227: *N.* ignores Russian interference in, 228: Prince Eugène Beauharnais viceroy of, 229: *N.'s* sojourn in, 229: Austria's ambition concerning, 230: Eugène Beauharnais to organize troops in, 232: Austria's interest in, 233: Archduke Charles commanding in, 233: Prussia bound to secure the independence of, 243: Austrian troops withdrawn to Vienna from, 245: *N.* proposes to add Venetia to, 251: acquires Friuli and Istria, 252: acquires Dalmatia, 252, 262: *N.* exacts tribute from, 255: Venetia incorporated into, 255, 262: enlistments from, under the French eagles, iii. 11: French dominion recognized at Tilsit, 47: temporal appointment of bishops in, 57: ecclesiastical difficulties in, 57, 233: relations of France with, 61: proposal to lay under commercial tribute to France, 62: French nobility endowed with lands in, 71: *N.'s* royal progress through, 88: *N.'s* firm hold on, 88: as a highway to India, 89: lack of an heir to the throne, 90: abolition of the hostile strip between Naples and, 94: annexation of Papal States to, 58, 94: Etruria incorporated with kingdom, 96, 102: *N.* visits (Nov., 1808), 102: *N.* offers the crown to Lucien, 102, 103: Austria looks for indemnities in, 151: hopes of the Hapsburgs to regain territory in, 154: defeat of Prince Eugène by Archduke John in, 156: Archduke John in, 163, 164: consolidation of, under the Napoleon family, 167: extinguishment of Austria's hopes in, 167: the city of Rome incorporated with, 186: Machiavelli and Daunou on the attitude of the church of Rome toward, 201: breaking the chains of ecclesiastical oppression in, 202: substitution of military despotism, 202: allotment of Austrian lands to, 204: England's paper blockade of, 205: Eugène made viceroy of, 214: "the flank of France," 216: confiscation in, 226: furnishes contingent to *N.'s* army, 246: *N.* ruler of, iv. 19: Roman Catholic influence in, 26: *N.* refuses to cede any part of, 27: Eugène ordered to raise a new army in 38, 43: proposal to liberate her from France, 44: Austria seeks to regain ascendancy in, 49, 72, 80: *N.* offers to guarantee the unity of, 72: sowing the seeds of unity for, 77: effect of the battle of Leipsic on, 77: confusion in, 79: Alfieri's work in, 79: humiliation of, 79: proposed independence of, 80: fails to support *N.*, 91, 93: lost to France, 91: *N.* renounces the throne of, 147: feels the Austrian yoke, 156: revulsion of feeling toward *N.* in, 156: plots against *N.*, 160: social reforms in, 226: after-effects of the Revolution, 226: *N.'s* task in, 226: French influences in, 246, 247: Austria driven from, 247

Ivan, body physician to the Emperor, iv. 146

Ivrea, attacked by Lannes, ii. 111: capture of, 113

Izquierdo, Spanish minister to France, iii. 95: conducts negotiations between Spain and France, 105: reports failure of his mission, 105

J

Jackson, Andrew, at New Orleans, iv. 174

Jacobin Club, the, foundation of, i. 55: influence, 87, 88, 91: letter from *N.* to, 103, 104: closing of, 161

Jacobinism, in *N.'s* early life, i. 84: *N.* renounces, 150: its decline in France, ii. 1: French hatred of, 24: rising tide of (1799), 64: Pitt's delusion concerning *N.* and, 94: decadence and obliteration of, 127, 151, 165, 167: effect on *N.*, iv. 223

Jacobins, the, declare open hostility to Louis XVI., i. 100, 115: Danton's leadership in, 110: struggle between the Girondists and, 111: position in the National Convention, 111, 158: connection of the Buonapartes with, 127: supremacy of, 127, 139: defeated by the Girondists in Marseilles, 128: intensity of their movement, 131: disorders of their rule, 147: decline of their power, 158, 159, 178; ii. 1: military successes, i. 159: influence among the Thermidorians, 161: tyranny of, 162, 163: strive for the mastery, 165: reaction in favor of, 168: *N.'s* relations with, 108, 182: influence in the Directory, ii. 33: activity in May elections (1799), 62: political faith, 64: influence in the Five Hundred, 66: suppression of their section of the press, 66: attitude on the 19th Brumaire, 78, 79: end of the party, 81, 84: financial effects of their rule, 88, 89: legislation against, 89: attitude toward the Church, 132: assassination schemes among, 154, 155: reputed rising in France, 189: England fosters the spirit of insurrection among the, 191: alienated from *N.*, iv. 171: subservient to *N.'s* will, 229

Jaffa, bombardment of, ii. 47: massacre and license at, 47, 48: the French hospitals at, 50, 51: stories of *N.'s* inhumanity at, 51: the retreat from, 51

Jamestown, St. Helena, iv. 215

Janina, Pasha of, rebellious spirit of, ii. 11

Janizaries, rebellion of the, iii. 33, 127

Jason, *N.* likened to, iv. 22

Jauberthon, Mme. de, marries Lucien Buonaparte, iii. 102

Jaucourt, ——, royalist intrigues of, iv. 129: letter of, March 17, 1814, 129: member of the executive commission, 135

Jay treaty, the, ii. 136

Jemmapes, battle of, i. 115

Jefferson, Thomas, his embargo policy, iii. 82, 83

Jéna, battle of, ii. 279–283: moral effect upon Prussia, iii. 1: practical results to the French, 2: Prussia's humiliation at, 49: a royal hare-hunt on the field of, 138: immediate effects of the battle, 147: patriotism in the university, iv. 31: the strategy of, 35

Jéna, the bridge of, in Paris, iii. 62

Jerome (king of Westphalia), violates the Continental System, iii. 204: acquires Hanover and Magdeburg, 204: hesitates about furnishing new levies, iv. 28. See also BUONAPARTE, JEROME

Jesuits, Carlo Buonaparte's claims against the, i. 15, 21, 24, 32: Alexander seeks their influence in Poland, iv. 20

Jesus Christ, *N.* compares Apollonius of Tyana with, ii. 133

Jews, in Corsica, i. 5: Paoli's relations with the, 5: rights and duties under the Code, ii. 144: the Semitic question in France, iii. 62–64: general Sanhedrim of, 63, 64: *N.'s* legislation concerning, 69: liable to military service, 64: regulations for Alsace, 64: present standing in France, 64; iv. 229

Jezzar, commanding Turkish troops in Syria, ii. 46–48: *N.* reports his massacres to, 47: reinforcements from Damascus for, 48

Joachim I., grand duke of Cleves and Berg, ii. 261. See also MURAT

John, Archduke, succeeds Kray in command, ii. 122: forces of, 122: position on the Inn, 124: battle of Hohenlinden, 124, 125: reaches Marburg, 236: to excite revolt in the Tyrol, iii. 154: defeats Prince Eugène, 156: abandons the Tyrol, 163: escapes from Macdonald into Hungary, 165: ordered to Linz, 167: at Volkermarkt, 168: in Hungary, 174: driven into Hungary by Eugène, 175: preparations to oppose, 175: advances toward Raab, 175: in Presburg, 175, 176, 178: turns to guard Hungary, 178: ordered to attack, 178: accused of criminal negligence, 178: banished to Styria, 178: proposes to continue the war, 181: quarrels with Charles, 182

John, Don, regent of Portugal, iii. 95: character, 95: yields to demands of France, 95: plan to capture, 96: Bellesca organizes rebellion in favor of, 97

Jomini, Henri, on the Eckmühl campaign, iii. 163: records *N.'s* warlike spirit, 248: *N.'s* military confidences and conversations with, 253, 256: alleged hostility of Berthier to, iv. 52: goes over to the allies, 52: military genius, 52

Jouan, Gulf of, landing of *N.* on shores of, iv. 163

Joubert, Gen. B. C., in Rivoli campaign, i. 251–254: occupies Rivoli, 251: military operations in the Tyrol, 266, 268, 269: joins *N.*, 268: withdraws from the Tyrol, 269, 273: French agent in the Netherlands, ii. 26: to succeed *N.* in Italy, 49: defeated and killed at Novi, 57, 63, 66: succeeds Moreau, 63: relations with Sieyès, 63: statue at the Tuileries, 97

Jourdan, Gen. J. B., defeats the Austrians at Fleurus, i. 163: suspected of intrigue, 165: a product of Carnot's system, 202: saved from defeat at Manbeuge, 202: commanding forces at Düsseldorf, 209: military genius, 211: seizes Würzburg, 235: meets with disaster in Germany, 235: defeated near Ratisbon, 235: wins battle of Altenkirchen, 235: disgraced, 279: member of the Five Hundred, ii. 49: commanding Army of the Danube, 49: ordered to central Germany, 60: defeated at Ostrach and Stockach, 60: succeeded by Lenonf, 60: carries out conscription measures, 63: Jacobin candidate for supreme command, 64: demands a vote of "public danger," 66: fails to attend banquet at St. Sulpice, 68: warned to keep the peace, 74: legislation aimed against, 89: annexes Piedmont, 149: victory at Fleurus, 206: pacification of Piedmont, 206: created marshal, 206: military adviser to Joseph, iii. 142: goes over to Louis XVIII., iv. 147: recreated marshal, 172

"Journal of Debates," the, iii. 72

"Journal of the Empire," the, iii. 72

Joux, imprisonment and death of Toussaint Louverture in castle of, ii. 152

Judicial administration, the, ii. 99–101

Judiciary, reform of the, i. 87

July 14, celebration of, ii. 127

Junot, Gen. Andoche, *N.* wins the admiration of, i. 139: letters from *N.*, 151; iii. 270; iv. 1: accompanies *N.* to Paris, i. 156: delivers *N.'s* terms to Venice, 270: escorts Josephine to Montebello, 282: formulates demand on the Venetian senate, ii. 7: service in Egypt, 36: in battle of Esdraelon, 49: ordered to leave Egypt, 56: ordered with "corps of observation" to Portugal, iii. 57: his venality and greed, 67, 97: ordered to invade Portugal, 95, 96: reaches Abrantès, 96: garrisons Portuguese fortresses, 96: prepares for invasion of Spain, 96: reaches Lisbon, 97: military administration in Portugal, 97: goes to Oporto, 97: aspires to the crown of Portugal, 97, 219: revulsion of feeling in Portugal against, 97: appointed governor of Portugal, 104: strength in Portugal, 122: Bessières ordered to connect with, 123: precarious situation, 123: escapes to Cintra, 123: defeated at Vimeiro, 123, 124: surrenders at Cintra, 123, 124, 144: returns to France, 123: forces in Spain, 143: defeated by the Black Legion at Berneck, 180: in Leon, 217: battle of Borodino, 261

Junot, Mme., i. 168: opinions of *N.*, ii. 128, 129: ancient lineage of, iii. 97

Jura Mountains, proposed boundary for Germany, iii. 243

Jüterbog, Bernadotte at, iv. 63

K

Kaja, fighting at, iv. 36

Kalatscha, River, military operations on the, iii. 260, 261

Kalish, treaty of, Feb. 28, 1813, iv. 21, 31

Kalkreuth, Gen., Prussian commander, ii. 272: defense of Dantzic, iii. 24: at Tilsit, 43: agreement to evacuate Prussia, 81

Kaluga, extension of the Russian lines toward, iii. 266: French retreat toward, 268

Kamenski, Gen., Russian general-in-chief, iii. 14: mistake at battle of Pultusk, 14: retired, 14

Kandahar, projected rising against England in, iii. 24

Kapzewitch, Gen., reinforces Blücher at Montmirail, iv. 96

Karl August, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, accepts French terms after Jéna, iii. 7

Karlings, the, the legitimacy of, ii. 208

Kastel, Bertrand stationed at, iv. 89
Katzbach, River, Blucher crosses the, iv. 55: battle of, 60, 61
Kehl, Moreau crosses the Rhine at, i. 235
Keith, Adm. G. K. E., expedition against Genoa, ii. 105: gratitude to *N.* for favors, iv. 213: announces the sentence of imprisonment to *N.*, 213
Kellermann, Gen. F. C., defeats the allies at Valmy, i. 115: commanding forces in the Alps, 128, 209: plans of the Directory regarding, 221: in Savoy, 222: receives subsidy from *N.*, 222: proposition that he organize republics in Italy, 227
Kellermann, Gen. F. E., in battle of Marengo, ii. 118, 119, 175: battle of Leipsic, iv. 71, 73: transfers his allegiance to Louis XVIII., 147: recreated marshal, 172: in the Waterloo campaign, 175, 176, 182, 183, 198: battle of Quatre Bras, 182, 183
Kemberg, Blucher's march to, iv. 66
Keralio, M. de, commends *N.'s* ability, i. 28, 29
Khiva, proposed Franco-Russian expedition via, ii. 126
Kienmayer, Gen., Austrian commandant in Franconia, iii. 180
Kilmaine, Gen. C. J., watches Venice, i. 266
"King of the French," or "King of France," i. 64
Kings, divine right of, iv. 222
Kinzig, the Austrian line at, ii. 105
Kinzig, River, military operations on the, iv. 76
Kirchener, Gen., killed at Reichenbach, iv. 40
Klagenfurt, capture of, i. 268: *N.* in, 269: invasion of the Tyrol from, iii. 181
Kléber, Gen. J. B., military successes of, i. 163: a product of Carnot's system, 202: service in Egypt, ii. 36 et seq.: marches on Syria, 46, 47: in battle of Esdraelon, 48, 49: at the siege of Acre, 50: in the battle of Aboukir, 54: appointed to chief command of army in Egypt, 55: instructions for evacuating Egypt, 56: protests against *N.'s* conduct, 56: deceived by *N.*, 56: prepares to evacuate Egypt, 94: military genius, 122: concludes treaty of El Arish, 122: defeats the Turkish army at Heliopolis, 123: his admirable administration, 123: assassination of, 123, 135: succeeded by Menou, 123
Klein, Gen., in the Austerlitz campaign, ii. 245: Blücher's duplicity to, iii. 2
Kleist, Gen., in battle of Bautzen, iv. 39: Prussian commissioner at Poischwitz, 43, 45: battle of Kulm, 61: reinforces Blücher at Montmirail, 96: displaced, 175
Klenau, Gen., at surrender of Mantua, i. 257: threatens Augereau, ii. 125: commanding under Archduke John, 122: battle of Wagram, iii. 176: march from Tharandt to Dresden, iv. 57
Knight of Malta, the, letters from the Czar to, i. 262: death of, ii. 12
Knights of St. John of Malta, the, corruption among, ii. 38: wars against the Turks, 40: Paul I. seeks to head, 102: Malta restored to, 167, 171
Kobelnitz, military operations near, ii. 249
Kolberg, Bennigsen attempts to succor, iii. 15: siege abandoned, 23: *N.* demands, as a pledge, 35
Kolin, battle of, iv. 235
Koller, Gen., Austrian commissioner at Fontainebleau, iv. 149: suggests an asylum for *N.* in England, 150: accompanies *N.* to Elba, 153: quits Elba, 155
Kollowrath, Gen., in battle of Austerlitz, ii. 249: ordered to seize Linz, iii. 167
Königsberg, Lestocq's retreat to, iii. 1: Ney's false move toward, 14: Frederick William shut up in, 15: Bennigsen's defense of, 19: Bennigsen retreats to, 21: Russian retreat toward, 31: Lestocq driven into, 32: reinforcements for Bennigsen from, 32: *N.* leaves Tilsit for, 55: the League of Virtue in, 83: popularity of Stein's measures at, 150: Alexander I. at, 150, 151: Murat enters, iv. 20: patriotism in the university, 31: proposed new capital for Prussia, 39
Korner, Theodor, incites Prussian patriotism, iv. 31
Korneuburg, military operations near, iii. 168
Korsakoff, Gen., defeated by Masséna at Zurich, ii. 63, 93
Kosciusko, Tadeusz, lack of faith in *N.*, iii. 8, 9
Kösen, the allies outwitted at, iv. 76
Kossuth, Louis, charges treachery against Maria Louisa, iv. 46
Kottbus, ceded to Saxony, iii. 53
Kourakine, Count, at Tilsit, iii. 43: Russian ambassador to France, 238: injured by fire, 238: leaves Paris for St. Petersburg, 239: takes *N.'s* messages to Alexander, 239
Krasnoi, the French retreat through, iv. 5–7: *N.'s* coolness at, 6, 7: compared to Hanau, 76
Kray, Gen. Paul, commanding Austrian troops on the Rhine, ii. 105: *N.'s* plans to defeat, 106: abandons Donaueschingen, 108: outwitted by Moreau, 108, 109: defeated by Moreau at Engen, 109: retreats toward the Danube, 109: defeated at Messkirch, 109: superseded by Archduke John, 122
Kremlin, the, iii. 262, 264: French occupation of, 262, 265: pillaged, 265: failure to destroy, 269, 270
Krems, Kutusoff crosses the Danube at, ii. 236
Kronach, the Imperial Guard at, ii. 278
Krossen, proposed allotment of, to Saxony, iv. 39
Kulm, battle of, iv. 60, 61
Kunersdorf, battle of, iv. 235
Küstrin, capitulation of, iii. 2: held by the French, iv. 33: relief of the French garrison in, 51
Kutusoff, Gen. M. L. G., moves toward Brünn, ii. 236: crosses the Danube at Krems, 236: escapes from Murat, 243: pursued by the French, 244: at Schrattenthal, 244: outwits Murat at Hollabrunn, 244: joins Austrian and Russian troops at Brünn, 245: battle of Austerlitz, 249–251: succeeds Barclay de Tolly, iii. 260: battle of Borodino, 260, 261: flight from Borodino, 261, 262: claims the victory, 262, 264: reinforcements for, 266: takes position at Taratino, 266: menaces the French in Moscow, 266:
Kutusoff, Gen. — *continued.*
refers Lauriston to St. Petersburg, 266: extends his line toward Kaluga, 266: feigned movement against, 268–270: defeated at Malojaroslavetz, 269, 270: Russian failure to reinforce, iv. 2, 3: *N.* plans an ambush for, 3: battle of Wiazma, 3: his allies Want and Winter, 3, 12: at Krasnoi, 6: pursuit of the French army, 7: mistake as to *N.'s* movements, 10: responsibility for further bloodshed, 13: "the plain gentleman of Peskoff," 13: bad generalship of, 13, 20: losses in the campaign, 19, 20: enters Vilna, 20: desires peace, 20: advance through Poland, 29: *N.* seeks Austrian aid to check, 29: issues proclamation to German princes, 31: death, 32

L

Labanoff, Prince, comes to Bennigsen's aid after Friedland, ii. 32: conducts negotiations with *N.*, 35: at Tilsit, 43
Labedoyère, Gen. C. A. H., determines to support *N.*, iv. 164: imprisoned and condemned to death, 211
Laber, River, military operations on the, iii. 161, 162
Laborde, Alexandre de, *N.'s* confidential agent in the treaty of Schonbrunn, iii. 193: suggests the marriage of *N.* and Maria Louisa, 193
Labouchère, Henry, mission from Holland to England, iii. 208
La Carolina, defeat of Dupont at, iii. 122
Lacombe-Saint-Michel, J. P., secures *N.'s* appointment to the Army of the West, i. 156: member of Committee of Safety, 156
La Cour de France, *N.* at, iv. 128, 135
La Cuesta, Gen., defeated at Medina de Rio Seco, iii. 122
La Favorita, battle of, i. 254, 256
Lafayette, Marquis de, commands the National Guard, i. 57: endeavors to calm the National Assembly, 102, 103: *N.* on, 103: commanding armies in the North, 105: pronounced against popular excesses, 105: flight, and capture by the Austrians, 105: released from Austrian prison, 283; ii. 98, 159: possible successor to *N.*, 120: influence on the Consulate, 127: remonstrates against *N.'s* life consulship, 159: supports the chambers, iv. 206, 207: *N.'s* forgiveness for, 218
La Fère, the regiment of, i. 34: the regiment at Douay, 42: ordered on special service, 44: *N.'s* service in, 48, 79, 81: mutiny in, 59: transformed into the First Regiment, 85
La Ferte-sous-Jouarre, military movements near, iv. 96: *N.'s* rapid march to, 102
Laffont, royalist leader, i. 178: on the Thirteenth Vendémiaire, 181, 182: executed, 182
Laffray, dramatic welcome to the returned Emperor at, iv. 164: *N.* offers himself to the bullets of the Fifth Regiment at, 164
La Flèche, the military school at, i. 25
La Force, imprisonment of Malet in, iv. 14, 15
Lagrange, Gen., moves against Castaños, iii. 144: transfers his allegiance to Louis XVIII., iv. 147
Lagrange, J. L., created baron, iii. 227
Laharpe, Gen., general of division, Army of Italy, i. 208: attacked by Beaulieu at Voltri, 213, 215: retreats to Savona, 215: killed at Fombio, 218: tutor to Alexander I., iii. 94
La Haye, the farms of, iv. 191: fighting at, 199
La Haye Sainte, the farm-house of, iv. 191: fighting at, 196–198, 203
Lahorie, Gen. V., engaged in Malet's conspiracy, iv. 15
Laine, J. H. J., radical member of the Senate, iv. 134
Lajolais, Gen. F., plots of, in the Cadoudal conspiracy, ii. 189, 190: implicates Moreau, 189
La Junquera, Saint-Cyr at, iii. 142
Lakanal, Joseph, provides for mixed schools, ii. 145
Lake Constance, Kray's communications via, to be cut, ii. 107
Lallemand, Gen. C. F. A., proposes asylum for *N.* on an American ship, iv. 209: negotiations with Capt. Maitland, 211
Lallemant, M., French republican agent in Venice, i. 276: ii. 7
"L'Ambigu," published in London, ii. 174: *N.* lampooned in, 174
Lambrecht, royalist intrigues of, iv. 129
La Mortilla, *N.* prepares plans for its defense, i. 46
La Mure, *N.'s* welcome at, on return from Elba, iv. 164
Land, tenure at outbreak of the Revolution, i. 5, 53, 54, 57
Landes, Department of the, exempt from legislation concerning Jews, iii. 64
Landgrafenberg, military operations at, ii. 279
Landsberg, engagement at, iii. 19
Landshut, military movements near, iii. 160–162, 167: *N.* at, 162: battle of, 163: Archduke Charles's military mistake at, 167
Langeron. Gen. Andrault, in battle of Austerlitz, ii. 250: captures Rheims, iv. 109: on the dissensions in Blucher's army, 109: on the terror of *N.'s* name, 112
Langres, military movements near, iv. 92, 100, 120
Lanjuinais, Jean D., president of House of Deputies, iv. 172
Lannes, Gen. Jean, recommended for promotion, i. 217: threatens Genoa, 228: service in Egypt, ii. 36: wounded at Acre, 52: battle of Aboukir, 54: accompanies *N.* on his return from Alexandria, 56: action on the 18th Brumaire, 71: commanding at the Tuileries, 74: crosses the St. Bernard, 110, 111: attacks Ivrea, 111: hesitates at Fort Bard, 111: reaches Aosta, 111: defeats Ott at Casteggio, 116: commanding corps at Marengo, 116–118: battle of Montebello, 128: restored to favor, 178: created marshal, 207: character, 234; iii. 161, 172, 173: captures Braunau, ii. 236: pursues the Russians, 244: in battle of Austerlitz, 249, 250: at Coburg, 278: in battle of Jéna, 279, 280: seizes Dessau, iii. 2: pursues Hohenlohe, 2: ordered to the Narew, 11: battle of Pultusk, 12: strength in Poland, 13: sickness, 17: battle of Heilsberg, 29: battle of Friedland, 31,

Lannes, Gen. Jean — *continued.*
32; created Duke of Montebello, 71: familiarity with *N.*, 75: moves against Castaños, 144: movements before Ratisbon, 161, 162: in battle of Eckmuhl, 162: at the crossing of the Danube at Lobau, 168: battle of Esaling, 170, 172: mortally wounded, 172: *N.'s* grief at loss of, 172, 173: reproaches *N.* for his ambition, 173: *N.* saves him from drowning, 185: warns *N.* against treachery, 247: characterization of Talleyrand, iv. 129

Lanusse, Gen. F., recommended for promotion, i. 217

Laon, battle of, iv. 107–109, 112: *N.* at, 206

Laplace, P. S., Minister of the Interior, ii. 87: succeeded by Lucien Buonaparte, 87: created baron, iii. 227

Lapoype, Gen. J. F., feeling against, in Marseilles, i. 142: acquitted by the Convention, 142

Larevellière-Lépeaux, Louis-Marie de, member of the Directory, i. 186, 200, 202; ii. 23: character, i. 200: dissatisfied with treaty of Leoben, 272: *N.'s* relations with, ii. 15: resigns from the Directory, 62

La Rochejaquelein, Gen. L. du V., killed, iv. 171

La Romana, Gen. P. C., revolts in Denmark, iii. 124: at Valmaseda, 143: at Santander, 143: joined by Blake, 144

La Rothière, battle at, iv. 94, 100

Lasalle, Gen. A. C., captures Stettin, iii. 2: success near Valladolid, 122: in battle of Aspern, 170: killed at Wagram, 177

Las Cases, E. A. D., *N.'s* intimacy with, i. 82: memoirs of *N.*, 137: recounts the story of the "day of the sections," 184: *N.'s* conversations with, ii. 186: *N.'s* declaration to, concerning the Duc d'Enghien, 199: appointed private secretary to *N.*, iv. 209: negotiates with Capt. Maitland for *N.'s* passage to England, 209, 211: accompanies *N.* to St. Helena, 214: assists *N.* on his history, 217: dismissed, 217

Latouche-Tréville, Adm. L., scheme of naval operations for, ii. 212: death of, 212

Latour-Maubourg, Gen. M., commanding cavalry in Russian campaign of 1812, iii. 246: battle of Dresden, iv. 56, 67: battle of Leipsic, 71, 73: transfers his allegiance to Louis XVIII., 147

Lauban, *N.* at, iv. 55

Lauderdale, Lord, British envoy to France, ii. 261, 262: demands his passports, 273: reopens negotiations, 274

Laudon, Gen. G. E., commanding forces in the Tyrol, i. 268: at Verona, 273

Lauriston, Gen. A. J., splendid artillery work at Wagram, iii. 177: replaces Caulaincourt at St. Petersburg, 241: mission to Kutusoff's camp, 266: commanding division under Eugène, iv. 28: in campaign of 1813, 34: occupies Leipsic, 36: battle of Lutzen, 36: battle of Bautzen, 39: beleaguers Schweidnitz, 42: confronts Blucher at the Bober, 55: detailed to block Blücher's road to Berlin, 66: battle of Leipsic, 71, 75: captured at Leipsic, 75

Lausanne, ovation to *N.* at, ii. 17: French forces near, 110: *N.* at, May 10, 1800, 110

La Valette, Gen., formulates demands on the Genoese senate, ii. 7: postmaster-general at Paris, letter to *N.*, March, 1814, iv. 126

Lawyers, status at outbreak of the Revolution, i. 53

Lazaref, Russian grenadier, decorated by *N.* at Tilsit, iii. 54

League of Virtue, the, iii. 83; iv. 30

Lebrun, Charles F., appointed third consul, ii. 86, 143: revises the Code, 143: evades responsibility concerning the Duc d'Enghien, 194: Treasurer of France, 206: at *N.'s* coronation, 219: created Duke of Piacenza, iii. 71: Arch-Treasurer, 78: salary of, 78: at Krasnoi, iv. 6

Lech, River, military operations on the, ii. 107; iii. 158, 159

Leclerc, Victor-Emmanuel, conducts expedition against San Domingo, ii. 152, 153: marries Pauline Buonaparte, 152: death of, 153

Leclerc, Mme., accompanies her husband to San Domingo, ii. 152: marries Prince Borghese, 164

Lecourbe, Gen. C. J., commanding in the Alps, ii. 107: captures Memmingen, 109: captures Stockach, 109: ordered to Italy, 110

Leers, Gen. Reille at, iv. 174

Lefebvre, Gen. F. G., commander of the Paris garrison, ii. 71: joins the Bonapartist ranks, 71: in battle of Jena, 280, 281: strength in Poland, iii. 14: besieges Dantzic, 23, 24: created Duke of Dantzic, 71: besieges Saragossa, 122: success at Tudela, 122: near Bilbao, 142: rash movements by, 143: in movement against Madrid, 145: commanding Bavarian troops at Munich, 158: in campaign of Eckmuhl, 160: defeats the Austrians at Abensberg, 161: at Salzburg, 164: drives Tyroleans from Innsbruck, 165: relieves Vandamme at Linz, 174: withdrawn from the Tyrol, 181: commanding the Old Guard, 246: a momentary attack of senility, iv. 126: at council at St. Dizier, 126: accompanies the Emperor to Paris, 128: at the abdication scene, 139: transfers his allegiance to Louis XVIII., 147: recreated marshal, 172

Lefebvre-Desnouettes, Col. Charles, service in Egypt, ii. 36

Leghorn, *N.* plans to meet Joseph at, i. 175: the English fleet driven from, 228: levy of enforced contributions from, 229: England gains entrance into, iii. 57: expulsion of the English from, 57: position in the French empire, 214: plots against *N.* in, iv. 160

Legion of Honor, establishment of the, ii. 158, 159: distribution of crosses, 231: first Russian member of the, iii. 54: French pride in, 70: new members of, 227: abolition of the orphan asylums of the, iv. 159

Legislature, the, ii. 85, 99–101: constitution of, 155: new methods of electing to, 159: *N.* opens, Aug. 16, 1807, iii. 61: its functions, 68: distribution of titles among heads of, 71: *N.* contemplates its abolition, iv. 25: demands constitutional government, 85: prorogued, 86: overthrows *N.*, 135

Legnago, French occupation of, i. 227, 232: military operations near, 250, 251

Legrand, Gen. C. J., in battle of Austerlitz, ii. 249: in battle of Aspern, iii. 170, 171

Leibnitz, G. W. von, advocates French conquest of Egypt, ii. 31

Leipsic, seized by the Duke of Brunswick, iii. 181: Eugène establishes headquarters at, iv. 27: French forces at, 28, 36: military movements near, 36, 56, 65, 66, 68, 69: battle of, 70 *et seq.*: topography, 70, 71: *N.* in, 75: importance of the battle in history, 77: triumph of revolutionary liberalism at, 78: *N.* spares the city from fire, 78, 79: effects of the battle of, 79: mistaken ideas concerning *N.'s* attitude after, 98

Le Noble's "Spirit of Gerson," *N.'s* study of, i. 85

Lenouf, Gen. succeeds Jourdan in command, ii. 60: retreats behind the Rhine, 60

Leo III., crowns Charles the Great, ii. 208

Leoben, the French at, i. 211: seized by Masséna, 269: *N.'s* position at, 269, 270: treaty of, 269–272, 274, 276, 280, 283; ii. 8, 9, 13, 14: alleged duplicity by *N.* at, i. 270, 271: French march to, ii. 28: Ney's victory at, 236

Leon, French troops in, iii. 217

Leonetti, denounced by *N.*, i. 122

Leopold II., acknowledges Hungarian rights, iii. 166

Lepelletier, the section of, i. 179

Lesmont, military operations at, iv. 94

Lesseps, J. B. B., French consul-general at St. Petersburg, iii. 79, 80

Lestocq, Gen. retreats to Konigsberg, iii. 1: joins the Prussian army, 10: at Neidenburg, 12: at Anzerburg, 14: opposes Ney's march to Königsberg, 14: relieves the garrison of Graudenz, 15: in campaign of Eylau, 19, 20: in battle of Heilsberg, 29–31: in Friedland campaign, 31–34: pursued by Davout, 33, 34

Leszcynski, Maria, *N.'s* imitation of her marriage to Louis XV., iii. 196

Letourneur, C. L., member of the Directory, i. 200, 202: character, 200: retires from the Directory, ii. 1

"Letters from the Cape of Good Hope," iv. 217

"Letters of Buonaparte to Buttafuoco," i. 82

Leuthen, battle of, iv. 235

Levant, the, France occupies Venetian possessions in, i. 277: Genoa's commerce with, ii. 10: French plots for disturbances in, 11: France's jealous care for possessions in, 21, 179: England aspires to control, 94: Sebastiani's mission to, 174–176: question of establishing French colonies in, 176: Portuguese naval operations in, 212: plans for redistribution of lands on, iii. 44: the control of, 89: efficient blockade of, impossible, 214

Leveson-Gower, Lord, English ambassador at St. Petersburg, iii. 81

Leyen, Von der, member of the Confederation of the Rhine, ii. 260

Liberty, Paoli on, i. 5: the recognized colors of, 67

Liberty, fraternity, and equality, i. 57

"Liberty of the Seas," ii. 11

Lichtenstein, member of the Confederation of the Rhine, ii. 260

Lichtenstein, Prince John of, in battle of Austerlitz, ii. 249–251: negotiates for an armistice, 251: in battle of Aspern, iii. 173: Austrian peace commissioner, 184–186: at peace council in Paris, iv. 134

Lido, Porto di, Venetians fire on French vessel in, i. 273

Liebertwolkwitz, military operations near, iv. 70–72

Liège, flight of Lafayette to, i. 105: military operations near, 115; ii. 89, 113, 174, 185

Ligny, battle of, iv. 181–185: Gérard at, 187: Blücher's disaster at, 190: a Prussian blunder, 204: the news of, in Paris, 206

Liguria, ecclesiastical reforms and confiscations in, iii. 202

Ligurian Alps, guerrillas in the, i. 228

Ligurian Republic, the formation of, ii. 7, 14: French control over, 26: Piedmont added to, 26: reorganized, 120: tribute levied on, 120: English efforts to discredit France in, 169: incorporated with France, 227

Lille, peace negotiations at, ii. 8, 59, 95: flight of Louis XVIII. to, iv. 166

Lindau, ceded to Bavaria, ii. 252

Lindenau, seized by the Duke of Brunswick, iii. 181: military operations near, iv. 71, 72, 76

Linz, military movements near, iii. 158–160, 167, 172

Lisbon, recall of the French envoy from, iii. 95: democracy in, 96: Junot's march to, 96, 97: fraternization of the people with Junot's army, 97: Russian squadron sent to, 130: French scheme to seize, 203: Masséna's march to, 218, 219: Masséna's precarious situation before, 219, 220: Wellington's difficult position at, 220: filled with fugitives, 220

Lisle, Rouget de, composes the "Marseillaise," i. 102

Literature, revival of, ii. 165: censorship of, iii. 72

Lithuania, Poniatowski's doubts of, iii. 247: impassivity of its people, 252: the march from Smolensk toward, iv. 5: Maret in charge of affairs in, 14

Littawa, River, military operations on the, ii. 247

"Little Corporal," the, i. 220; iv. 137, 163

Little Gibraltar, capture of, i. 136

Little Görschen, fighting at, iv. 36

"Little Napoleon," iii. 45

Little St. Bernard Pass, the crossing of the, ii. 110, 111

Liverpool, Lord, attacks Wellington, iii. 221: recalls Wellington, iv. 159: mismanagement of English affairs, 168, 169: embarrassment of, 212: views as to the disposition of *N.*, 212: letter to Castlereagh, June 20, 1815, 212

Loano, battle of, i. 208

Lobau, crossing the Danube at, iii. 168, 169, 173, 176

Lobau, Gen., guarding roads from Bohemia, iv. 63: holds Dresden, 68, 70: in the Waterloo campaign, 174–176: at Charleroi, 181: ordered to Marbais, 185: battle of Waterloo, 197, 199, 200
Lobau, River, military movements on the, iii. 169, 171, 175
Lobenstein, Bernadotte at, ii. 278
Lodi, battle of, i. 218–220; ii. 92: *N.'s* narrow escape at, i. 241: withdrawal of the Austrians from Milan to, ii. 113
Logroño, French success at, iii. 122; Ney at, 142
Loire, River, the Empress flees across the, iv. 128: military movements on the, 145
Loison, Gen. L. H., at Piacenza, ii. 116
Lombardy, French troops in, i. 70: military operations against, 128, 143, 207, 208, 213, 215: favors the French Revolution, 155: the military gate to, 206: *N.'s* successes in, 211: expected partition of, 213: richness of the country, 216, 217; ii. 117: *N.'s* influence in, 246: revolutionary movement in, 265: France's interest in, 279, 280: incorporated in the Cisalpine Republic, ii. 14: held by Austria, 95: *N.* aims to secure, 113: the iron crown of, 226: *N.'s* royal progress through, iii. 88
Lonato, battle of, i. 232–234, 241: *N.'s* narrow escape at, 233, 234, 241
London, Talleyrand diplomatic agent in, ii. 22: Talleyrand expelled from, 22: publication of "L'Ambigu" in, 174: Irish radical paper in, subsidized by *N.*, 174: reception of the Duke of Brunswick in, iii. 181
Longwood, *N.'s* residence at, i. 20; iv. 215–219, 238
Longwy, garrison of, capitulates to Prussia, i. 105: abandoned by the enemy, 110
Loretto, capture of, i. 260, 261: the image of the Lady of, 261
L'Orient, the squadron ordered to the Mediterranean from, iii. 89
Lorraine, proposal to continue the war in, iv. 124, 126, 136
Lothair, *N.* contrasted with, iii. 202
Louis, royalist intrigues of, iv. 129
Louis, king of Etruria, attendant in *N.'s* ante-chamber, ii. 132: death of, 149, 150; iii. 57
Louis, king of Etruria (son of the preceding), proposed kingdom in Portugal for, iii. 96
Louis, prince of Prussia, ii. 269: killed at Saalfeld, 279
"Louis Capet," i. 116
Louis Philippe. See CHARTRES, DUC DE
Louis XIV., disgraces Vauban, i. 202: schemes of world-conquest, ii. 31: "abolishes" the Pyrenees, iii. 69: *N.* not the successor of, 231: influence of his villainies, iv. 246
Louis XV., refuses protectorate to Corsica, i. 5: death of, 22: *N.'s* imitation of his marriage to Maria Leszcynski, iii. 196: *N.* not the successor of, 231
Louis XVI., accession of, i. 22: character, 52, 53, 56, 57: contest with the Parliament of Paris, 54, 55: alienation of, from the people, 54–56: attempted reforms by, 54–57; abandoned by the nobles, 57: curtailment of his hunting-grounds, 57: takes up residence in Paris, 57: title under the new constitution, 64: honors Paoli, 68: betrayal of, 86: accepts the Constitution, 87: flight and recapture, 88: clamor for his trial, 90: refuses to sanction secularization of estates of the church and nobility, 100: negotiates with foreign powers, 100, 115, 160: celebrates the fall of the Bastille, 102: takes refuge in the National Assembly, 102: the National Assembly dismisses his body-guard, 102: Marseilles demands dethronement of, 102: imprisoned in the Temple, 102: *N.'s* views concerning, 104: condemnation and execution, 115: causes of his downfall, 160: the regicides of, 186: celebrations of his death, ii. 127; iv. 159
Louis XVII., i. 159
Louis XVIII., recognized by the powers, i. 178: relationship to Victor Amadeus, 216: retires to Blankenburg, ii. 3: purchases Pichegru's adhesion, 3: *N.'s* negotiations with, 6, 154: banished, 134: hopes for restoration of, 154: residence in Warsaw, 154, 189, 192: the Cadoudal conspiracy, 189: promises constitutional government, 189: manifesto of, 192: Alexander I.'s opinion of, iii. 45: at Mittau, 45: offered a kingdom in the United States, 208: proclaimed king at Bordeaux, iv. 114: acclaimed in Paris, 134: proclaimed king by the Senate, 145, 147: imperial generals transfer their allegiance to, 147: character, 147, 157, 158: his feeble tenure, 148: scandals circulated at the court of, 155: treaty with the powers, May 30, 1814, 156: power to create peers, 157: blunders of, 157–159: appoints Soult minister of war, 159: *N.* prophesies the betrayal of, 161: indifference to treaty obligations, 162: sends troops against *N.*, 166: makes concessions, 166: flees to Lille, 166: flees to Ghent, 168: *N.'s* forgiveness for, 218
Louisa, Queen (of Prussia), brings about the treaty of Potsdam, ii. 242, 243: character and influence, 269, 278: *N.'s* abuse of, iii. 3: at Memel, 36, 87: at Tilsit, 40: scandal concerning the Czar, 49: interviews with *N.* concerning Magdeburg, 49–53: the incident of the rose, 52: sarcastic speech to Talleyrand, 62: compared with Queen Mary of England, 53: death of, 53, 251; iv. 30: in need of comforts, iii. 87
Louisa, Queen (of Spain), relations with Godoy, ii. 131, 184, 212: iii. 60, 98, 100, 112, 117: friendship for *N.*, ii. 212: admits England to Leghorn, iii. 57: supposed poisoning of her daughter-in-law, 99: examines Ferdinand's papers, 100: her son reveals her shame, 100: suspected of intrigue in Spain, 101: panic-stricken at the French invasion, 105: advocates the scheme of monarchy in America, 106: repents her abdication, 108, 109; *N.'s* attitude toward, 110: virtual prisoner in the Escorial, 111: summoned to Bayonne, 114
Louisiana, ceded to France, ii. 132, 174: collapse of French rule in, 153: expedition to, 174: Spain's exasperation over loss of, 184: *N.'s* dream of empire in, 184: sold by France to the United States, 184, 212; iv. 247, 248
Louvain, Gneisenau opens fresh communications via, iv. 184: possible retreat of the Prussians via, 191
Louverture, Toussaint, defense of San Domingo, ii. 152: organizes a consular government, 152: capture and death of, 152
Louvre, the, *N.'s* second marriage in, ii. 198–200
Love, *N.* on, i. 40
Low Countries. See AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS; BATAVIAN REPUBLIC; BELGIUM; DUTCH FLANDERS; HOLLAND; NETHERLANDS
Lowe, Sir Hudson, allegations about *N.'s* physical ailments, iv. 173: character, 216: his custody of *N.*, 216–218: *N.'s* disputes with, 238
Lübeck, proposal to give it to Prussia, ii. 258: surrender of, iii. 2: sack of, 4: Bernadotte's force in, 157: extension of the French empire to, 213
Luc, *N.* at, iv. 152
Lucca, given to Pauline (Buonaparte) Borghese, ii. 227, 229: given to Elisa, 255: creation of hereditary duchy of, 255
Lucca and Piombino, Prince of. See BACCIOCCHI, F. P.
Lucca and Piombino, Princess of. See BUONAPARTE, MARIE-ANNE-ELISA
Luckau, defeat of Oudinot at, iv. 56
Ludmannsdorf, Archduke Charles's force at, iii. 160
Lunéville, negotiations between Cobenzl and Joseph Bonaparte at, ii. 122, 125: the Peace of, 125, 126, 131, 132, 168, 171, 193, 229, 230, 259
Lusha, River, military movements on the, iii. 269
Lusignan, Gen., military operations on the Piave, i. 266, 267
Lützen, battle of, iv. 35–38, 53, 65
Lützow, Baron L. A. W., raises the "black troop," iv. 31
Luxembourg, the, Barras's social life in, i. 173: Gohier and Moulins withdraw to, ii. 73: Moreau commanding guard at, 74: the First Consul installed at, 84: residence of the Bonapartes at, 127
Lyceums, the, ii. 146, 147; iii. 73, 74
Lyons, *N.'s* memoir to the Academy at, i. 40: the "Two-cent Revolt" in, 41: *N.* at, 41, 108, 134; ii. 58; iv. 151, 165, 171: honors to Paoli in, i. 68: massacres and anarchy in, 111, 123, 128, 138: Girondist success at, 128: siege of, 133: fall of, 135: recapture of, 148: reorganization of the Cisalpine Republic at, ii. 149: Fesch becomes archbishop of, 165: repulse of Bubna from before, iv. 98: Augereau driven back to, 109: assaulted by the allies, 119: evacuated by Augereau, 119, 120: Francis I. at, 121: constitutional assembly summoned to, 165: reception of Artois and Macdonald at, 165: national assembly at, 171
Lyons Academy, the, *N.'s* essay before, i. 76–78: *N.'s* competition for prize of, 95

M

Macdonald, Gen. E. J. J. A., commanding Army of the North, i. 209: a product of Carnot's system, 202: ordered to command in Naples, ii. 60: succeeds Championnet, 63: defeated on the Trebbia, 63: action on the 18th Brumaire, 71: commanding guard at Versailles, 74: commanding in the Grisons, 124: crosses the Splügen, 125: created Duke of Taranto, iii. 71: commanding in Italy, 164: pursues Archduke John into Hungary, 165: at Villach, 168: battle of Wagram, 177: strength, March, 1812, 246: in Russian campaign, 256: reaches Tilsit, iv. 20: campaign of 1813, 34: battle of Lutzen, 36: battle of Bautzen, 39: beleaguers Schweidnitz, 42: confronts Blücher at the Bober, 55, 61: detailed to block Blücher's road into Saxony, 66: fails in his movement against Berlin, 59–63: battle of Katzbach, 60, 61: reinforcements for, 63: attacked by Blücher at Fischbach, 63: ordered to check Blücher's advance, 65: battle of Leipsic, 71–73, 75: at crossing of the Elster, 75: defends the Rhine at Cologne, 89; Blücher attempts to cut off, 95: fails to check Blücher's retreat, 96: ordered toward Montmirail, 96: ordered to join Victor at Montereau, 97: his failure at Château-Thierry, 102: before Bray, 102, 103: moral exhaustion of, 103: opposed to Schwarzenberg, 105, 112: driven beyond Troyes, 105: demoralized at Provins, 109: moves toward Vitry, 119: at Perthes, 126: Bourbon intrigues with, 133: advises endeavor to recover Paris, 136: strength after the surrender of Paris, 137: at Fontainebleau, 137, 138: approves plan of attack on Paris, 139: at the abdication scene, 139, 140: on commission to present abdication to the Czar, 142, 143: rebuke to Marmont, 144: transfers his allegiance, 146: reception in Lyons, 165
Macedonia, *N.'s* eye on, i. 262
Macerata, annexed to Italy, iii. 58, 94
Machiavelli, his "History of Florence," *N.'s* study of, i. 85: on friendships, ii. 163: theses concerning the Church of Rome, iii. 201
Mack, Gen. K., leads Neapolitan army against Rome, ii. 49: mobilizes the Austrian army, 230: quartermaster-general with Archduke Ferdinand in Germany, 233: *N.'s* opinion of, 233: essays to cross the Danube at Gunzburg, 235: misled concerning *N.'s* movements, 235: interview with *N.*, 235, 236: result of his capitulation, 236
"Madame Mère," i. 16. See also BUONAPARTE, LETIZIA
Madeleine Islands, *N.* writes of their strategic importance, i. 46
Madison, James, policy of non-intervention, iii. 83: declares war against England, 244
Madrid, effect of Marengo at, ii. 131: Lucien Buonaparte minister at, 164: the land-owning class in, 98: culmination of intrigues at, iii. 100: the queen regent of Etruria sent to, 102: irritation against France in, 104: Murat advances on, 106: rioting in, 107, 118: entry of Ferdinand VII. into, 109: Murat enters, 109–111:

Madrid — *continued.*
proposed visit of *N.* to, 110, 112 : *N.* disapproves the seizure of, 110 : Charles IV. a virtual prisoner at, 111 : placed under administration of a junta, 112 : announcement of the Bourbons' deposition in, 114 : revolt against Murat's tyranny in, 114, 115 : Joseph assumes the government at, 117, 121 : Murat commanding at, 122 : the French possession of, in danger, 122 : the French evacuate, 123, 124 : Sir John Moore's supposed movement on, 144, 145 : the French army before the gates of, 145 : capitulation of, 145 : *N.* makes officers prisoners of war, 145 : French troops leave, 146 : chilly reception of *N.* in, 147 : French evacuation of, 148 : Wellington moves against, 222 : Victor Hugo at school in, 223 : George Sand in, 223
Magallon, Charles, French consul at Cairo, ii. 32 : advocates seizure of Egypt, 32
Magdalena, bombardment of, i. 114 : capture of, 140
Magdalena Islands, expedition against the, i. 114
Magdeburg, Hohenlohe's retreat to, ii. 283 : siege of, iii. 2 : Frederick William's hard struggle to retain, 49 : Queen Louisa's efforts to save, 49–53 : passes to Jerome with Westphalia, 49, 204 : parallel between Calais and, 53 : French occupation of, 157, 204, 249, 253 ; iv. 28, 61, 67
Maginajo, Paoli's landing at, i. 68
Magnano, battle of, ii. 60
Mahmud II., proclaimed sultan, iii. 127 : makes treaty with Russia, 244
"Mahomet" (Voltaire's), *N.'s* notes on, iv. 217
Maillebois, *N.'s* study of, iv. 234
Main, River, Augereau's force on the, ii. 124
Main, Army of the. See ARMY OF THE MAIN
Mainau, ceded to Baden, ii. 252
Maintenon, Mme. de, patron of the St. Cyr Academy, i. 103
Mainz, evacuation of, i. 133 : ceded to France, ii. 14, 18, 25 : Marmont ordered to, 232 : *N.* leaves Paris for, 274 : occupied by Mortier, 276 ; iii. 7 : sends deputation to Paris, iv. 17 : *N.* at, 33, 47, 48, 79 : meeting of *N.* and Maria Louisa at, 48 : French retreat to, 76 : disease in, 76 : *N.'s* humanity at, 79 : defense of the Rhine at, 89 : Prussian forces at, 92 : *N.* concedes to the allies at Châtillon, 114
Mainz, Bishop of, *N.'s* sarcasm to agent of, ii. 18
Mainz, the Elector of, ii. 259, 260. See also DALBERG, ARCHBISHOP
Maison, Gen., available forces of, iv. 137 : transfers his allegiance to Louis XVIII., 147
Maistre, Joseph de, on social order, iii. 72
Maitland, Sir P., in battle of Waterloo, iv. 201, 202
Maitland, Capt. F. L. takes *N.* on board the "Bellerophon," iv. 209 : relations with *N.*, 209–211
"Malbrook s'en va t'en guerre," iv. 75
Malet, C. F. de, conspiracy to overthrow the empire, iv. 4, 14, 15 : his career and execution, 14, 15
Malmaison, *N.* at, ii. 133, 163, 195 ; iii. 152 ; iv. 208 : social vices at, iii. 75 : Josephine withdraws to, 190 : *N.* visits Josephine at, 197
Malmesbury, Earl of, mission to Paris (1796), i. 278, 279 : views concerning France, 279 : resumes peace negotiations at Lille, ii. 8
Malojaroslavetz, battle of, iii. 269, 270 ; iv. 3
Malta, *N.* plans seizure of, i. 262 ; ii. 11, 12, 21 : rival claimants of, 12 : French intrigues in, 38 : the citadel of the Mediterranean, 38 : *N.'s* expedition against, 38 : capture of, 38 : the Knights of St. John, 38, 40 : blockade of, 46 ; besieged by England, 93 : Paul I. seeks control of, 93, 102, 126 : French capture of, 102 : captured by England, 126 : proposed cession of, to Russia, 126 : England withdraws from, 135, 168 : Russia waives claim to, 135 : restored to the Knights of St. John, 167 : proposed cession by England, 171 : France pushes England for declaration concerning, 175, 176 : England's occupation of, 179, 182, 184, 225, 226, 228 : England refuses to admit the Neapolitan garrison, 182 : *N.* suggests Austrian or Russian occupation, 182 : England insists on ten years' occupancy of, 182 : *N.'s* ambition concerning, 184 : proposal that England keep, 259 : importance of, iii. 89
Mamelukes, scandals concerning, ii. 11, 40 : usurpation of Egypt by, 32 : foundation of the military organization of, 39, 40 : attack the French at Shebreket, 40 : in the battle of the Pyramids, 41 : enlisted in French army, 45 : the last of the, 53
Manche, Letourneaux de la, member of the Directory, i. 186
Manhood suffrage, i. 110
Manin, last doge of Venice, death of, ii. 16
Mann, Admiral, driven from the Mediterranean, i. 260
Mannheim, *N.'s* line of retreat via, ii. 276 : proposed conference at, iv. 83, 99
"Man of destiny," the, i. 195
"Man on horseback," the, i. 180, 182
Mansilla, Soult ordered to, iii. 146
Mantua, capture of, i. 211 : military operations around, 218, 219, 226, 227, 231 : siege of, 227 et seq., 236 : garrison, 231 : importance, 232 : the siege raised, 232 : reblockaded by the French, 234 : Wurmser relieves, 234, 235 : Austria's efforts to relieve, 236 et seq., 250–258 : *N.'s* critical position before, 237 : Wurmser's ineffectual sally from, 240 : bids defiance to France, 247 : Wurmser's defense and surrender of, 254–258 : disposition by treaty of Leoben, 271 : capture of, 280 : incorporated in the Cisalpine Republic, ii. 14 : lost to France, 63 : interview between *N.* and Lucien at, iii. 102, 103 : trial and execution of Hofer at, 186
Manufactures, condition of, at outbreak of the Revolution, i. 53 : encouragement of, ii. 141 ; iii. 27, 234
"Manuscrit de l'Île d'Elbe," the, i. 103
"Manuscrit de Ste. Hélène," repudiated by *N.*, iv. 217
Marat, J. P., head of the committee of surveillance, i. 110 : crimes and assassination of, 138
Marbais, military movements near, iv. 185, 186
Marbeuf, Marquis de, tradition concerning his paternity of *N.*, i. 14 : influences *N.'s* education, 21, 22, 26 : marriage of, 32 : death, 41, 61
Marbeuf, Mgr. Y. A. de, bishop of Autun, social influence of, i. 35 : disgrace of, 47 : literary patron of *N.*, 47
Marbot, Gen., denies the story of Lannes's death bed, iii. 173 : relates anecdote of the cantinière of Busaco, 223 : memoirs of, iv. 189, 190 : on Grouchy's blunders, 189, 190
Marburg, junction of Austrian troops at, ii. 236
Marceau, Gen. F. S., in battle of Fleurus, i. 163 : statue at the Tuileries, ii. 97
March, River, military operations on the, iii. 178
Marchfeld, the, fighting in, iii. 169 : military operations on, 173, 174 : Prince Eugène left to guard, 181 : Bernadotte's failure on, 216
Marchiennes, military operations near, iv. 176, 179
Marciana, *N.* at, iv. 155
Marcognet, Gen., in battle of Waterloo, iv. 196
Marengo, *N.'s* over-confidence at, ii. 116 : topography of country near, 117 : battle of, 116–120 ; iii. 152, 228 : *N.'s* triumphant return from, ii. 120 : *N.'s* desire for peace after, 122 : effect of the battle at Madrid, 131 : Moreau's troops employed at, 188 : celebration on the field of, 228 : statements concerning *N.'s* movements after, 152 : *N.'s* narrow escape at, iv. 19 : a nobility dating from, 82 : its place in French history, 230
Maret, H. B., secretary to *N.*, ii. 138 ; iii. 23 : recovery of, 28 : influence of, 28 : increased activity of, 28 : created Duke of Bassano, 71 : report from Laborde to, 193, 194 : member of extraordinary council on *N.'s* second marriage, 195 : succeeds Champagny in the Foreign Office, 242 : warlike zeal of, 248 : letter from *N.*, Sept. 10, 1812, 264 : letter from *N.*, Nov. 29, 1812, iv. 12 : in charge of affairs in Lithuania, 14 : meeting with Metternich, 44 : on the Austrian marriage, 44 : letter from *N.*, Aug. 23, 1813, 55 : Minister of Foreign Affairs, 81, 83 : succeeded by Caulaincourt, 81, 83 : transferred to the Department of State, 83 : French dislike of, 83 : influence over *N.* at Dresden, 100 : on the Congress of Châtillon, 100, 101 : records anecdote of Caulaincourt after La Rothière, 100, 101 : persuades *N.* to resume negotiations, 104 : wrings concessions from *N.*, 114 : letter to Caulaincourt, March 17, 1814, 114 : at council at St. Dizier, 126 : at the abdication scene, 139 ; member of *N.'s* new cabinet, 167
Maria, Queen of Portugal, mental alienation of, iii. 95 : embarks for Brazil, 97
Maria Amelia, princess of Saxony, mentioned for marriage with *N.*, iii. 139
Maria Amelia, queen of Saxony, reproaches Metternich for deserting *N.*, iv. 81
Maria Antonietta Theresa, wife of Ferdinand VII., death of, iii. 99
Maria Carolina, queen of Naples, alleged intrigues of, ii. 229 : approaching downfall, 229 : breaks her compact with *N.*, 256
Maria Louisa, of Austria, at Compiègne, iii. 116 : proposed marriage with *N.*, 139, 193, 194 : preparations for her marriage, 194–197 : marriage in Vienna, 195–197 : progress from Vienna to Paris, 197, 198 : meeting with *N.* at Compiègne, 197, 198 : civil marriage, 198 : induction into her imperial court, 198–200 : personality and character, 199, 200, 248, 249, 251 ; iv. 18 : visit to Holland, iii. 206 : statue by Canova, 229 : birth of the King of Rome, 230 : abandonment of *N.*, 230 ; iv. 149, 155, 156, 169 : *N.'s* affection for, iii. 230, 245, 248, 249 ; iv. 18, 218 : accompanies *N.* to Dresden, iii. 250, 251 : returns from Dresden to Paris, 251 : at Prague, 251 : married to Neipperg, 251 : lack of affection for, in France, iv. 15 : plan of regency for, 18, 48, 134, 141, 142 : visits Pius VII., 26 : Metternich on her marriage, 44 : political ends subserved through, 44 : her marriage "a piece of stupidity," 46 : charged with treachery, 46 : meets *N.* at Mainz, 48 : dramatic appearances before the people, 87, 88 : entrusted to the care of the National Guard, 88 : Francis I. to, on the situation, 99 : prepares for extremities, 109 : Joseph enjoined to preserve her from Austrian capture, 117 : letter from *N.*, March 23, 1814, 121, 123 : character as Empress-regent, 128 : her council, 128 : rebuked by *N.*, 128 : flight from Paris, 128–132 : establishes a regency at Blois, 135 : flight of, 136 : *N.* seeks her intervention with her father, 144 : declines to accompany *N.* to Elba, 149 : *N.'s* anxiety for, 149–151 ; takes refuge with her father, 149, 155 : at Rambouillet, 150 : *N.* breaks off relations with, 155 : succumbs to Neipperg's wiles, 155 : proposed coronation of, 165 : relations with Neipperg, 169 : disclaims connection with her husband, 169 : failure of the attempt to crown, 171 : besought for *N.'s* release, 217 : *N.'s* sentiments toward, 218
Marie Louise, queen of Etruria, Lucien refuses to marry, ii. 164 : abdicates and goes to Madrid, iii. 102 : interview with *N.*, 102 : supports Charles IV., 108 : ordered to Bayonne, 115
Maria Theresa, character, iii. 36
Marie Antoinette, tradition concerning, i. 22
"Marie Louises," in the defense of Paris, iv. 123
Mariotte, Talleyrand's agent in Leghorn, iv. 160 : plots to seize *N.*, 160
Maritime Alps, war in the, i. 116, 206, 208
Markgrafneusiedl, military operations near, iii. 175–177
Markkleeberg, fighting near, iv. 71
Markoff, Count, Russian ambassador at Paris, ii. 168, 211 : at the Tuileries, March 13, 1803, 180, 181
Marlborough, Duke of, military genius, i. 210 : *N.* compared with, 210

Marmont, Gen. A. F. L., *N.* visits, i. 82: records *N.'s* mercy, 137: admiration for *N.*, 139, 144: accompanies *N.* to Paris, May 2, 1795, 156: at Milan, 223: records utterances of *N.* at Milan, 223: service in Egypt, ii. 36: *N.* tells him of intention to return from Egypt, 65: reports declaration of Sir Sidney Smith, 55: accompanies *N.* on his return from Alexandria, 56: commanding at the military school, 74: passes Fort Bard, 111, 113: in battle of Marengo, 118: ordered from the Texel to Mainz, 232: at Neuburg, 234: character, 234; iv. 144: letter from *N.* to, Nov. 15, 1805, ii. 244: created Duke of Ragusa, iii. 71: called to Vienna from Illyria, 174: pursues Archduke Charles, 178, 181: repulsed at Znaim, 181: replaces Masséna, 221: withdraws for concentration, 222: moves against Burgos, 222: advances on Wellington, 222: battle of Salamanca, 222, 260; iv. 15: campaign of 1813, 31: the Saxon campaign, 35: battle of Bautzen, 39, 40: treachery, 53, 54: recollections of *N.*, 54: confronts Blücher at the Bober, 55: criticizes *N.'s* plans, 55: battle of Dresden, 56, 57: sent to support of Vandamme at Kulm, 61: *N.* confesses failure to, 65: characterization of the march to Leipsic, 69: battle of Leipsic, 70, 72–74: on *N.'s* conduct after Leipsic, 73: assigned to defense of the Rhine, 89: at Montierender, 94: falls into panic, 95: moves from Sézanne against Blücher, 95, 96: annihilates Olsufieff's corps, 96: demoralization of, 96: pursues Blücher, 96: driven by Blücher to Fromentières, 97: junction of *N.* and, near Étoges, 97: battle of Champaubert, 98: ordered to hold Blücher, 102: at Sézanne, 104: loses Soissons, 106: junction with *N.*, 106: checks Blücher at the Ourcq, 106: battle of Laon, 108: routed by York, 108: at Eppes, 108: disaster at Athies, 108, 110: abandons Berry-au-Bac, 109: rallies his troops at Fismes, 109, 110: captures Rheims, 110: reproached by *N.*, 110: at Berry-au-Bac, 113: defends the Paris line against Blücher, 113: letter from *N.*, March 20, 1814, 117: ordered to Châlons, 117–119: joins Mortier at Fismes, 119: plan of operations against Blücher, 119: disobedience and incapacity of, 109, 119, 120, 123: retreats to Fismes, 123: junction with Mortier, 123: supposed advantages of a retreat to Rheims, 123: driven back to Charenton, 123: driven back on Paris, 124, 128, 130, 131: strength, 126: empowered to treat for surrender, 132: defense of Paris, 132, 133: vanity, 133, 138: concludes terms of surrender, 133: approached by Bourbon intriguers, 133: homage of Paris to, 133, 138: denounced by *N.*, 135: receives the Emperor's congratulations, 136: reveals the worst to the Emperor, 136: ordered to take position under the walls of Paris, 136: strength after the surrender of Paris, 136, 137: the treason of, 138: terms of his secession, 138: letter to Alexander, April 3, 1814, 138: repeats the rôle of Monk, 138, 142: sends treasonable documents to Berthier, 138: seduces five of his generals, 142: reveals his plot to Schwarzenberg, 142: at Essonnes, 142: attempts to explain away his action, 142: demands to join the embassy to the Czar, 142: "brought up in *N.'s* tent," 142: aids in delivering up Souham's troops, 143, 144: fails to face Alexander, 143: demoralization among his troops, 143: seeks audience with the Czar, 143, 144: his subsequent career of treason, and death, 144: despised by the imperial generals, 144: coining of the word "ragusade," 144: Macdonald's rebuke to, 144: nicknamed Judas, 144, 158: stricken from the list of marshals, 144; *N.* on his desertion, 144, 145: *N.'s* charge against, 146: puts the Paris garrison under arms, 159: applies for post of minister of war, 159: attainted, 165: *N.'s* forgiveness for, 218

Marne, River, military operations on the, iv. 92, 94, 96, 106, 121, 123

Marriage, under the Code, ii. 143, 144

Marseillais, the, in the riots of August 10, 1792, i. 104, 105

"Marseillaise," the, sung in Paris, i. 102: permitted by imperial order, iv. 87: played at Fontainebleau, 137

Marseilles, *N.* at, i. 42, 61, 79, 108, 134, 156, 184, 195: sends deputation to Paris, 102: demands abolition of monarchy, 102: equipment of Sardinian expedition from, 113: anarchy and massacres in, 123, 127, 128, 131, 138: the Buonapartes in, 127, 156, 185: defeat of the Jacobins in, 128: movement of Marseillais on Paris, 128: captured by Carteaux, 131: refugees from, at Toulon, 132: the "Bastille" of, 141: *N.'s* views of the fortifications, 141, 142: feeling against *N.* in, 141, 142: circulation of counterfeit money in, 145: news of the Terror in, 149: reopening of commerce with Genoa, 153: forced military loans in, 208: Masséna commanding at, iv. 163: *N.* sends emissaries to, 163

"Marsh," the, position in the National Convention, i. 111

"Marshal Forward," iv. 122. See also BLÜCHER

Marshall, John, Talleyrand attempts to corrupt, ii. 23

Martial law, reforms of, i. 80

Martinique, birthplace of Josephine Beauharnais, i. 189: French squadron at, ii. 213: French plans to strengthen, 213

Mary, Queen (of England), likened to Queen Louisa, iii. 53

"Masked Prophet," the, i. 44, 48

Massa-e-Carrara, incorporated in the Cisalpine Republic, ii. 14: given to Elisa (Buonaparte), 255

Masséna, Gen. André, general in Army of Italy, i. 142, 208: seizes Ventimiglia, 143: plan of campaign in the Ancmines, 143: on the courage of his troops, 143, 144: defeats Austrians at Millesimo, 215: at Lodi, 219: defeated at Bassano, 237: battle of Citadella, 237: defeated by Alvinczy at Caldiero, 237: military operations on the Piave, 237, 267: attacked at St. Michel, 251: in the Rivoli campaign, 253, 254, 256; ii. 207: operations in the Italian Alps, i. 267: captures Chiusa Veneta, 267: seizes St. Michael and Leoben, 269: operations on the river Mur, 269: ordered to Switzerland, ii. 60: military genius, 60; iii. 4, 217: defeated at Zurich, ii. 63: defeats Korsakoff at Zurich, 63, 93, 207: fitted for rôle of General Monk, 65: victories in Italy, 66: supreme commander of the Army of Italy, 92, 105, 120, 232: puts Suvaroff to flight, 93: defeats Archduke Charles at Zurich,

Masséna, Gen. André — *continued.*

93: makes a forced levy in Switzerland, 101, 102: brings Switzerland into French hands, 108: defense and surrender of Genoa, 108, 110, 113, 114, 207: plans for the relief of, 110, 113: superseded by Brune, 124: republicanism of, 124: created marshal, 207: leaves Italy for Austria, 245: ordered to Naples, 255: avarice of, iii. 4: venality of, 67: created Duke of Rivoli, 71: yearly income and enormous fortune, 71, 173, 226: to concentrate at Ulm, 158: to concentrate on the Lech, 159: movements on the Isar, 159, 161, 162: in campaign of Eckmühl, 160: ordered from Augsburg to Ingolstadt, 160, 161: at Moosburg, 161: in the Enns valley, 167: crosses the Danube, 168: in battle of Aspern, 170, 171: character, 173: battle of Wagram, 176, 177: commanding in Spain, 217: disasters in the Peninsula, 217, 218: insubordination in his army, 218: battle of Busaco, 218: in Coimbra, 218: march toward Lisbon, 218: enters Portugal, 218: Soult's jealousy of, 219: Soult fails to relieve, 219: withdraws toward Santarem, 219: awaits reinforcements, 219, 220: failure in Spain, 220: precarious situation before Lisbon, 220, 221: joined by Soult, 221: defeated at Fuentes de Onoro, 221: reinforcements ordered from Castile to, 221: disgraced by *N.*, 221: succeeded by Marmont, 221: holds his position, 221: insubordination among his officers, 221: punishes desertion, 223: commanding at Marseilles, iv. 163: neutrality of, 165: recreated marshal, 172

Masseria, Joseph, associated with *N.* in Corsica, i. 62: success of his agitation, 64

Massias, Baron N., French minister at Karlsruhe, ii. 195

Matra, M. E., a rival of Paoli, i. 5

Maubeuge, battle of, i. 202

Maubreuil, Comte de, arranges for the assassination of the Emperor, iv. 138, 151

Mautern, Hiller crosses the Danube at, iii. 164

Maximilian, Archduke, evacuates Vienna, iii. 164

Maximilian Joseph, king of Bavaria, gives his daughter to Eugène de Beauharnais, ii. 257: at the Erfurt conference, iii. 133: his reforms in the Tyrol, 155: threatens to join the coalition, iv. 61: joins the allies, 66: grant of autonomy to, 66: defection of, 91

Meaux, prison massacres in, i. 111: Blücher moves on, iv. 106: *N.'s* plan of movement via, 113: evacuation of, 123

Mecklenburg, territory restored to the reigning house, iii. 43

Mecklenburg-Schwerin, proposal to include in North German Confederation, ii. 272

Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Duke of, refuses to furnish levies, iv. 28

Mecklenburg-Strelitz, proposal to include in North German Coofederation, ii. 272

Mecklenburgs, the, assert their independence, iv. 79

Medical School, lecture system of the, i. 167

Medina de Rio Seco, French success at, iii. 122

Mediterranean, the, English naval operations in, and power on, i. 123, 132, 153; ii. 10, 11, 35, 38, 67; iii. 89: naval operations in the, i. 260, 262: departure of the English fleet from, 262: *N.* a child of, ii. 10: Fraoce's ambition for conquest of, 11: the citadel of the, 12, 38: *N.'s* schemes on, 12, 103; iii. 89, 90: elaboration of plans for operations in, ii. 21: importance, 31: *N.* calls for ships in, 46: Adm. Bruix sent to conquer, 55: European jealousy regarding control of, 90: English cessions in, 135, 167, 168: Villeneuve's orders for operation in, 239: attempt to unite French fleets in, 89: *N.'s* mastery of, 203: English trade with, 214: Roman dominion of, 230

Meerveldt, Gen., Austrian plenipotentiary at Leoben, i. 270: Austrian plenipotentiary in treaty of Campo Formio, ii. 13: defeated at Leoben, 236: battle of Leipsic, iv. 71, 72: at Austerlitz, 72: sent to ask an armistice, 72: captured at Leipsic, 72

Megnadier, Gen., seduced by Marmont, iv. 142

Mehemet Ali, accession to power, ii. 53

Meike, on commission to notify *N.* of his sentence, iv. 213

Meissen, French forces at, iv. 28

Melas, Gen., commanding Austrian army in Italy, ii. 105: drives Suchet across the Var, 108: forces Masséna back into Genoa, 108: military tactics, 108: cuts off communication with Masséna, 110: position on the Var, 110: hurries to Turin, 110, 111, 114: *N.'s* plans for the defeat of, 110, 113: reinforcements for, 111: rallies his army at Alessandria, 114, 116: capture of one of his couriers, 116: military characteristics, 117: crosses the Bormida, 117: in battle of Marengo, 117–119: retires to Alessandria, 118: superseded by Bellegarde, 122

Melnik, Austro-Russian troops near, iv. 52

Mélun, the garrison at, iv. 137

Melzi, Comte F., nominated for president of the Cisalpine Republic, ii. 149: letter from *N.* to, March 6, 1804, 191

Memel, Queen Louisa at, iii. 36: proposal that Russia seize, 53: Tolstoi visits Frederick William and Louisa at, 87

Memmingen, captured by Lecourbe, ii. 109: seized by Soult, 235

Méneval, Claude F. de, statement of *N.* to, concerning the Duc d'Enghien, ii. 200: reveals Maria Louisa's defection to *N.*, iv. 156: dismissed from the service of the King of Rome, 169

Menou, Gen. J. F. de, commanding the Army of the Interior, i. 179: ordered to disarm the insurgents, 179: pusillanimity of, 180, 184: service in Egypt, ii. 36: professes Islamism, 44: succeeds Kléber, 123: surrenders in Egypt, 123: disasters in Egypt, 135

Mentone, *N.* in, i. 141

Mercier, L. S., *N.'s* study of his "Philosophic Visions," ii. 36

Merlin, P. A., member of the Directory, ii. 5, 23, 35: interferes to prevent *N.'s* resignation as commander of Egyptian expedition, 35: resigns from the Directory, 62: seduced by Marmont, iv. 142

Merseburg, Bernadotte at, iv. 70
Méry, Blucher at, iv. 104: captured by Oudinot, 104
Messkirch, battle of, ii. 109
Mettenberg, engagement on the, ii. 109
Metternich, Prince von, character, ii. 87; iv. 45–47: on *N.'s* designs of 1804–5, ii. 216: on the treaty of Tilsit, iii. 60: allusions to *N.'s* tenure of power, 84: letter to Stadion, July 26, 1807, 84: *N.'s* conversations and confidences with, 88, 213, 237, 253; iv. 25, 45: at St. Cloud levee, Aug. 15, 1808, 132: deceived by the clique of Talleyrand and Fouché, 149, 150: goes to Vienna, 150: plenipotentiary at Altenburg, 183: suggests a union between *N.* and Maria Louisa, 193, 194: succeeds Stadion as foreign minister, 194: reports France's financial condition, 232: stirs up strife between France and Russia, 238: reports the Russian army on the Danube, 239: character of his negotiations with France, 241: on the Russian war of 1812, 249: interview with *N.* at Dresden, iv. 25: holds back Schwarzenberg, 29: negotiations with England, 29: prepares to desert *N.*, 29: seeks to embroil Russia and Sweden, 29: negotiations with Hardenberg, 29: negotiations with *N.*, 29: foresees the aims of the new coalition, 32: triumph in the Saxon affair, 32: *N.* fears the intrigues of, 39: arranges a basis of mediation with Nesselrode, 43: meeting with Maret, 44: on the Franco-Austrian marriage, 44: secret meeting with Alexander, 44: double-dealing of, 45, 46: interview with *N.*, 45–47: demands suspension of the Franco-Austrian treaty of 1811, 46: charged by *N.* with venality, 46: poses as armed mediator, 47: interview with *N.*, June 27, 1813, 45–47: letter to Francis, June 29, 1813, 47: advocates a Continental peace, 47: encourages rivalries of petty potentates, 49: at Congress of Prague, 49: his policy exposed, 49: diplomacy during the Frankfort parley, 80–83: reproached for deserting *N.*, 81: letter to Caulaincourt, Nov. 9, 1813, 81, 82: letter from Caulaincourt, Dec. 2, 1813, 83: suggests compromise plan of invasion of France, 91, 92: his memoirs, 98, 99: position in European diplomacy, 98–100: influence over Castlereagh, 99: desires to restore the Bourbons, 99, 100: his policy concerning France, 115: strives to check Prussian ambition, 115: on the European policy of 1814, 115: relations with the allies, 122: letter from *N.*, March 28, 1814, 126: besought to encompass *N.'s* exile, 152: urges Maria Louisa to break relations with her husband, 155, 156: negotiates secret treaty between Austria, England, and France, 156, 157: Fouché attempts intrigue with, 170
Metternich, Countess, share in the Austrian marriage negotiations, iii. 194
Metz, imprisonment of the Prince of Hesse-Cassel in, iii. 7: sends men to relief of Paris, iv. 125
Meuse, River, a French river, iii. 207: military movements on the, iv. 171
Mexico, scheme of a Bourbon monarchy in, iii. 106, 111
Middle Guard, in battle of Waterloo, iv. 201
Milan, under foreign yoke, i. 207: *N.'s* entry into and subsequent visits to, 211, 220, 224, 246; ii. 114, 120; iii. 88, 102, 104: defense of, by Beaulieu, i. 213–220: flight of the Archduke from, 218: coercion applied to, 219, 220: provisional government for, 224: plundered of works of art, 225: levy of enforced contributions from, 229: *N.'s* influence in, 264: *N.'s* residence at Montebello, 277, 278, 280, 282, 283: Gen. Clarke at, 280: celebration of July 14 in (1797), ii. 2: troops moved to Picardy from, 16: Morean ordered to cut Kray's communication with, 107: plan of march to, abandoned, 110: festival at, 113: French entry into (June 2, 1800), 113: *N.'s* care for the cathedral, 113: Austrian evacuation of, 113: Count of St. Julien sent to, 121: coronation of *N.* at, 226, 227: Prince Eugène Beauharnais viceroy at, 229: sends deputation to Paris, iv. 17
Milan decree, the, iii. 82, 88, 95, 244
Milanese, the, provisional government for, i. 224: scheme to organize republic in, 227: disposition by treaty of Leoben, 271: question of restoring to Austria, 280
Milhaud, Gen. J. B., transfers his allegiance to Louis XVIII., iv. 147: in Waterloo campaign, 176
Military courts, reconstitution of, i. 80
Military discipline, reforms in, i. 80–82
Military schools in France, i. 25; iii. 74: *N.'s* criticisms of, i. 31
Military strategy, *N.'s* skill in, ii. 107: the art of, 119
Milleli, *N.'s* summer-house and grotto, i. 75, 125
Millesimo, military operations at, i. 213, 215, 216: battle of, iv. 97
Mincio, River, the, military operations on, i. 219, 226, 232, 234; ii. 60, 122: boundary of Austrian holdings in Italy, ii. 119
Minsk, *N.'s* scheme to seize, iii. 253: the French retreat through, iv. 5, 10
Miollis, Gen. S. A. F., occupies the city of Rome, iii. 186
Miot de Melito, i. 224: conversations with *N.*, ii. 106: on the demonstration against England, 215: "Memoirs" of, quoted, iii. 103
Mirabeau, H. G. R., activity at the meeting of the Estates General, i. 56: on position of the Navarrese, 65: plea for Corsica in the National Assembly, 65: share in the conquest of Corsica, 65: inspires amnesty to Paoli, 65, 68: leads the National Assembly against Buttafuoco, 75: military reforms of, 80: succeeds Necker, 88: death, 88: opinion of Talleyrand, ii. 22: statue at the Tuileries, 97: his politics to be ignored, iii. 28
Miranda, Bessières at, ii. 142
Mississippi, River, the, the United States acquires control of, ii. 184
Mittau, Louis XVIII. at, iii. 45
Mlawa, military operations near, iii. 18
Möckern, military operations near, iv. 70, 72
Modena, intrigue in the court of, i. 207: held to ransom, 228, 229: the armistice with, broken, 247: Austria's protectorate over, 262: Austria seeks to retain, 270: disposition by treaty of Leoben, 270, 271: incorporated into the Cisalpine Republic, ii. 14: *N.'s* bad faith with, 95
Modena, Duke of, attempts to bribe *N.*, i. 223, 275, 276: destruction of his government, 228: driven from his throne, 247
Modlin, French military stores in, iii. 253: held by the French, iv. 33
Mohileff, French garrison in, iii. 259
Mohrungen, skirmish at, iii. 15
Moldavia, Russian ambition to possess, ii. 228; iii. 80, 85, 92, 93, 137, 191, 236: dismissal of the Turkish viceroy of, 5: alleged concession of, to Russia, 48: Russian evacuation of, 54: *N.* offers to offset Silesia against Wallachia and, 86, 87, 90: Russia threatened with the loss of, 239
Molière, J. B., scene from "Tartufe," iv. 17
Molitor, Gen. G. J. J., in battle of Aspern, iii. 170
Möllendorf, Gen. R. J. H., Prussian commander, ii. 272
Mollien, N. F., director of public debt, ii. 141: keeper of the army-chest, 264, 266: minister of the treasury, 265, 266: advises against war, iii. 235: protests against issue of paper money, iv. 24: remark of *N.* to, 166, 167: member of *N.'s* new cabinet, 167
Monaco, Prince of, brought as prisoner to *N.*, iv. 163
Moncey, Gen., crosses the St. Gotthard, ii. 110, 113: created marshal, 207: created Duke of Conegliano, iii. 71: invades Spain, 105: defeated at Valencia, 121: advances on Valencia, 122: at Madrid, 122: at Tafalla, 142: moves against Castaños, 144: besieges Saragossa, 145: at review of the Guard at Fontainebleau, iv. 137: recreated marshal, 172
Mondego, River, Wellington retreats down the, iii. 218
Mondovi, battle of, i. 215, 216
Money-lenders, *N.'s* hatred for, ii. 83
Monfalcone, ceded to France, iii. 184
Monge, Gaspard, *N.'s* mathematical teacher, i. 107: minister of the navy, 107: founds the Polytechnic School, 167: plunders Italian scientific collections, 225: carries treaty of Campo Formio to the Directory, ii. 16: warlike declaration against England, 21: elaborates plan for operations in the Mediterranean, 21: accompanies *N.* on his return from Alexandria, 56: member of the senate, 100: *N.'s* friendship with, 214: created baron, iii. 227
"Moniteur," the, records "Buona Parte's" action at Toulon, i. 136: records *N.'s* daily life, ii. 20: on the events of the 18th Brumaire, 72: excites warlike feeling in France, (1800), 96: attacks England, 174, 187: publishes Sebastiani's report, 176: on the imperial court at Aachen, 217: threatens Austria, 232: on the field of Austerlitz, 252: insults Prussia, 258: announces the position of the Napoleonic princes, iii. 67, 68: announces the fall of the House of Braganza, 96: justifies French invasion of Spain, 105: publishes "authorized" reports of the Spanish failure, 153: on Austrian aggressions, 165: announces the annexation of Holland, 212: *N.* offers Alexander the use of, 239: proclamation to the National Guard, March 8, 1815, iv. 157
Monk, Gen. George, *N.* is offered the rôle of, ii. 6: Masséna fitted for the rôle, 65: *N.* compared with, 148: Marmont emulates the rôle, iv. 138, 142
Monnier, Gen. J. C., in battle of Marengo, ii. 118
Monroe, James, President of United States, understanding with England, iii. 42
Monroe Doctrine, the, iv. 245
Montalivet, Comte J. P. B., member of the Empress-Regent's council, iv. 128
Mont Blanc, Department of, i. 133
Monthrun, Gen. L. P., commanding cavalry in Russian campaign of, 1812, iii. 246
Mont Cenis pass, the, crossed by *N.*, ii. 18: crossed by Turreau, 110, 113: Austrian watch on, 111: the road over, 223; iii. 62
Monte Albaredo, the French pass over, ii. 111
Monte Baldo, military operations near, i. 232, 237, 251–254
Montebello, the Austrian retreat toward, i. 239: *N.'s* residence at, 277, 278, 280, 282, 283: Josephine at, 281, 282: Genoese embassy to, ii. 7: engagements near, 116: battle of, 128: Lannes created Duke of, iii. 71. See LANNES
Monte Legino, Rampon's stand at, i. 216, 241
Montenotte, battle of, i. 215; iv. 97
Montereau, military movements near, iv. 97, 100: Victor ordered to seize, 102: besieged by the Crown Prince of Würtemberg, 102: battle of, 103: captured by the French, 103
Monte Rotondo, Carlo Buonaparte at, i. 15
Montesquieu, C. de S., views on Corsica, i. 7: *N.'s* views on his political speculations, ii. 33, 34: *N's* study of, 36: on human ambition, iii. 67: *N.'s* admiration for, 136: "Grandeur and Fall of the Romans," iv. 100
Montesquiou, A. A. A., royalist intrigues of, iv. 129: member of the executive commission, 135
Montesquiou, Mme. de, governess to the King of Rome, iv. 88
Montgelas, M. J. G., Bavarian minister of state, iii. 139
Mont Genèvre, building a road over, ii. 223
Montholon, Charles, the "Manuscrit de l'Île d'Elbe" attributed to, i. 103: *N.'s* declaration to, concerning the Duc d'Enghien, ii. 199: accompanies *N.* to St. Helena, 214: residence on the island, 217: assists *N.* on his history, 217: remark of *N.* to, 218
Monthyon, Gen., escorts *N.* from the field of Waterloo, iv. 203
Montiereuder, military movements at, iv. 94
Montmartre, defense of, iv. 131: captured by the Prussians, 132

Montmirail, battle of, iv. 96, 97
Montmorency, royalist intrigues of, iv. 129
Montpellier, death of Carlo Buonaparte at, i. 32
Mont St. Jean, Wellington's retreat to, iv. 184, 187: possibility of Grouchy reaching, 189: topography of, 191: Wellington's center at, 191: fighting at, 205
Moore, Sir John, commanding English troops in the Peninsula, iii. 144: at Salamanca, 144: at Astorga, 145, 146: French search for, 145: prepares to attack Soult, 146: crosses the Esla, 146: destroys magazines at Benevento, 146: reaches Corunna, 146: his retreat, death, and example, 146, 147: defeat of Soult, 219
Moosburg, Archduke Charles's force at, iii. 161: Masséna at, 161
Morand, Gen. L. C. A., in the Eckmühl campaign, iii. 161: battle of Borodino, 261: in battle of Waterloo, iv. 199
Moravia, Kutusoff's advance into, ii. 236
Moreau, Gen. J. V., a product of Carnot's system, i. 202: commanding forces at Strasburg, 209: at Munich, 234, 235: defeats Archduke Charles, 235: crosses the Rhine at Kehl, 235: operations on the Rhine, 268: military genius, 211; ii. 106, 107, 191; iv. 52: fails to reinforce *N.*, i. 270–273: crosses the Rhine near Strasburg, 272: declines to aid the Directors, ii. 3, 4: serves in the Army of Italy, 49: suspected of complicity with Pichegru, 49, 107, 190: last stand in Piedmont, 57: succeeds Schérer in command, 60: military operations in the Apennines, 63: succeeded by Joubert, 63: tempted with a dictatorship, 64: tainted with royalism, 64: joins the Bonapartist ranks, 67: a banquet at St. Sulpice, 68: relations with the Directory, 68: commanding guard at the Luxembourg, 74: blamed for imprisoning Moulins and Gohier, 74: appointed to command the Army of the Rhine, 92, 106: personal ambition, 92, 106, 107; iv. 52: a military rival of *N.*, ii. 92, 106, 107, 125: *N.'s* scheme to strengthen, 106: letter from *N.*, March 16, 1800, 107: ordered to take the offensive, 107: participation in the revolution of Brumaire, 107: lack of supplies for, 108: crosses the Rhine, April 25, 1800, 108, 109: outwits Kray, 108, 109: passes the Black Forest, 108, 109: defeats Kray at Messkirch and Engen, 109: troops detached from, 110: levies contributions on South Germany, 120: effect of his victories, 120: occupies Munich, 120: fortresses ceded to, 122: representative of Revolutionary traditions in warfare, 123: position near Munich, 124: battle of Hohenlinden, 124, 125: eclipses *N.* in military glory, 126: advances toward Vienna, 125: republican sentiment in his army, 151: fall of, 155, 188–191, 193: implicated in the Cadoudal conspiracy, 188 et seq.: arrest and imprisonment of, 190: popular denunciation of, 190: banishment of, 191: takes up arms against *N.*, 191: mortally wounded at Dresden, 191; iv. 59: effect of his disgrace, ii. 203: movements at Munich, iii. 158: summoned from America for European service, iv. 37, 62: goes over to the allies, 52: with Schwarzenberg's army, 52: character, 62: enters the Russian service, 52: ambition to acquire the French crown, 62: treachery of, 63, 64: plans the battle of Dresden, 66: refuses to fight against his country, 66: death, 110: funeral mass celebrated for, 168
Moreau, Mme., ambition of, ii. 190, 191
Morlaix, Villeneuve at, ii. 241
"Morning Journal," on England's indifference to French affairs, iv. 169
Morsbach, military movements near, iii. 160
Mortier, Gen. E. A., a product of Carnot's system, i. 202: occupies Hanover, ii. 183: created marshal, 207: destruction of his division, 236: annihilated at Dürrenstein, 243: in the Austerlitz campaign, 245: occupies Mainz, 276; iii. 7: seizes the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, 7: threatens Stralsund, 23: battle of Heilsberg, 29: battle of Friedland, 31: created Duke of Treviso, 70: yearly income, 71: reinforcements for, 129: occupies Franconia, 129: forces in Spain, 143: ordered to blow up the Kremlin, 269, 270: in the retreat from Moscow, iv. 1: commanding the Guard, campaign of 1813, 34: battle of Dresden, 56, 67: holds Pirna, 59, 63: battle of Leipsic, 71: at Troyes, 94: battle of Montmirail, 96: at Soissons, 104: junction with *N.*, 106: checks Blücher at the Ourcq, 106: battle of Laon, 108: defends the Paris line against Blücher, 113: at Rheims, 113: at Soissons, 113: junction with Marmont at Fismes, 119: driven back to Charenton, 123: junction with Marmont, 123: driven back on Paris, 124, 128: defense of Paris, 132, 133: concludes terms of surrender, 133: denounced by *N.*, 135: ordered to take position under the walls of Paris, 136: strength after surrender of Paris, 136, 137: attachment to *N.*, 137: absent from the Waterloo campaign, 175
Moscow, *N.* threatens to march to, iii. 232: military enthusiasm in, 255: Russian retreat from Smolensk toward, 257: *N.'s* line from the Niemen to, 259: defense of, 260–262: agreement of the opposing generals as to its capture, 261, 265: the Kremlin, 262, 264: capture and burning, 262–265: *N.* expects Alexander to save, 263: *N.'s* political and military blunders at, 260, 264: topography, buildings, monuments, etc., 264: fountain of Russian inspiration, 264: Russian abandonment of, 265: disputed honor of the conflagration, 265: pillage of, 265, 266: the French army in, 266–267: *N.'s* dissipation in, 267: *N.'s* intention to be crowned in, 267: French retreat from, 267–270; iv. 1 et seq.: throwing away the spoils of, 2: destruction of, 19: Alexander's desire to avenge the French seizure of, 80
Mosel, River, military operations on the, iv. 92
Moskwa, River, military movements on the, iii. 261, 264
Moulins, J. F. A., member of the Directory, ii. 63: represents Jacobin element in the Directory, 64: proposed resignation of, 69: refuses to resign, 73: imprisonment of, 74, 78: *N.'s* charges against, before the Ancients, 77, 78
"Mountain," the, position in the National Convention, i. 111: suspects an English party in Corsica, 116: action discussed in the "Supper of Beaucaire," 130: *N.'s* affiliation with, 142, 143: fall of, 147: factions in, 148: status in the provinces, 159: annihilation of, 168, 169
Moustier, question of Grouchy's moving to, iv. 189, 190
Mozhaisk, military operations at, iii. 263, 270: depot of the French army at, iv. 1
Müffling, Gen., in battle of Waterloo, iv. 198
Muiron, killed at Arcole, i. 246
Mulde, River, contemplated movements on the, iv. 67
Müller, W., member of Prussian reform party, ii. 269
Multedo, member of Directory of Corsica, i. 73: denounces *N.*, 150: letter from *N.*, 153
Münchberg, Soult at, ii. 278
Munich, Moreau at, i. 234, 235; ii. 120, 124; iii. 158: military operations near, ii, 124, 125: Méhée de la Touche's machinations in, 189: expulsion of the English envoy at, 211: the Elector of Bavaria reoccupies, 243: *N.'s* plan to reach, iii. 158
Münster, position in the French empire, iii. 214
Mur, River, military operations on the, i. 268, 269
Murad Bey, attacks the French at Shebreket, ii. 40: battle of the Pyramids, 41: worries *N.* with mysterious intrigues, 52: fails to assist the Rhodes expedition, 53: death, 53
Murat, Gen. Joachim, at Borghetto, i. 227: threatens Genoa, 228: in Rivoli campaign, 254: service in Egypt, ii. 36: ordered to kill hostile tribesmen, 47: battle of Aboukir, 54: accompanies *N.* on return from Alexandria, 56: action on the 18th Brumaire, 71: commanding guard at St. Cloud, 74: proposes to clear the Orangery, 80: pursues the Austrians from Milan, 113: battle of Marengo, 118: commanding in central Italy, 121: watches Naples, 124: his plebeian birth, 127: marries Caroline Buonaparte, 127, 164, 165: guardian to King Louis's widow, 150: military commandant at Paris, 197: share in trial of d'Enghien, 198: created marshal, 207: at *N.'s* coronation, 219: captures Werneck's division at Nördlingen, 235: enters Vienna, 236: reproached by *N.*, 236: crosses the Tabor bridge, 236, 237: base conduct at Vienna, 237: vanity of, 243: permits Kutusoff's escape, 243: "destroys the fruits of a campaign," 244: pursues the Russian force, 244: checked by Bagration at Hollabrunn, 244: outwitted by Kutusoff at Hollabrunn, 244: battle of Austerlitz, 249, 250: Grand Duke of Cleves and Berg, 261: takes title of Joachim I., 261: his ambitions, 270: Prussian campaign of 1806, 274, 278, 280: personal attendance on *N.*, 276: at Saalburg, 278: in battle of Jéna, 280: character, iii. 2, 109, 111: invests Magdeburg, 2: pursues Hohenlohe, 2: at Golymin, 12: strength in Poland, 13: in campaign of Eylau, 19–21: pursues Bennigsen, 21: battle of Heilsberg, 29: pursues Lestocq from Friedland, 32: at Tilsit, 45: interview with Queen Louisa, 52: assumes title of Napoleon, 67: advances on Madrid, 106: at Burgos, 106: assumes command in Spain, 106: his dilemma, 109: his protection sought by Charles IV., 109: letter to *N.*, March 25, 1808, 109, 110: enters Madrid, 109–111: ambition to secure the Spanish throne, 109, 114, 115, 117: letters from *N.*, March, 1808, 110, 111: designated Protector of Spain, 110: relations with *N.*, 111: attitude of Spanish people toward, 111: his policy in Spain, 111: refuses to recognize Ferdinand, 112: trouble with his prisoner Godoy, 114: appointed dictator of Spain, 114: Madrid revolts against, 114, 115: *N.* offers him the crown of Naples or of Portugal, 115: executes patriots in Madrid, 115: becomes king of Naples, 117, 213, 242: *N.'s* control over, 118: butchery in the Madrid riots, 118: strength at Madrid, 122: commander-in-chief at Madrid, 122: executes decree depriving the Pope of secular power, 186, 187: member of extraordinary council on *N.'s* second marriage, 194: violates the Continental System, 204: cavalry command in the Russian campaign of 1812, 246: strength, March 12, 1812, 246: urges action at Vitebsk, 256: battle of Smolensk, 257, 258: remonstrates against fighting at Smolensk, 258: enters Moscow, 262: reports the temper of the Russian peasantry, 266: sudden attack on, 267, 269: desperate fighting on the retreat from Moscow, iv. 4: ordered to form behind the Niemen, 12: commanding the remnants of the grand army, 12: deserts the army and returns to Naples, 12, 21, 27, 87: crosses the Niemen, 20: enters Königsberg, 20: held to his allegiance, 48: battle of Drosden, 67: sent to support Vandamme at Kulm, 61: fails to check Schwarzenberg or hold Blücher, 62: ordered to hold Schwarzenberg, 66, 67: battle of Wachau, 70, 71: battle of Leipsic, 70, 71, 73: forms alliance with Austria, 90: marches on Rome, 90: censured by *N.*, 90: deserts *N.*, 90, 93: characterization of Talleyrand, 129: uneasy for his throne, 156: deposed, 157: Soult opposed to, 165: condemned to death, 212
Murat, Mme., marital relations, ii. 165
Murati, success of, at Bastia, i. 64
Museum of Arts and Crafts, founded, i. 167
Mustapha IV., seeks the friendship of France, iii. 85: overthrows Selim III., 85: weak reign of, 127: murders Selim III., 127

N

N, Napoleon's monogram, iii. 37
Namur, military operations near, iv. 174, 179, 183, 185, 186, 203
Nangis, Victor and Oudinot driven back to, iv. 97: Wittgenstein driven from, 103: *N.* at, 103: Berthier at, 103: French retreat stopped at, 112
Nansouty, Gen., in the Eckmühl campaign, iii. 161: commanding cavalry in Russian campaign of 1812, 246: moves from Sézanne against Blücher, iv. 95, 96: ordered toward Montmirail, 96: transfers his allegiance to Louis XVIII., 147

Nantes, immunity from the White Terror, iv. 210
Napier, Gen., in battle of Waterloo, iv. 201
Naples, Bourbon influence in, i. 9: humiliation of, 113, 228: aids in defense of Toulon, 132: under foreign yoke, 207: French proposition to revolutionize, 227: becomes refractory, 247: makes peace with France, 248: *N.'s* leniency to, 260: *N.'s* influence in, 278: plunder of, ii. 11: arrogance of, 12: diplomatic offset of Spain against, 12: claims Malta, 12: neutralization of, 21: dread of French spoliation in, 27: makes war on Rome, 46, 49, 59: spread of revolutionary ideas to, 59: joins the second coalition, 59, 62: Macdonald ordered to, 60: Bonapartist agency in, 61: capture of, by Championnet, 60, 63: unbridled license at, 63: watched by Murat, 124: Russia intercedes for, 131: English ships forbidden to enter, 131: forced contributions from, 131: France withdraws from, 135, 168, 183: not allowed to garrison Malta, 182: seized by Saint-Cyr, 183: fate of her admiral, Caraccioli, 191: Russia demands France's evacuation of, 211, 222: independence of, 229: a focus of anti-French conspiracies, 229: *N.* demands expulsion of emigrants from, 229: *N.* threatens to seize, 232: Villeneuve ordered to, 239: Prussia bound to secure the liberties of, 243: banishment of the Bourbons from, 252, 255, 259; iii. 166: Russian occupation of, ii. 255, 271: Joseph Bonaparte made king of, 255; iii. 3, 116: Masséna ordered to, ii. 255: rupture of the queen's engagement with *N.*, 255: *N.* exacts tribute from, 255: opened to English ships, 256: Russia evacuates, 262: vassalage to France recognized at Tilsit, iii. 47: trouble concerning the Papal States, 57: abolition of the hostile strip between Italy and, 94: financial and political reform in, 103: Murat becomes king of, 115, 117, 213, 242: England's loss of trade with, 208: seizure of American ships by, 211: Murat returns to, iv. 12, 21: fails to support *N.*, 91, 93: insecurity of Murat's throne, 156: refrains from joining the European coalition against *N.*, 169
Naples, King of. See BUONAPARTE, JOSEPH
"Napoladron," iii. 223
Napoleon Buonaparte. (NOTE.—Items concerning Napoleon's relations with persons or places will be found under the respective names of such subjects. For a conspectus of events in his career, see the Tables of Contents in each volume. For aphorisms by or concerning Napoleon, see PHRASES. For details of his character see paragraph below,—*Analysis of character.*) Birth and infancy, i. 14–24: brothers and sisters, 15, 16: forms of his name, 18, 19: nicknames, 19: his personal recollections of childhood, 20, 23: development of military genius at the snow forts, 27: challenges a schoolmate, 26: letter to his father, 29, 30: conceptions of the State, 40: aptitude for the navy, 29: two enemies of, 33: views on and first lessons in revolution, 40, 67–74, 90, 112: hatred of France, 47, 66: improvement in financial condition, 70: a Corsican revolutionist, 72: first appearance as an orator, 73: political schemes, 76: certificates as to his republicanism, 76, 79: prepared for confirmation, 83: his detractors, 84: his desire concerning his biographies, 84: course of life from 1791 to 1795, 84 et seq.: payment of debts, 85; growing notoriety, 90: a starting-point of his career, 92: addresses the Minister of War on the National Guard, 92: debts of, 92: a Corsican Jacobin, 93–105: strained relations with the Ministry of War, 93, 176, 177: purchases sequestrated church lands, 94: election methods, 97; his "civism," 99, 106: with the mob at the Tuileries, 103: on riots, 103: relations with the Marseilles deputation, 104: on the conflict of August 10, 1792, 104: seeks commission in naval artillery, 107: aims at Corsican leadership, 119: failure in politics, 126: general of brigade, 137, 139–142, 171: his own record of his life, 139, 140: influential friends, 139, 142–144: a Jacobin general, 139–145: denies his nobility, 140: refuses to obey the Convention's summons, 142: a Montagnard, 142, 143: the "plan-maker" of the Robespierres, 144: the germ of his military system, 146: vicissitudes in war and diplomacy, 146–153: suspension and arrest, 150–153: appeal to the "representatives of the people" (1794), 151, 152: release, 152, 153: the end of apprenticeship, 154–161: degraded from artillery to infantry, 165: Jacobin proclivities, 169, 170: renounces Jacobinism, 170: the General of the Convention, 171–180: plans marriage and settled life, 176: jealousy directed against, 186: his police services, 186: courtship and marriage, 186–196: a typical Corsican, 187: views on love and marriage, 187: adopts new spelling of his name, 194, 195: a product of Carnot's system, 202: the Œdipus of France, 204: on a great stage, 204–212: demands reinforcements, 209: insists on unity of command, 209: keynote of military policy, 209, 210: secret of his military success, 212: "the Little Corporal," 220; iv. 163: an insubordinate conqueror and diplomatist, i. 221–230: entrusted with diplomatic powers, 222: threats against, 222: prostitution of his subordinates, 223, 230: scheme of art plunder, 225: views concerning arts and sciences, 225, 226: plans succeeding the capture of Milan, 226–230: refuses bribes, 230: a prophecy fulfilled, 236: narrow escapes, 241: extinction of the Corsican in, 248: memoirs, 257: military jealousy directed against, 263; independent attitude of, ii. 2: attitude toward royalty, 3; "a personage in Europe," 6: plans for building up sea power, 12: bribery of and by, 13: constructive commander-in-chief of French forces, 24: represses pillage, 28: supplanter of the Revolution, 31: his "complete code of politics," 33, 34: theories of government, 33, 34: doubtful points in connection with the Egyptian campaign, 33–35: on English political history, 34: "the pear is not yet ripe," 35: assumes the rôle of a prophet, 45: el Kebir, the Exalted, 45: receives secret information from his brothers, 54: summoned to take supreme command, 55: death at St. Helena, 57; iv. 219: gives toast: "the harmony of all the French," ii. 68: scheme to make him consul, 69: secret meeting of his friends, 15th of Brumaire, 69: critical moment in Talleyrand's house, 70: temporary dictator, 72: speech to Barras's messenger, 19th Brumaire, 73: dangerous confidence of, 74: "traitor and outlaw," 77, 79, 82: the arbiter of French destiny, 82: reports of his wealth, 83: First Consul, 83, 84, 86: royalist predilections for, 88: his choice of two policies, 91: the epoch of, 92: importance in universal history, 92: apparent loss of military ambition, 92: choice of administrators, 92, 99–101: English views of, 94, 95: salary as First Consul, 100: the personality of the council of state his, 100: aims at centralization of government, 101: beneficent effects of his regime on the world, 101: controls foreign relations, 101: foreign policy, 103, 104: makes enemies as First Consul, 104: the fate of France identified with his, 104: contrasts administrative with military glory, 107: on the art of war, 108: expansion of his schemes, 113: his favorite tactics, 117: distinction between the statesman and the general, 119, 120: violation of the constitution in assuming command, 120: undisputed mastery of France, 120: sportive tricks with old dynasties of Europe, 126: period of his greatest renown, 129, 130: married life, 129, 130, 163, 164: malicious libels on, 130: as kingmaker, 132: urged by Russia to declare himself king, 134: codification of the laws, 143; regenerates feudal society, 144: study of law, 146: his interest in education, 146: the new era, 148: method of deporting opposition, 151–153: apparent summit of his power, 154: plots and attempts to assassinate, 154, 155, 258; iv. 140, 151, 152, 156: policy toward his enemies, ii. 155: popularity, 157–160: proposal to make him king, 160: the tool of fate and architect of his own fortunes, 161: his first marriage, 161: a soldier of fortune, 161: at maturity, 161 et seq.: a man of all ages, 162: the personification of France, 162: effect of conspiracies on, 162, 163: safeguards for, 163: on friendships, 163: on the forces by which kings rule, 163: effect of his married life on the Code, 164: war a necessity to, 172: French admiration for, 177: expansion of the revolutionary system, 178: relations with the diplomatic corps, 178, 179: consular levee of March 13, 1803, 179: reception of diplomatic corps, April 4, 1803, 182: remonstrances against adulation of, 188: mortification of, 199: on the pinnacle of revolutionary power, 201: brief review of his career, 201–203: creates a virtual tyranny, 202: "consul, stadholder, or emperor?" 205: his imperial title, 206: his civil list, 206: heraldic device of the empire, 206, 207; secures the imperial succession to his family, 207: inauguration of the empire, 209: coronation, 209, 217 et seq.; iv. 221: his naval plans of 1805, ii. 213, 214: reception of the news of Trafalgar, 214: as a man of science, 214: his strength with the army, 214: forms of his strategy, 216: fear of poison, 219: encourages arts and sciences, 222, 224, 225: first speech from the imperial throne, 222: germs of the national uprising against, 223: the spell of his name, 224: deprecates war, 225: backed by the nation, 225: "moderation" of, 227: anger at naval failures, 231: rapidity and perfection of his movements, 233: his military commanders, 234: sinks the emperor in the general, 234, 275; iii. 90; iv. 35: the head of the French empire, ii. 255: demands recognition as Emperor of Rome, 256: violation of dynastic ties, 261: ideas about territorial sanctity, 261, 262: "Napoleon the Great," 263: the imperial catechism, 264: traveling arrangements, 276, 277: distrust of his suite, 277: simplicity of his military dress, iii. 3: likened to an octopus, 9: political methods and policies, 10, 63, 92, 152, 240: a new seat of war for, 11: determined to "conquer the sea by land," 11: new experience in campaigning, 12: his first child, 16: the center of his administration, 26: the supports of his empire, 26: centralization of government in, 26, 27: nameless charges against, 28: his excuses for his license, 28: his monogram (N) 37: commercial policy, 41, 108: attitude toward the Russo-Prussian alliance, 47: preference for action before words, 56: recognizes the power of decorations, 67: drafts on his associates, 67: the surname of Napoleon, 67: on the ambitions of the French people, 68: on paternal government, 68: personal decrees, 70: recognizes popular fickleness, 70: creates a titled class, 70, 71: art under, 72: system of imperial patronage, 74: discourages gambling, 75: relations with his friends and generals, 75: imprisons a milliner, 76: pert remarks addressed to, 76: supposed cause of the turn of his fortunes, 78: ignorance concerning American affairs, 82: realizes the limitations of his power, 88, 89: his "master," 89: ill luck at sea, 90: political system of, 92: the height of his power, 92: crushes a watch in passion, 103: his determination to crush opposition, 103: intercepts suspected correspondence, 103, 126: his "cabinet noir," 103: turn of his fortunes, 108, 118: justifies pillage, 124: crushing blows, 124, 126 et seq.: the embodiment of power, 125: divorce impending, 125: system of territorial expansion, 128: his extinctions of ruling dynasties, 128: diplomatic exhibit of his political scheme at St. Cloud, 131, 132: dramatic incident at performance of "Œdipe," 134: appreciation of the drama, 134, 135: familiarity with ancient history, 135, 136: thickening of the divorce plot, 139: the character of his civilization, 139: orders list of marriageable princesses to be prepared, 139: a gang of self-seeking traitors to, 149, 150: well informed on the European situation, 151, 152: system of spies, 152: skilful historians on, 152: shifts responsibility for wars onto the enemy, 153: his plan of campaigns, 157: policy of wooing people and abusing their rulers, 165, 166: Bonaparte distinguished from Napoleon, 179; iv. 78, 148: ultimate terms of peace, iii. 184: sick of war, 184: dread of assassination, 185: excommunicated, 186: change in his manner, 189: his "harem," 189: declining popularity, 192: basis of his power, 192: alleges the reasons for his divorce, 194: decides on the Austrian marriage, 195: second marriage,

Napoleon Buonaparte — *continued.*
198, 199: banishes the cardinals, 199: renounces title of Roman Emperor, 200: consolidation of his power, 201: fills vacant bishoprics, 202: extent of his empire, 203, 213: change of naval policy, 203: the national uprisings against, 206: causes leading to his overthrow, 206: mistaken policy of providing thrones for relatives, 213: his perquisites in English sugar and coffee, 214: Spanish schoolboys' nickname for, 223: deals with state property for personal benefit, 225: policy of personal attachments, 225, 226: his "extraordinary domain," 226, 232: chooses between lives of child and mother, 230: imperial residences, 229, 230: endows maternity hospital, 230: aspirations for sea power, 231, 232: flood tide of success, 232: method of replenishing an empty treasury, 232, 236: the man and the embodied political force of Europe distinguished, 233-235: "Emperor of the Continent," 234: an incident that changed the course of history, 238, 239: new naval schemes, 239: belief in the devotion of France, 240: policy of territorial aggrandizement, 240: his ideal, 242: beginning of his decline, 242: considered the antichrist, 245: secret funds, 245: studies Roman history, 247: warned against war by ministers and friends, 247, 248: warned of the fate of Charles XII., 248: moral reforms, 248, 249: the climax of his drama, 251: physical characteristics at opening of the Russian campaign of 1812, 252: afflicted with dysuria, 252: address to his army before the Russian campaign, 253: plans of action, 254, 255: longing for a great battle, 255: desperate military straits of, 258, 259: deplores the barbarity of war, 260: contracts a loathsome disease, 267: weakness and indecision on the retreat from Moscow, 270: shares the hardships of the army, iv. 1, 4, 7: commands a division of the army, 6: bulletin of Dec. 3, 1812, 12: false report of his death, 14: wrath of the army against, 14: "robbed the cradle and the grave," 22: revolutionary training, 24: his "library," 24: on credit, 24: faces a European coalition, 26, 27: refuses to cede European holdings, 27: conciliatory attitude, 27: fallacies of his military schemes of 1813, 28: aims of the new coalition against, 32: belief in cavalry, 34: attitude toward Austria, 35: his blunder of 1813, 41: the beginning of the final disaster, 41: a tyro in dynastic politics, 44: alleged turning-point in his career, 45: suspects treachery, 45: isolation of, 45, 49: characterizes his Austrian marriage as stupidity, 46: his first fatal blunder, 47: tries to bribe Austria, 50: former friends turn against, 52: advantage over the allies, 63: the hazard of the die, 63: characterization of the allies, 64: value of his presence in the field, 67: climax of disaster, 61: appeals to sentiment rather than history, 61: the wonder-year of his theoretical genius, 62: transformed from strategist into politician, 62: the diplomat outstrips the strategist, 65: definition of a great man, 65: outwitted by the allies, 68, 69: the savior of society, 81: found out by the masses, 82: newness of his nobility, 82: his aim the independence of the nations, 83: spends his private treasure on the army, 86: his last official act, 88: no longer Emperor, 89: leaves Paris for Châlons, 89: value of his prestige, 93: his supreme military effort, 93: a famous march by, 97: the allies' determination to exterminate the Napoleonic idea, 98, 99: his military correspondence, 1814, 98: yields to his marshals, 100: estrangement and desertion of his marshals, 103, 139, 145-147: suggestion that he abdicate, 104. realizes the war is for his extermination, 108: "the spasmodic stroke of the dying gladiator," 111: rouses the peasantry to guerrilla warfare, 112, 113: desperate scheme of, 116: "this movement makes or mars me," 121: capture of a bundle of letters from Paris for, 122: chances for a last stand, 125: contemplates a new levy, 129: the allies refuse to treat with, 134: proposal that he govern France under guarantees, 134: overthrown by the legislature, 135: regains his equilibrium, 136: rage at learning of the surrender, 135, 136: the allies refuse to negotiate with, 136: his first abdication, 136, 139-142, 144: influence over the troops, 137: desertion of the army, 143: the knell of of the empire, 144: proclamation of April 6, 1814, 145: a homeless citizen of the world, 146: determination never to be taken alive, 146: final form of his declaration of abdication, 147: use of the imperial style, 148: the savior of European society, 148: treatment accorded to, by the allies, 148-154: parting gifts to old acquaintances, 149: treasure at Blois, 149: denies the charge of usurpation, 150: alleged to be a bastard, 151: alleged theft of crown jewels, 151: his true name said to be Nicholas, 151: calumnies heaped on, 151, 152, 155: plots for the exile of, 152: adopts disguise, 152, 163: farewell to the allies' commissioners, 153: effect of English customs on, 153: begins the administration of his island realm, 154: treasure at the Tuileries, 154: his historical commentaries, 154: forced to practise economy, 155: diminution of his private fortune, 156: scheme to deport him still further, 157: keeps informed as to course of European events, 157, 160: scouts the idea of a regency, 161: prepares for his escape, 161, 162: alleged fears of deportation, 162: his escape justified, 162: dismisses the peasantry from his column, 164: troops flock to, 166: forms his new cabinet, 167: acquiesces in popular demand for constitutional government, 167: the apostle of popular sovereignty, 167: views on abolition of censorship of press, 167: devotion to the cause of public liberty, 168: resolution of the European dynasties to extirpate his regime, 168: "the enemy and disturber of the world's peace," 169: proclaimed an outlaw, 169, 170: turns toward the moderate liberals, 171: call for volunteers, 171: his reconstituted corps of marshals, 172: proclamation to the army, June 15, 1815, 176: apparent successes of June 16, 1815, 184: effects of his inactivity, 190: his last dream of glory, 193, 194: loss of the last chance, 199: the emperor contrasted with the general, 200: demand for his abdication, 206: calls for him as dictator, 207: idea of

Napoleon Buonaparte — *continued.*
regaining the government by force, 207, 208: abdicates for the second time, 207: adopts civilian's clothing, 208: the government refuses responsibility for his safety, 208: romantic schemes for his escape, 210: desire for his execution, 212: regarded as the common prisoner of the allies, 212, 213: General Bonaparte, a private citizen, 213: appeals against his sentence, 213, 214: upholds polygamy, 216: his autobiography, 216, 217: efforts for his release, 216, 217: as a prisoner, 216-219: attempts intercourse with friends in France, 217: farewell message to his son, 218: his testament, 218: bequests and their settlements, 218, 219: last sickness and death, 219: a possible epitaph, 220: his rise to power, 220 et seq.: questionings as to his life and work, 220 et seq.: his love of artillery, 221: lack of education, 222: on greatness, 222: influence on history, 224 et seq.: early struggles, 225 et seq.: methods of acquiring supreme power, 228, 231, 232: lasting character of his work, 229: legal reforms, 229: police system of, 229: centralization of his administrative system, 229, 230, 242: social reforms, 229, 231, 242: educational system, 230: the secret of his downfall, 230: position among lawgivers and statesmen, 230: rule by military force, 231: deficient education in politics and history, 231: attitude toward democracy, 231: influence on modern times, 231, 241: popular distrust of his character, 232: meets intrigue with intrigue, 232: responsibility for bloodshed, 233: causes of his downfall, 236-238, 240: his place in history, 236-241, 245: essays the rôle of liberator, 237, 240, 242: in captivity, 239: his "Correspondence," 239: roots out absolutism, 241: his artificial aristocracy, 243

Analysis of character. Ability to mold men, ii. 2, 3, 6, 22-24, 37, 67, 69-71, 84, 87, 88, 93, 94, 99-101, 104, 105, 107, 126, 128, 150, 231, 232; iv. 78, 228, 229: as an adventurer, iv. 240: ambition, i. 28, 33, 36, 59, 63, 76, 78, 94, 113, 118, 120, 122, 124, 153, 156, 186, 187, 205, 207, 220, 226, 248; ii. 9, 19-21, 32, 50, 103, 104, 201; iii. 2, 22, 24, 41, 68, 88, 89, 91, 128, 189, 233, 235, 250; iv. 50, 226, 230-233, 241, 242: amusements, iv. 214, 216: anxiety for his safety and comfort, iv. 149: asceticism, i. 58: autocracy, ii. 177: bravado, iii. 22: use of bribery, acceptance and rejection of bribes, i. 120; ii. 23: as a burgher, ii. 178; iv. 221: calmness under stress, ii. 214; iv. 170: use of cant, iv. 83: capacity for work, energy, industry, and attention to detail, i. 125, 135, 144, 155, 156, 224; ii. 6, 19, 101, 128, 138, 143, 277, 278; iii. 22, 26, 27, 29, 46, 62, 64, 75, 133, 141-143, 162, 163, 167, 206, 247, 253, 255, 256; iv. 16-18, 22, 23, 33, 67, 89, 221-223, 233, 236, 237: casuistry, i. 81: caustic, sarcastic, or vigorous tongue or pen, i. 33, 63, 122; ii. 37, 40, 73, 77, 78, 104, 105, 172, 252; iii. 34, 52, 55, 67, 165, 166, 211, 248, 252, 260: caution, i. 126, 150; ii. 82, 83, 201, 248; (lack of), ii. 202; iii. 11: change in temperament, iii. 179: character at Brienne, i. 29: cheerfulness and good humor, ii. 128, 178; iii. 22, 45: clemency, iii. 3: coffee-drinking habit, iv. 68: contempt for ideals, ii. 130: iii. 27, 28, 72, 116, 240: contempt for men and money, iv. 233: cosmopolitanism, iv. 118: courage, i. 157, 158, 238, 241, 248; ii. 248; iii. 20, 22, 146, 185; iv. 95, 186: charge of cowardice against, ii. 248: a criminal, iv. 223: cruelty, ii. 47, 48, 271; iii. 3: decay of physical and intellectual powers; neglect of details; vacillation, etc., iii. 28, 75, 140, 162, 163, 184-186, 189, 252, 263, 267, 270; iv. 65, 73, 117, 194, 199, 205-207, 222, 236-240, 242, desire for peace, ii. 94, 273; iii. 183, 184; iv. 19, 38, 43, 45, 50, 88, 167: desperation, iii. 74: despondency and pessimism, i. 41, 42, 46, 50, 51, 129; iv. 1, 145, 146: despotism, iii. 7, 66-68, 70, 72, 97, 240; iv. 231: the man of destiny and of the hour; the representative man of his epoch; a fatalist and opportunist, i. 1, 41, 81, 97, 100, 131, 140, 162-170, 195; ii. 66-75, 91, 161, 162, 246; iii. 52, 247; iv. 137, 173, 208, 227, 233, 239: determination to rule or ruin, iv. 32: his "divine character," ii. 263: domestic virtues — filial, parental, and connubial affection, i. 29, 32, 42, 79, 82, 85, 94, 156, 157, 170, 174, 185, 186, 280-282; iii. 140, 173, 189, 190, 194, 206, 212, 230, 233, 245, 248, 249; iv. 18, 27, 44, 149-151, 173: love of dramatic effect; ability as an actor, i. 125, 205; ii. 20, 155; iii. 90; iv. 163, 171, 172, 222: dread of assassination and kidnapping, ii. 68, 69; iii. 185; iv. 9, 152, 160: dreams of universal and European empire, i. 196; ii. 172, 173, 175, 211, 215, 255; iii. 41, 61, 89, 249; iv. 38, 48, 49, 81, 167: dreams of Oriental conquest and empire, i. 40, 60, 175, 177, 192, 262; ii. 10-12, 31, 32, 34-37, 41, 42, 45, 50, 184; iii. 4-6, 23, 24, 33, 36, 44, 65, 85, 86, 88-91, 93, 102, 124, 127, 129, 130, 132, 235, 252, 267, 268; iv. 226: dress, i. 230; ii. 20; iii. 3, 37, 54, 75, 197: duplicity, shiftiness, and versatility, i. 125, 138, 150, 157, 177, 179, 185, 243, 244, 277: dynastic ambitions and longings for an heir, ii. 149, 157-160, 163, 164, 197, 202, 206, 209, 210, 218; iii. 67, 84, 90, 115, 125, 189, 191, 192, 194, 196, 199, 200, 230, 234; iv. 18, 44, 50, 167, 237, 238: early education and later studies, i. 19-34, 36-42, 48, 51, 60, 79-81, 86, 103, 107, 125, 157: early military irregularities and inaptitude, i. 48, 49, 61, 90, 93-101, 125: organizes educational system, ii. 264; iii. 28, 73: egoism, vanity, and self-assertiveness, ii. 55, 56, 77, 80, 81, 221; iii. 2, 3, 28, 61, 75, 148, 167, 189, 231, 232, 240: elasticity of spirits, iv. 136: elements of his failure, iv. 33, 34: endurance of privation, iii. 13, 22, 146, 162; iv. 7: equestrianism, sporting instincts, etc., iii. 45, 197: exaggeration and disregard of truth, i. 137, 184: as a financier, ii. 88, 89, 140, 141, 265, 266; iii. 27, 65, 225-229, 240; iv. 24, 25, 221, 223, 229, 243, 244: foresight and insight, ii. 29, 30, 201; iii. 2, 241; iv. 50: generosity, hospitality, and charity, i. 74, 267: ii. 19, 67; iii. 133, 136, 225, 227, 229, 230, 251; iv. 224, 233: his all-embracing genius, ii. 131, 234: habit of reducing thoughts to writing, iv. 67: hallucinations and self-delusions, iii. 234, 252; iv. 117, 120. 126, 219, 229: hatred and vindictiveness, i. 171; ii. 19: as a historian, iv. 162, 217, 238, 239: humanity, iv. 78, 79: his human supremacy, iv. 222: an iconoclast, ii. 18: imperious character, iv. 237: inconsistency, iii. 129, 179, 184, 204; iv. 222-224: inelegance of manner, lack of breeding and

Napoleon Buonaparte — *continued.*
delicacy, ii. 128–130, 162, 163, 178, 266; iii. 38, 66, 138, 139: influenced by personal friendships, iv. 68: intellectual powers, iii. 39: intolerance of criticism, iii. 72: invincibility, ii. 54; iv. 27: knowledge of human nature, ii. 146, 158; iv. 46: qualities of leadership, i. 28, 30, 31, 59, 60, 64, 71, 73, 74, 109, 125, 126, 131, 143, 186, 204, 205: liberalism, iii. 7: literary tastes, studies, style, and work, i. 27, 28, 31, 33, 35, 39–51, 60, 63, 57, 69–72, 75–83, 85, 86, 95, 103, 118, 122, 126, 129–131, 134, 135, 157, 172, 184, 222–224, 246; ii. 10, 35, 264; iii. 27, 28, 134–136, 229, 247; iv. 100, 149, 167, 208, 214, 216, 217, 239: magnanimity (assumed), iii. 9: magnificence, lavishness, and love of display, iii. 44, 74, 196, 225, 230, 250–252, 267: a man of the people, 220 et seq.: views on marriage, 229: mathematical ability, i. 28, 29, 33, 157: military blunders, iii. 12, 254, 258, 259, 268–270; iv. 13, 185: military education, and early service in the army, i. 30, 31, 35, 37–42, 45, 48, 49, 69, 79, 81, 85, 90, 92–96, 105, 135, 137, 139–142, 144, 152, 157, 171, 172, 174–177: military genius and strategy, i. 27, 130, 135, 141, 143, 146, 157, 175, 180, 182, 206, 208–212, 215–220, 224–227, 231–234, 236, 242, 243, 252, 253, 256, 257; ii. 21, 106, 107, 110, 113, 119, 120, 233–235, 237, 245, 259, 272, 275–278; iii. 1, 2, 10, 13, 18, 22, 30–35, 122, 143, 149, 158–161, 163, 168, 170, 172, 177, 181, 252–254, 258–260, 263, 268, 270; iv. 5, 9, 19, 28, 33, 34, 42, 53, 56, 62, 64–66, 71, 78, 89, 92, 93, 95, 97, 98, 109, 110, 118, 121, 122, 157, 159, 160, 163, 167, 168, 174–176, 181, 184, 194, 204, 217, 224, 227, 234, 235, 237, 239, 245: denies moral responsibility, ii. 264: nerve, iv. 7: nervousness, iv. 34: over-credulousness, iv. 55: patriotism, i. 89, 90, 95, 96, 118, 119, 245: ii. 104: persistence, i. 125, 126; ii. 42, 44, 49: personal appearance, i. 23, 29, 59; ii. 19, 20, 252; iii. 39, 75; iv. 194, 215: physical condition and vigor, i. 129; iii. 22, 23, 39, 162, 252; iv. 160, 172, 173, 222–224: physical peculiarities, conditions, ailments, etc., i. 41, 44, 69; iv. 59, 51, 68, 69, 173, 176, 179, 181, 194, 196, 203–206, 210, 216–219: plain-spokenness, iv. 46: his political acumen, ii. 90: poverty, i. 26, 33, 34, 46, 58, 85, 91, 101, 102, 155, 166, 169, 172: powers of analysis and calculation, i. 28, 29: secret of his preeminence, iv. 222, 240: ready wit, iii. 76: recklessness, i. 139: as a reformer, iii. 147: reliance on public opinion, iv. 165: attitude toward religion and relations with the church, i. 39, 83, 125, 157, 261; ii. 28, 87, 88, 104, 113, 132, 133, 138, 139, 144, 146, 158, 163, 165, 169, 170, 209, 217 et seq., 255, 257, 263, 264; iii. 28, 57, 58, 70, 72, 73, 94, 95, 121, 135, 136, 147, 157, 185, 187, 192, 198, 199, 201, 202, 232, 233, 240; iv. 15, 25, 170, 216–219, 223, 229, 244; iv. 229: resolution, iii. 29, 162: restlessness, i. 90, 134, 135, 169: review of his character, iv. 233: sanguine temperament, iii. 24: self-assertion, self-confidence, self-interest, and selfishness, i. 30, 31, 33, 44, 59, 156, 185, 205, 221–223, 242; iii 10, 34, 67, 88, 151, 178, 231, 232, 235, 249; iv. 21, 153, 222, 237: a self-made man, iv. 222: self-restraint, i. 230, 243: sense of ingratitude, iv. 145: sensuality, i. 60, 280; ii. 44; iii. 16, 28, 87, 189, 197, 198, 248, 249, 267; iv. 155, 222: sensitiveness, ii. 128: slow development, iv. 238: social life, manners, and reforms; his court, public receptions, etc., i. 35, 77, 86, 155, 157, 169, 170, 173, 174, 176, 185–188, 278; ii. 87, 128, 130, 144, 162, 163, 178, 262, 253, 266, 267; iii. 39, 50–52, 54, 66–72, 74–76, 132, 135, 136, 138, 139, 173, 230; iv. 25, 224: as soldier, statesman, and despot, iv. 220 et seq.: speculative mania, 172, 175, 176, 185: statecraft and diplomacy, i. 157, 221, 271; ii. 13, 14, 25, 84–87, 90, 91, 95, 97, 99 et seq., 156–160, 167, 169–172, 174, 178, 201–207, 210–212, 215, 222, 226, 227, 258–266, 277, 278; iii. 33, 54, 77, 101, 147, 236, 237, 239, 240, 244, 249, 260; iv. 33, 38, 49: his strong will, ii. 144, 228, 229: views concerning suicide, and his attempts thereat, i. 41, 42; ii. 51; iv. 146, 147, 207, 217, 238: superstition, ii. 52: temper, ii. 180; iv. 46: the terror of his name, iv. 3, 5, 7, 108, 112, 115, 118, 119, 125, 131, 210: theocratic assumptions, ii. 263, 264: thirst for conquest and warlike zeal, ii. 211, 212, 225, 245, 246; iii. 2, 248, 255, 256: iv. 233, 237: thirst for power, iv. 233: unscrupulousness, i. 45, 46, 59, 81, 93, 97, 119, 125, 126, 139, 140, 157, 176, 179, 185; ii. 45, 95, 161, 201, 243; iii. 3, 67, 92, 240, 251; iv. 233: attitude toward and relations with women, i. 152, 157, 173, 174, 187, 188, 278; ii. 128, 129; iii. 3, 27, 49–52, 227, 228, 248, 249; iv. 155, 224

Napoleon II., king of Rome, *N.'s* affection for, iii. 245: iv. 18: Malet's conspiracy, 4: insignificance of, 15: possibility of a regency for, 48

Napoleone, Stephanie, marries Prince Charles of Baden, ii. 257: *N.'s* liaison with, 257

Napoleon's Mount, ii. 247, 249

Narbonne, Comte de, mission from Dresden to Russia, iii. 251

Narew, River, military movements on the, iii. 11, 18, 23

Nassau, member of the Confederation of the Rhine, ii. 260, 261

Nassau, Prince of, anecdote of, iv. 48

National Assembly, the, Corsican affairs in, i. 62–66: persuades Paoli to return to Corsica, 68: condemns Buttafuoco, 75: refuses to create Corsican National Guard, 78: debates on the military power, 80: difficulties of its work, 86–88, 91, 92: self-effacement of, 88: ecclesiastical legislation by, 98: the King takes refuge in, 102: dismisses the King's body-guard, 102: abolishes the kingship, 102: Lafayette endeavors to calm, 102, 103: disperses, 111

National Convention, the, election of a, i. 110: meeting of, Sept. 21, 1792, 111: the King summoned before, 115: enforces its decrees in Corsica, 117: Paoli summoned to appear before, 117, 121: appeal to, by *N.*, in Paoli's behalf, 118: denounces Paoli, 119: sends new commissioners to Corsica, 121: promises indemnity to Corsican sufferers, 123, 124: supremacy of, 124: Corsica's successful revolt against, 129: popular support of, 131: effect of the "Treason of Toulon" on, 133: receives news of capture of Toulon, 137: vengeance on Toulon, 137, 138: overthrow of the Girondists, 138: *N.* and Gen. Lapoype summoned before, 142: terrorists in, 148: turns on Robespierre, 149: downfall, 149, 158: Jacobins in, 158: question of reëlection of members, 161, 166, 167, 178: rebellion and riots against, 162, 168, 179 et seq.: proclaims amnesty, 164: royalist intrigues in, 165: popular hatred of, 167: prepares for conflict, 168, 179: adopts *N.'s* plan for Italian campaign, 175: distrusts *N.*, 179: triumph on the Thirteenth Vendémiaire, 182–185: its plans thwarted by violence, 183: *N.'s* peculiar relations to, 205, 206: financial maladministration, ii. 140: plans for invading England, 185: scheme of revolutionary extension, iii. 249

National Guard, the, organization and reorganization of, i. 57, 80, 81, 92, 162, 182, 185: calling in officers of, 95, 96: *N.* adjutant-major in, 96: feeling against the Convention among, 168, 178: defense of the Tuileries, 179: oppose the Convention forces, 180–182: the Thirteenth Vendémiaire, 180–182: *N.* appointed commander of, ii. 70, 71: drafts for the imperial army from, iv. 22, 23: in defense of Paris, 123, 128: decay of imperialism among, 128: fails to persuade the Empress to stay, 131: *N.* hopes to raise, 136: refuses to obey the provisional government, 143: proclamation to, March 8, 1815, 157: reviewed by *N.*, 171: surly spirit among, 171

National Guard of Corsica, *N.'s* schemes to form, i. 66: *N.* appointed adjutant-major in, 96

National Library, lecture system of the, i. 167

National List, the, ii. 84

Naudin, letter of *N.* to, July 27, 1791, i. 90

Naumburg, Prussian headquarters at, ii. 274, 276: Davout and Bernadotte at, 280: Blücher pursues Macdonald to, iv. 51

Navarre, question of the sovereignty of, i. 54, 65: incorporated with France, 65: French invasion of, iii. 105: the château of, granted to Ferdinand VII., 115: *N.'s* contemplated movements in, 143: military government of, 213

Navy, *N.'s* aptitude for the, i. 29: suicide among officers of the French, ii. 2: preparations at Toulon, 27

Nazareth, skirmish at, ii. 48, 49

Necker, Jacques, schemes of, i. 22: *N.'s* study of, 40: minister of finance, 50: problems of taxation, 50, 54: flight from France, 51: banishment, 56: fall, 88: Mme. de Staël's inheritance from, iii. 228

Negroes, arguments in favor of enslaving, ii. 152

Neidenburg, military operations near, iii. 12, 14

Neipperg, Count A. A., relations with Maria Louisa, iii. 251; iv. 155, 169

Neisse, siege of, iii. 23

Nelson, Adm. Horatio, captures Bastia, i. 154; ii. 42: expected cooperation with Austria at Savona, i. 215: sails from Cadiz in chase of the Egyptian expedition, ii. 38: returns to Sicily, 42: seeks the French fleet in Greece, 42: follows to Egypt, 42: loses an eye at Cadiz, 42: battle of Cape St. Vincent, 42: battle of the Nile, 42, 43, 56: battle of Copenhagen, ii. 135: sanctions the execution of Caraccioli, 191: correspondence with Dumouriez, 193: aided by Portugal, 212: plan to allure him to Egypt, 212: Villeneuve avoids, 213: enticed to the West Indies, 230: joins Cornwallis before Brest, 230: sails for Portsmouth, 230: pursues Villeneuve to Gibraltar, 230: chases Villeneuve to the West Indies and back, 238: arrives off Cadiz, 239: his ambition, 239: battle of Trafalgar, 240–242: his death, 241

Nemours, Cossacks advance to, iv. 103

Nesselrode, Count, appearance in Russian diplomacy, iv. 39: refuses to treat with France, 39, 40: conference with Francis, 43: demands Austria's adherence to the coalition, 43: agrees to basis of Austrian mediation, 43: letter from Talleyrand to, 129: approves the restoration of the Bourbons, 134: negotiates with Talleyrand, 134

Netherlands, French defeats in, i. 100: Hoche's campaign in, 253: England's interest in, 279; iv. 99: the enlightenment of, ii. 25: course of affairs (1797–98), 25, 26: French agents in the, 26: English expedition to destroy the dock-yards of, iii, 183: French influence in, iv. 80: Bernadotte assigned to watch, 90: English troops in the, 91: the allies' invasion of France via, 93, 121: campaign of the Hundred Days, 174 et seq.: weakness of the troops of, 193, 195, 197. See also AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS; BELGIUM; DUTCH FLANDERS; HOLLAND

Neuburg, Marmont at, ii. 234

Neufchateau, member of the Directory, ii. 5, 23: mission to Congress of Rastatt, 35

Neufchatel, ceded to France, ii. 251: Berthier created Prince of, iii. 71. See BERTHIER

Neumarkt, Jourdan's defeat near, i. 235: Masséna's movements at, 269: flight of Hiller to, iii. 162: *N.* at, iv. 42

Neu-Reppin, military movements near, ii. 283

Neutrality, the principle of the agreement of 1780, ii. 136

Neuwied, Hoche crosses the Rhine at, i. 272

New Castile, Duke del Infantado commissioned governor of, iii. 100

New England, commercial greed, iii. 82, 83

Newfoundland, proposed French expedition to, ii. 213

New Galicia, annexed to the grand duchy of Warsaw, iii. 184

New Orleans, battle of, iv. 174

New York, proposal that *N.* sail to, iv. 209

Ney, Marshal Michel, a product of Carnot's system, i. 202: in battle of Hohenlinden, ii. 125: occupies Switzerland, 150, 175: service in the Army of England, 185: execution of, 191: joins *N.* at Waterloo, 191: created marshal, 207: plan for his invasion of Ireland, 214: character, 234; iii. 75; iv. 126: holds the bridge at Gunzburg, ii. 235: victory at Leoben, 236: clears the enemy from the Tyrol, 245: at Bayreuth, 278: in battle of Jéna, 280, 281: invests Magdeburg, iii. 2: at Neidenburg, 12: strength in Poland, 13: threatens Königsberg, 14, 15: reprimanded by *N.*, 14: retreats from Heilsberg, 15: pursued by Bennigsen, 15: escapes to Gilgenburg, 15: in Eylau campaign

Ney, Marshal Michel — *continued.*
19, 20: battle of Heilsberg, 29: movements on the Passarge, 29: battle of Friedland, 31: created Duke of Elchingen, 71: yearly income, 71, 226: *N.'s* opinion of, 75: quarrel with Tolstoi, 87: at Logroño, 142: moves against Castaños, 144: lack of vigor of movement, 144: movement against Madrid, 145: stationed at Astorga, 146: in Leon, 217: strength, March, 1812, 246: advances on Dunaburg, 254: battle of Smolensk, 257: reckless pursuit after Smolensk, 257: battle of Borodino, 261: "the bravest of the brave," iv. 2: hero of the retreat from Moscow, 2, 4, 5: letter to Berthier, Nov. 5, 1812, 3: junction with Eugène, 5: "A marshal of the Empire has never surrendered," 6: perilous retreat from Smolensk, 6: his most brilliant deed of arms, 6: crosses the Dnieper, 6: at the crossing of the Beresina, 7, 8, 10: reaches Vilna, 12: in campaign of 1813, 34: battle of Lutzen, 36: battle of Bautzen, 40: beleaguers Schweidnitz, 42: confronts Blücher at the Bober, 55: battle of Dresden, 57: supersedes Oudinot, 62: battle of Dennewitz, 63, 64: driven into Torgau, 64: letter to *N.*, Sept. 7, 1813, 64: battle of Leipsic, 73, 74: on the allies' march on Paris, 79: moves from Sézanne against Blücher, 95: commanding the Young Guard, 103: battle of Craonne, 107: battle of Laon, 108: moves up the Aube, 117: battle of Arcis-sur-Aube, 118: courage, 126: at council at St. Dizier, 126: strength after the surrender of Paris, 137: at review of the Guard at Fontainebleau, 137: treasonable utterance at Fontainebleau, 138: demands the Emperor's abdication, 138, 139: voices the disaffection of the army, 140: on commission to present abdication to the Czar, 142, 143: transfers his allegiance, 145: returns to Paris, 147: resents royalist affronts to his wife, 159: rejoins Napoleon at Auxerre, 165, 166: recreated marshal, 172: in the Waterloo campaign, 176: dispute concerning his orders, 178: ordered to Quatre Bras, 178, 179, 181, 184, 185: moves to Gosselies, 179: interview with *N.*, 180, 181: battle of Quatre Bras, 181–186: at Frasnes, 184, 187: *N.* determines to join, 185: *N.'s* despatch to, June 17, 1815, 185: *N.'s* indignation at, 186: moves to cooperate with *N.*, 187: battle of Waterloo, 193, 196–202, 204: insubordinate spirit, 199: commanding the Guard, 201: at Quatre Bras, 205: contrasted with Desaix, 205: at Eylau, 205: imprisoned and condemned to death, 210–212
Ice, *N.* at, i. 124, 142, 144, 147, 150, 184, 204: inadequate works at, 128: the Buonapartes at, 144: news of the Terror in, 149: France's ambition to gain, 164, 198: lost to Sardinia, 213: proposal that France should keep, iv. 80
Niemen, River, the, military movements on, iii. 32, 254, 258, 259, 264; iv. 12, 20: meeting of the sovereigns on, iii. 37 et seq.: Prussian territory on, 53: French advance from the Vistula to, 255: French advance to the Dwina from, 255
Nile, River, the, the campaign on, ii. 40 et seq.: Mamelukes drowned in, 41: battle of, 42–44, 56, 238
Nîmes, alarm among the Protestants of, iv. 158
Niort enthusiasm for the fallen Emperor at, iv. 208
Nivelles, military operations near, iv. 174, 180: topography of, 191, 193
Nivôse, the Plot of, ii. 154, 166
Noailles, Comte de, royalist intrigues of, iv. 129
Nobility of France, the, loss of its feudal power, i. 52: privileges, and assumptions of privileges of, 54, 57: yielding of privileges by, 67: flight of, 57, 80 (see also EMIGRANTS)
Noble Guard, institution of a, iv. 159: abolition of the, 165
Nogara, military operation near, i. 251
Nogent, Victor ordered to, iv. 95: *N.* at, 95, 104: abandoned by Victor, 97: Souham's forces at, 125: abdication proposed to the Emperor at, 139
Non-Intercourse Act of March 1, 1809, iii. 210
Non-Intervention Act, the, iii. 83
Nordhalben, Davout at, ii. 278
Nordhausen, military movements near, ii. 283
Nördlingen, the French position at, ii. 234: capture of Werneck's division at, 235
Normandy, unrest in, i. 133: Marmont's troops to withdraw into, iv. 138
North, proposed League of the, ii. 271
North Cape, a boundary of the Continental System, iii. 214
North German Confederation, proposed organization of, ii. 271–273, 275. See also CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
North Sea, proposed French expedition to, ii. 213: part of the coast incorporated into the French Empire, iii. 213, 220, 225
"Northumberland," the, conveys *N.* to St. Helena, iv. 214
Norway, lost to Denmark, iii. 59: subordination to Denmark, 214: in vassalage to France, 214: offered by Alexander to Sweden, 215, 239, 243, 246: Bernadotte's ambition to acquire, 215; iv. 32, 90: in possession of Denmark, iii. 216: Russian troops for the conquest of, 266: struggle with Sweden, iv. 170
Nossen, defeat of the Saxons by the Black Legion at, iii. 180
Notables of France, ii. 84: abolition of the list of, 159
Notre Dame Cathedral, service in honor of the Concordat at, ii. 138, 139: *N.'s* coronation in, 218–221
Novi, battle of, ii. 57, 63, 66: military operations near, ii. 117
Nuits, *N.* visits, i. 82, 83: society in, 82, 83
Nyon, Carnot's concealment at, ii. 17

O

"Oberon," iii. 136
Ocana, battle of, iii. 219, 221
Ochs, Peter, republican propagandist in Switzerland, ii. 27
Oder, River, the, proposed surrender to *N.* of forts on, iii. 138: threatened expulsion of the French from, iv. 44: military movements on, 52: French garrisons on, 76

"Œdipe," performed at Erfurt, iii. 134
Offenburg, reputed emigrant conspirators in, ii. 193: Caulaincourt's expedition to, 194
Officialdom, popular hatred of, i. 54
Offingen, the French position at, ii. 235
Oglio, River, the, Beaulieu retreats behind, i. 219: Austria's boundary in Venetia, 271: Schérer driven behind, ii. 60
O'Hara, Gen., captured before Toulon, i. 136
Old Castile, French occupation of, iii. 122
Oldenburg, proposal to include in North German Confederation, ii. 272: scheme to incorporate with France, iii. 204: Alexander I. reserves his family rights over, 220: Alexander offers to exchange, for Erfurt, 220: incorporated in the French empire, 236, 249: proposal that France evacuate, iv. 38: restored to its former ruler, 79
Oldenburg, Duke of, marries Grand Duchess Catherine, iii. 140, 213: dethroned, 213, 234: proposed allotment of territory to, iv. 39
Old Guard, the, battle of Leipsic, ii. 70, 73: moves against Blücher from Sézanne, 95: *N.* reviews them at Fontainebleau, 136, 137: *N.* takes leave of, 150: reduction of the pay of, 159: in battle of Waterloo, 199, 201. See also IMPERIAL GUARD
Ollioules, capture and recapture of, i. 134
Olmütz, military operations near, ii. 245, 247
Olsusieff, Gen., annihilated by Marmont at Champaubert, iv. 96
O'Meara, Edward, publisher of an Elban MS., i. 103: *N.'s* declaration to, concerning the Duc d'Enghien, ii. 199: *N.'s* conversations with, iii. 6: physician to *N.*, 217: assists *N.* on his history, 217: dismissed by Lowe, 217
Oneglia, Masséna's advance through, i. 143: French troops in the valley of, 144: *N.'s* service at, 144, 151
Oporto, seizure of the French governor of, iii. 97: bishop of, applies to England for help, 97: occupied by Soult, 219
Oppin, Bernadotte at, iv. 70
Orange, House of, indemnity to, for loss of power, ii. 168
Orange, the Prince of, recalled to Holland, iv. 79: in Waterloo campaign, 175, 180: at the Duchess of Richmond's ball, 180: battle of Quatre Bras, 182
Orcha, military movements near, iv. 6, 7
Ordener, Gen., leads expedition to Ettenheim, and arrests the Duc d'Enghien, ii. 194
Ore Mountains, contemplated operations in the, iv. 56: retreat of the allies toward, 58
Orezza, *N.* at, i. 69, 93: meeting of the constituent assembly at, 72–74
Orgon, attempt to assassinate *N.* at, iv. 152
Oriani, Comte B., *N.'s* statement to, i. 226
"Orient," the, sunk in Aboukir Bay, ii. 43
Oriental question, the, ii. 168
Orleans, prison massacres in, i. 111: French garrison at, iv. 137
Orloff, Count, conducts negotiations for surrender of Paris, iv. 133
Ormea, Masséna's advance through, i. 143
Orscha, French garrison in, iii. 259
Ortenau, ceded to Baden, ii. 252
Osnabrück, position in the French empire, iii. 214
Ossian, *N.'s* acquaintance with and study of, ii. 36; iv. 149, 216
Ostermann-Tolstoi, Gen., in battle of Eylau, iii. 19, 20: character, 86: conducts negotiations with *N.*, 86, 87, 90, 91: reception at Paris, 87: quarrel with Ney, 87: *N.'s* opinion of, 91: at St. Cloud levee, Aug. 15, 1808, 132
Osterode, *N.'s* headquarters at, iii. 22, 26
Ostrolenka, Russian retreat to, iii. 12: Russians driven out of, 23
Ostrach, battle of, ii. 60
Othman, the royal line of, iii. 127
Otranto, embargo on, ii. 183: creation of hereditary duchy of, 255: Fouché created Duke of, iii. 71. See FOUCHÉ
Ott, Gen., besieges Genoa, ii. 108, 110, 113, 114: defeated by Lannes at Casteggio, 116: reaches Alessandria, 116: in battle of Marengo, 118, 119
Otto, Comte L. G., ambassador to England, ii. 175: letter from *N.*, Oct. 23, 1802, 175, 185: recalled from London, 177
Otto the Great, *N.* likened to, ii. 218
Ottoman Empire, proposed partition of, ii. 32. See also EGYPT: TURKEY
Oubril, his treaty rejected by Alexander I., ii. 272, 273: Russian envoy to Paris, 259, 262, 271, 272
Oudinot, Gen. C. N., in battle of Austerlitz, ii. 249: created Duke of Reggio, iii. 71: *N.'s* opinion of, 75: character, 75: commanding in Hanau, 157: ordered to Angsburg, 158: ordered to Abensberg, 162: battle of Wagram, 176, 177: ordered to coerce Holland, 204: strength, March, 1812, 246: at the crossing of the Beresina, iv. 8–10: in campaign of 1813, 34: threatens Berlin, 42, 61: *N.'s* instructions to, 54: defeated at Luckau, 56: fails in his movement against Berlin, 59–61: battle of Grossbeeren, 60: retreats to Wittenberg, 60: superseded by Ney, 62: battle of Dennewitz, 63, 64: at Dresden, 65: battle of Leipsic, 71, 73: checks pursuits at Lindenau, 75: opposes Schwarzenberg, 95: driven back to Nangis, 97: before Provins, 103: captures Méry, 104: ordered to hold Blücher, 104: checked by Schwarzenberg, 105: driven beyond Troyes, 105: retreats from Arcis, 119: at Bar-sur-Ornain, 126: strength after the surrender of Paris, 137: at the abdication scene, 139: transfers his allegiance to Louis XVIII., 147: recreated marshal, 172
Ourcq, River, military operations on the, iv. 106
Ouvrard, G. J., sent by Fouché on mission to England, iii. 208, 209

P

Pachra, River, French crossing of the, iii. 269
Pacific Ocean, influence of the United States on the, ii. 184

Paderborn, apportioned to Prussia, ii. 170
Padua, military operations near, i. 251: creation of hereditary duchy of, ii. 255
Pagerie, Marie-Josephe-Rose Tascher de la. See BEAUHARNAIS, JOSEPHINE
Pagerie, Mlle. Tascher de la, sought in marriage by Ferdinand VII., iii. 99, 100: marries the Duke of Aremberg, ii. 104
Pagerie, Tascher de la, father of Josephine Beauharnais, i. 189: death of, 190
Paine, Thomas, on financial condition of England, ii. 21
Pajol, Gen., seizes Montereau, iv. 103: in the Waterloo campaign, 176: engagement at Charlerei, 177: battle of Ligny, 183
Palace of the Government, the, ii. 97
Palafox, Gen. José de, military ability, iii. 122: at Saragossa, 143, 144
Palais Royal, headquarters of the tribunate, ii. 100: a refuge for the disreputable, 100
Palestine, the key of, ii. 49: importance of *N.'s* conquering, 49, 50
Palm, J. P., bookseller of Nuremberg, execution of, ii. 271
Palma, *N.* advances to, i. 274
Pamplona, *N.* seeks information concerning, iii. 101: seized by Darmagnac, 105
Pan, Mallet du, criticizes Mme. de Staël, iii. 227
Panatheri, secretary of Directory of Corsica, i. 73
Pantheon Club, closing of the, i. 186
Paoli, Pascal his share in the history of Corsica, i. 4 et seq.: relations with the Jews and with the Vatican, 5: compared with Washington, 6: his character and renown, 6, 7: offers asylum to Rousseau, 7: hoodwinked by Choiseul, 8, 9: defeat and escape, 10: appeals to the Powers, 10: aspirations for Corsica, 12, 13, 62: *N.'s* address to, 19: his conciliation sought by France, 21: *N.* a supporter and admirer of, 27, 47, 48, 77, 118, 125: the "History of Corsica" dedicated to, 47, 48: *N.'s* correspondence with, 49–51: his return to Corsica, 62–68, 70, 72: activity of his agents, 63: directs Corsican agitation, 64: amnesty granted to, 65, 67: quits England, 68: honored by Louis XVI. and the National Assembly, 68: misrepresented in Paris, 68: popularity in Corsica, 69, 117: meeting with *N.* at Rostino, 72, 73: virtual dictator of Corsica, 73: agitation in his behalf in Corsica, 94, 99: interferes in riots in Ajaccio, 98: difficulties of his situation, 99: displeasure at *N.*, 99, 100: *N.* seeks reconciliation with, 109: despair of, 109: commander-in-chief in Corsica, 109: lieutenant-general in the French army, 110: opposes Sardinian invasion scheme, 111, 112, 114, 117: *N.'s* insubordination to, 112: suspected of intrigue with England, 112, 118: position on declaration of war against England, 116, 117: denounced by Lucien Buonaparte, 117: summoned to appear before the National Convention, 117, 121: *N.* antagonizes, 118–120, 122, 125, 143: denounced by the National Convention, 119: summons *N.* to Corte, 120: offers to leave Corsica, 121: seeks English protection for Corsica, 121–123: views of condition of France, 122: declared an outlaw, 123: fails to fortify Ajaccio, 153: seeks aid from England, 154: recalled to England, 164
Paolists, the, i. 62
Papacy, the, French feeling against the, i. 229: the Directory desires its overthrow, 259, 261: *N.'s* alliance with, 261: *N.* proposes negotiations with the, ii. 7: relations of *N.* and France with, 132, 133, 139. See also CHURCH; PIUS VII.; ROME
Papal States, the, French proposition to revolutionize, i. 227: French seizures and ransom in, 228, 229: *N.* protects clergy in, 261: under French influence, 271: scheme to conquer, ii. 12: held by Austria, 95, 105: evacuated by Ferdinand IV., 131: *N.* demands expulsion of Russians, English, and Sardinians from, 256: *N.'s* influence over, recognized at Tilsit, iii. 47: *N.* demands banishment of hostile agents from, and closing of ports to England, 57: French invasion of, 94: demands for the inviolability of, 94: annexed to France, 201
Papelotte, the farms of, iv. 191: fighting at, 196, 199
Paradomania, iii. 44
"Parallel between Cæsar, Cromwell, and Bonaparte," ii. 148, 149
Parbasdorf, military operations near, iii. 176, 177
Paris, the military school at, i. 25, 30, 31: *N.'s* sojourn in (1787), 44, 45: the Parliament banished from, 55: base elements of population flock to, 56: encounter in the Place Vendôme, 56: burning of the barriers, 56: destruction of the Bastille, 56, 57: Louis XVI. takes up residence in, 57: famine, 86: return of the court to, 86: municipal reform, 88: *N.* returns to (May 28, 1792), 101: *N.'s* impoverished condition in 101, 102: great outburst of sedition, 102: Marseilles sends a deputation to, 102: the barricades on August 10, 1792, 104, 105: *N.* and Eliza in, 107: *N.'s* residences in (Holland Patriots' Hotel) 107, (Fossés Montmartre) 156, (Michodière Street) 176, (Chantereine Street) ii. 18, (Victory Street), 58: massacres of royalist prisoners, i. 108: overturn of municipal government, 110: committee of surveillance, 110, 111: prison massacres in (Sept. 2–6, 1792), 111: representation in the National Convention, 111: condemnation and execution of Louis XVI., 115: establishment of the revolutionary tribunal, 123: *N.* at (1793), 134: scenes of the Terror, 149: *N.'s* sojourn in (1795), 156, 166 et seq., 173, 176: influence in political movements, 158: bread riots, 162: Jacobin plots, 162: critical condition of affairs, 163, 165, 166: social life (1795, 1796), 166–169, 173, 174, 191: hatred of the National Convention in, 167: military preparations, 168, 178, 179: royalist plots against, 178: critical condition of affairs, 178–180: rebellion against the Convention, 179 et seq.: the Thirteenth Vendémiaire, 180–182: restoration of order, 182: *N.* cows the low elements in, 185: rejoicings in, over Piedmontese successes, 221: glorification of *N.* in (1796), 222: receptacle for plundered works of art, 225:
Paris — *continued.*
"the capital of European liberties," 226: spring elections of 1797, ii. 1: critical condition of affairs, 2: royalist intrigues, the Clichy faction, 2, 3, 5: necessity for a powerful general in, 3, 4: Barras schemes to bring troops to, 4: the 18th of Fructidor, 5: *N.'s* remittances to, 8: feeling in, over the treaty of Campo Formio, 15: return of *N.* to (1797), 17–20: the "Street of Victory," 18: plot and counterplot in, 24: distrust of *N.* in (1798), 33: popular ideas in, concerning the Egyptian campaign, 46: *N.'s* triumphant progress from Fréjus to, 58: hatred of the Terror, 64, 65: *N.'s* reception in (from Egypt), 65–69: banquet to *N.* in St. Sulpice, 68, 69: *N.* appointed commander of the troops, 69 et seq.: the 18th Brumaire, 70 et seq.; iv. 228: Fouché closes the barriers, ii. 74: apportionment of the guards in, 74: *N.* reopens the barriers, 74: the 19th Brumaire, 76 et seq.: weeding out old republican politicians from, 84: warlike feeling in (1800), 96: welcomes *N.* from Marengo, 120: *N.'s* relations with polite society in, 130: service in honor of the Concordat, 139: schemes of the Duc d'Enghien's supporters in, 154, 155: explosion of infernal machine in Rue St. Nicaise, 155: Mme. de Staël exiled from, 165: restoration of street names, 165: improved social conditions, 165: the press of, attacks England, 174: center of the government, 178: feeling in, concerning *N.'s* court at Aachen, 217: coronation of *N.*, 217, 219–221: prospects of coming war in, 200: fickleness of society in, 200: abuse of Austria and Russia by press of, 232: *N.* returns to (Jan. 27, 1806), 262: affection for *N.* in, 263: *N.* proposes to introduce bull-fights, 265: *N.* leaves for Mainz, 274: relics of Frederick the Great sent to, iii. 3: official reports from Eylau in, 21: the situation in (1807), 26 et seq.: the head and body of France, 26: sensitiveness of the Bourse, 26: Mme. de Staël returns to, and again expelled from, 27: the situation in, after Friedland, 35: proposal that Alexander visit, 44: question of the cardinal at, 58: return of *N.* from Tilsit to, 61: public works, 62; iv. 17: Jewish Sanhedrim in, iii. 63: social vices in, 75: Tolstoi's reception at, 87: the soul of France, 118, 125; iv. 118, 121: the divorce scandal in, iii. 140; *N.* returns from Spain to (Jan. 6, 1809), 146: *N.* returns from Vienna to, 186, 189: *N.'s* second marriage, 198–200: the College of Cardinals transplanted from Rome to, 198, 202: rejoicings in, over birth of the king of Rome, 230, 231: a rival to Rome as capital of the Western empire, 234: remembrance of the Terror, 245: monarchical sentiment in, 245: importance of *N.'s* presence in, iv. 12: the Malet conspiracy in, 14, 15: treachery in, 41: the allies' advance on, 79, 80, 94, 95, 97, 102, 116, 117, 120–125, 131, 133, 134, 208: gloom and panic in, 87, 109, 122, 126, 130, 131, 136, 171: *N.'s* public appearances in, 87, 88: the national guard, 88: defense of, 93, 103, 104, 113, 121, 123, 128–132: Joseph acting regent in, 95: Blücher's advance toward, 105: sends reinforcements to *N.*, 109, 113: *N.'s* resolution to abandon, 117: *N.'s* march toward, 126, 128, 165, 166: surrender of, 128, 133: the Empress's flight from, 128–132, 136: intrigue in, 129: royalist influences in, 130: in communication with Marmont, 131: summoned to surrender, 131: armistice before, 131: looking for *N.* in, 132: fighting before, 132: not to be sacked, 132, 133: entrance of the allies, 133, 134, 136, 137, 209: council of the allies and French diplomats, 134: royalist enthusiasm in, 134–136: assents to the overthrow of *N.*, 135: the white cockade in, 135, 158: plans for the recovery of, 136, 137: reception of Louis XVIII. in, 148: riots in, at burial of an actress, 158: secret longings for *N.'s* return in, 158: the garrison put under arms, 159: disappearance of the government, 166: raising the imperialist standard in, 166: placard on the Vendôme column, 166: excitement in, 166: arrival of *N.* in, 166, 167: treaty of, 170: the news of Waterloo and Ligny in, 205, 206: *N.* returns from Waterloo to, 206: formation of a new Directory, 207: appointment of a committee of public safety, 207: *N.* offers to defend, 208: possibility of reassembling an army in, 210
Paris, Forest of, formation of the Prussians behind, iv. 197
Paris, Marquis de, leads the Parisian mob, i. 86
Paris sections, the day of the, i. 181–188
Parker, Sir Hyde, at battle of Copenhagen, ii. 135
Parliament of Paris, reconstitution of the, i. 64: contest with Louis XVI., 54, 55: banished from the capital, 55
Parma, intrigue in the court of, i. 207: plundered of works of art, 225: *N.'s* leniency to, 260: *N.'s* influence in, 278: *N.'s* violation of neutrality of, ii. 95: secured to France, 132: adopts the French Code, 227: creation of hereditary duchy of, 255: Cambacérès created Duke of, iii. 71 (see CAMBACÉRÈS): ecclesiastical reforms and confiscations in, 202: position in the French empire, 214: granted to Maria Louisa, iv. 148
Parma, Duke of, submission of, i. 218: plan to give the Papal States to, ii. 12: *N.'s* promises to, 212
Parthe, River, military movements on the, iv. 70
Parthenopean Republic, the, proclaimed, ii. 59: abandonment of, 131, 132: fate of its admiral, Caraccioli, 191
Parthians, Roman campaigns against the, iii. 247
Pasquier, Baron de, attitude toward *N.*, ii. 65: prefect of police, iv. 15: episode of the Malet conspiracy, 15: imperial prefect, 129
Passarge, River, military operations on the, iii. 22, 24, 26, 29
Passariano, *N.'s* headquarters at, ii. 13, 15, 16
Passau, apportioned to Bavaria, ii. 170, 252: *N.'s* line of retreat to, 253
Passeyr, the estates of, conferred upon Hofer's family, iii. 186
Patterson, Elizabeth, married to Jerome Buonaparte, ii. 164
Paul I., succeeds Catherine II., i. 262: institutes the second coalition, ii. 59: incensed at George III., 93: demands Thugut's dismissal, 93: incensed at Austria, 93, 102: withdraws from the coalition, 93, 94: seeks control of Malta, 93, 102, 126: friend-

Paul I.—*continued.*
ship with *N.* and France, 94, 102, 126, 168: plan for invasion of India and partition of Asia, 102: receives the sword of Valetta from *N.*, 102: aims to destroy Austria's power, 126: accuses England and Austria of treachery, 126: concludes alliance with *N.*, 134: assassinated, 135, 211, 245; iii. 35, 36: effect of his death on France, ii. 135: antipathy to Great Britain, 168: supports the House of Savoy, 149. See also RUSSIA
"Paul and Virginia," iii. 227
Paunsdorf, military operations near, iv. 73
Pavia, the sack of, i. 220; iii. 3: military operations near, ii. 114
Pawnbrokerage in France, iii. 64
Peasant proprietors, at outbreak of the Revolution, i. 53, 64
Peccadeuc, Picot de, *N.'s* enemy, i. 33
Pelet, Gen., charges Berthier with treachery, iii. 160: on the battle of Aspern, 170: denies the story of Lannes's deathbed, 173: in battle of Waterloo, iv. 200
Pelham, Thomas, employs Méhée de la Touche, ii. 189
Peltier, J. G., publishes "L'Ambigu," ii. 173, 174: prosecuted for libeling *N.*, 174
Penal Code, the, iii. 225, 226
Peninsula, Peninsular War. See PORTUGAL; SPAIN
Pensions, reforms in French, i. 80
Pension system, iii. 71
Pepin the Short, coronation of, ii. 208
Peraldi, associated with *N.* in Corsica, i. 62: seeks election in National Guard of Corsica, 97: becomes an enemy of *N.*, 97, 100: ordered to prepare fleet at Toulon, 110: seeks to arrest *N.*, 120
Perceval, Spencer, assassination of, iv. 16: mismanagement of English affairs, 168, 169
Peretti, his name reprobated in Corsica, i. 65: vote of censure on, 74: seeks election in National Guard of Corsica, 96
Permon, Mme., *N.'s* friendship with, i. 31, 32, 104, 168–170: friendship with Salicetti, 168–170: correspondence with *N.*, 169, 170: declines *N.'s* matrimonial offer, 187: notable saying of, ii. 86
Perpignan, reinforcements for Augereau from, iv. 119
Perponcher, Gen. G. H., in battle of Quatre Bras, iv. 181
Perregaux, Comte de, royalist intrigues of, iv. 133
Persia, proposed Indian expeditions via, ii. 134: Sebastiani's mission to, 174–176: treaty with France, iii. 23, 24: *N.* arranges treaty between Turkey and, 23, 24: incited to invade India, 24: proposed rupture with England, 24: *N.* studies the history of, 130: *N.'s* intercourse with, 239: Themistocles's refuge in, iv. 214
Perthes, Macdonald at, iv. 126
Peru, scheme of a Bourbon monarchy in, iii. 106, 111
Peschiera, seized by Beaulieu, i. 219, 226: French occupation of, 227, 232: the revolutionary movement in, 265: disarmament of, 273
"Peter the Great," by Carrion-Nisas, ii. 225
Peterswald, military movements near, iv. 57, 61
Petit, Gen., at review of the Guard at Fontainebleau, iv. 137: *N.'s* farewell to, 150
Petit Trianon, *N.* secures the library from, iv. 208, 214
Peyrusse, corruption of, iv. 54: keeper of *N.'s* purse at Elba, 162
Pfaffenhofen, military movements near, iii. 160
Phélippeaux, A. de, *N.'s* enemy, i. 33: superintends the defense of Acre, ii. 48, 50: parley with *N.* at Acre, 54
Phenicia, the history of, iv. 242
Philip, Don, of Spain, ii. 132
Philip le Bel, schemes of world-conquest, ii. 31
Philippe "Égalité," despicable actions of, i. 86: scheme for his son, 200
Philippeville, *N.* at, iv. 203, 205
"Philosophical and Political History of the Two Indies," *N.'s* study of, ii. 31
"Philosophic Visions" (Mercier), *N.'s* study of, ii. 36
Phrases:
Alfieri:
"Italia virtuosa, magnanima, libera, et una," ii. 149
Anonymous or unassigned: (See also *Popular,* infra)
[A lady] "fond of men when they are polite," iii. 139
"A mystery in the soul of state," iv. 25
"Democracy an excellent work-horse, but a poor charger; a good hack, but an untrustworthy racer," iv. 233
"Everything has been restored except the two million Frenchmen who died for liberty," ii. 139
"Freedom of the seas and the invasion of England," ii. 231
[Bonaparte] "his consular majesty," ii. 187
A Paris actor:
"J'ai fait des rois, madame, et n'ai pas voulu l'être," ii. 132
"Legislative eunuchs," ii. 100
[Louis XVIII.] "learned nothing and forgot nothing," iv. 147
[The army chest] "a French Providence, which made the laurel a fertile tree, the fruits of which had nourished the brave whom its branches covered," iii. 226
Arndt:
"Freedom and Austria," iii. 151
Berthier:
"By general's reckoning, not that of the office," ii. 110
Cambronne:
"The guard dies but never surrenders," iv. 202
Charles IV.:
A king "who had nothing further to live for than his Louise and his Emmanuel," iii. 129
Coigne:
"Providence and courage never abandon the good soldier," iii. 248

Phrases—*continued.*
Congress of Vienna:
[Napoleon] "the enemy and disturber of the world's peace," iv. 169
Czartoryski:
"Paradomania," iii. 44
Dalberg:
"The monkey [Talleyrand] would not risk burning the tip of his paw even if all the chestnuts were for himself," iv. 130
Princess Dolgoruki:
[The First Consul's residence] "is not exactly a court, but it is no longer a camp," ii. 128
Gentz:
"The war for the emancipation of states bids fair to become one for the emancipation of the people," iv. 79
Goethe:
"A great man can be recognized only by his peers," iv. 134
Kutusoff:
"The plain gentleman of Pskoff," iv. 13
Machiavelli:
"Friends must be treated as if one day they might be enemies," ii. 163
Marmont:
"The tube of a funnel," iv. 69
Napoleon:
"About to produce a great novelty," iv. 163
"A great man—one who can command the situations he creates," iv. 65
"A kind of vermin which I have in my clothes," ii. 156
"A lion's advice," iii. 267
"A man like me troubles himself little about a million men," iv. 46
"A thing must needs be done before the announcement of your plan," iii. 56
"Bullets have been flying about our legs these twenty years," iv. 6
"Credit is but a dispensation from paying cash," iv. 24
"Emperor of the Continent," iii. 234
"Enemy's lands make enemy's goods," iii. 5
[England a] "nation of traders," ii. 186
"Everything to-morrow," iv. 40
"Fortune is a woman; the more she does for me, the more I shall exact from her," i. 223
"Forty centuries look down upon you from . . . the Pyramids," ii. 41
"Gathered to strike; separated to live," ii. 236. See also p. 244
"Generals who save troops for the next day are always beaten," iii. 263
"God hath given it [the crown of Italy] to me; let him beware who touches it," ii. 226
"Great battles are won with artillery," iv. 34
"I am conquered less by fortune than by the egotism and ingratitude of my companions in arms," iv. 145
"I am determined to be the last [the bottomless chasm] shall swallow up," iv. 108
"I am driven onward to a goal which I know not," iii. 247
"I am the god of the day," ii. 80
"I cannot be everywhere," ii. 242. (*Cf.* "The enemy's strength," infra)
"Idcologist," iv. 241
"I feel the infinite in me," iv. 231
"If there be one soldier among you who wishes to kill his Emperor, he can. I come to offer myself to your assaults," iv. 164
"I have destroyed the enemy merely by marches," ii. 235
"I have never found the limit of my capacity for work," iii. 163
"I have often slept two in a bed, but never three," iii. 38
"I leave my army to come and share the national perils," ii. 66
"I may find in Spain the Pillars of Hercules, but not the limits of my power," iii. 124
"In our day no one has conceived anything great; it falls to me to give the example," i. 223
"In war, the moral element and public opinion are half the battle," iv. 28
"In war you see your own troubles; those of the enemy you cannot see. You must show confidence," iii. 161
"I pray God to have you in his holy keeping," ii. 264
"I shall conduct this war [Saxon campaign] as General Bonaparte," iv. 35
"It is . . . courageous to survive unmerited bad fortune," iv. 149
"It rains hard, but that does not stop the march of the grand army," iv. 66. (*Cf.* "While others," etc., infrs)
"I walk with the goddess of fortune, accompanied by the god of war," ii. 77
"Liberty and equality . . . put beyond caprice of chance and uncertainty of the future," ii. 159
"Masters of the Channel for six hours, we are masters of the world," ii. 212
"My generals are a parcel of post inspectors," iii. 124
"Metaphysicians . . . fit only to be drowned," ii. 156
"My enemies make appointments at my tomb,' iii. 189
"My master has no bowels, and that master is the nature of things," iii. 89
[Napoleon determined to] "conquer the sea by land," iii. 11
[Napoleon] "shows himself terrible at the first moment," iii. 3

Phrases — *continued.*
[Napoleon] "the minister of the power of God, and his image on earth," ii. 264
[Napoleon's] "library," iv. 24
[Ney] "the bravest of the brave," iv. 2
"Perfidious and tyrannical Great Britain," iii. 117
[Singing the tune of Tilsit] "according to the written score," iii. 55
"Spurred and booted ruler," ii. 96
"Tête . . . armée," iv. 219
"The art of war is to gain time when your strength is inferior," ii. 108
[The Concordat] "the vaccine of religion," ii. 139
"The Ebro is nothing but a line," iii. 124
"The enemy's strength seems great [to the division commanders] wherever I am not," iv. 55. (*Cf.* "I cannot," etc., supra)
"The finances are falling into disorder, and . . . need war," iii. 235
"The game of chess is becoming confused," iv. 65
"The genius of France and Providence will be on our side," iv. 105
"The growlers," iv. 137, 141, 147
"The new Pillars of Hercules," iii. 235
"The pear is not yet ripe," ii. 35. (For the ripening of the pear, see ii. 67, 148)
"The Revolution is planted on the principles from which it proceeded. It is ended," ii. 90
"The Spanish ulcer," iii. 203
"The sun of Austerlitz," ii. 253
"The system of hither and thither," iv. 63, 64, 69
"The worse the troops the greater the need of artillery," iv. 34
"This is the moment when characters of a superior sort assert themselves," ii. 44
"This movement makes or mars me," iv. 121
"Three years more, and I am lord of the Universe," iii. 235
"To have the right of using nations, you must begin by serving them well," iv. 244
"To honor and serve the Emperor is to honor and serve God," ii. 264
"To strike a salutary terror into others," ii. 199
"Victor of Austerlitz," ii. 253
"Vous êtes un homme," iii. 134
"War is like government, a matter of tact," i. 222
[War with Russia] "a scene in an opera," iii. 241
"We 'll pass these few winter days as best we may; then we 'll try to spend the spring in another fashion," iv. 161
"We must pull on the boots and the resolution of 93," iv. 103
"Wherever . . . water to float a ship, there . . . a British standard," iv. 214
"Which has been the happiest age of humanity?" iii. 136
"While others were taking counsel the French army was marching," ii. 283. (*Cf.* "It rains hard," supra)
"Why am I not my grandson?" iv. 238
"You manage men with toys," ii. 159
Nelson:
"England expects every man to do his duty," ii. 240
"In case signals cannot be seen or clearly understood, no captain can do wrong if he places his ship alongside that of an enemy," ii. 240
"Westminster Abbey or Victory," ii. 43
Ney:
"A marshal of the Empire has never surrendered," iv. 6
Mme. Permon:
"The pike is eating the other two fish," ii. 86
Pitt (concerning):
The "Austerlitz look," ii. 254
Pius VII.:
[Bonaparte the Pope's] "son in Christ Jesus," ii. 217
Popular:
"Armed men spring up at the stamp of his foot," iv. 22
"Ban," and "arrière ban" (feudal terms), iv. 89
"Bautzen Messenger-Boy," the, iv. 64
[Blücher] "Marshal Forward" iv. 122
"Emperor of the Gauls," ii. 204
"Enemy's ships make enemy's goods," iii. 5
"Equality," ii. 142
"Fighting with the legs instead of with the bayonets," ii. 279
"France the most beautiful land next to the kingdom of heaven," iii. 13
"French fury," iv. 175. (*Cf.* "Furia francesca," ii. 252)
"Frenchmen, awake; the Emperor is waking," iv. 158
"He has been and will be," iv. 158
"His sacred Majesty," ii. 263
"Liberty of the seas," ii. 151, 168
"Marie Louises," the, iv. 87
"Mother Moscow," "the holy city," iii. 264
"Napoladron," iii. 223
"Napoleon, by the grace of God Emperor," ii. 264
[Napoleon] "perhaps an angel, perhaps a devil,— certainly not a man," iv. 43
"Napoleon the Great," ii. 263
"Neutral flag, neutral goods," ii. 168
"Neutral ships make neutral goods; free ships, free goods," ii. 136
"Paternal anarchy," iv. 158, 160
"Ragusade," iv. 144
"Robbing the cradle and the grave," iv. 22
"Sauve qui peut," iv. 202
"The Emperor's last victory," iv. 86
Phrases — *continued.*
"The fountain of honor," ii. 159
"The liberator of Poland," iii. 8
"The little corporal," i. 220; iv. 137, 163
"The man of God, the anointed of the Lord," ii. 263
"The Napoleon of Potsdam and Schonbrunn, iv. 136
"The return of the hero," ii. 66
Regnaud de St.-Jean d'Angely:
"The unhappy man [Napoleon] will undo himself, undo us all, undo everything," iii. 247
Revolution, Motto of the:
France, "one and indivisible," ii. 221
St. André:
"The fate of the world depends on a kick or two," iv. 48
Savigny:
[The Code Napoléon] "a political malady," ii. 143
Sieyès:
"Une poire pour la soif," ii. 86
Soult:
"An inspiration is nothing but a calculation made with rapidity," iv. 221
Talleyrand:
"Italy the flank of France; Spain its natural continuation; and Holland its alluvium," iii. 216
"Napoleon's civilization that of Roman history," iii. 139
"Pleasure will not move at the drum-tap," iii. 76
"Society will pardon much to a man of the world, but cheating at cards never," iii. 118
"There is no empire not founded on the marvelous, and here the marvelous is the truth," iv. 222
Vandamme:
"That devil of a man," iii. 75
Villeneuve:
"Any captain not under fire is not at his post, and a signal to recall him would be a disgrace," ii. 240
Wellington:
"I must fight him here [Waterloo]," iv. 180
"Old Blücher has had a ——— good licking," iv. 184
"Up, Guards! make ready!" iv. 202
Zacharias, Pope:
"He is king who has the power," ii. 208
Piacenza, military operations near, i. 217, 218; ii. 114: Loison at, 116: adopts the French Code, 227: creation of hereditary duchy of, 255: Lebrun created Duke of, iii. 71. See LEBRUN
Piacenza, Duke of, submission of, i. 218
Piave River, military operations on the, i. 236, 237, 266, 267
Picardy, movement of troops to, ii. 16
Pichegru, Gen. Charles, *N.*'s early acquaintance with, i. 129: called to command Paris troops, 162: conquers the Austrian Netherlands, 163, 164: suspected of intrigue, 165: royalist schemes of, 178; ii. 105, 190: a product of Carnot's system, i. 202: conquest of Holland, ii. 3: plans a coup d'état, 3: exposure of his treachery in 1795, 3, 4: proscribed, 5: implicated with Moreau, 49, 107, 190: escapes from Guiana, 105: heads royalist rising in Provence, 105: fall and death, 189, 190: leads royalist plot, 190: Savary suspected of complicity in death of, 267: funeral mass celebrated for, iv. 158
Picton, Sir T., in Waterloo campaign, iv. 176: battle of Waterloo, 196: killed, 197
Piedmont, military operations in, i. 128, 152, 209, 213 et seq.: troops of, enter Savoy, 133: French movement against, 145: *N.* advises against advancing into, 146: Austro-Sardinian operations in (1794), 206: revolutionary spirit in, 207: conquest of, 213–220, 228: army separated from Austrians, 215: successes in, 221: French proposition to organize republic in, 221, 227: loses island of St. Peter, ii. 8: incorporated with the Ligurian Republic, 26: Moreau's last stand in, 57: held by Suvaroff, 93: held by Austria, 95, 105: tribute levied on, 120: incorporated with France, 149, 171, 175, 179: Jourdan's pacification of, 206: Alexander I. demands indemnity for, 223: ecclesiastical reforms and confiscations in, iii. 202: parallel between the Waterloo campaign and that in, iv. 174
Piedmontese, in French service, ii. 9.
Piktupönen, Frederick William and Hardenberg at, iii. 38: Frederick William's stay at, 51
"Pillars of Hercules, the new," iii. 235
Pillau, Napoleon demands, as a pledge, iii. 35: French military stores in, 253
Pinckney, C. C., Talleyrand attempts to corrupt, ii. 23
Piombino, given to Elisa (Buonaparte) Baccicochi, ii. 227, 229. See also LUCCA AND PIOMBINO
Pirch, Gen., in Waterloo campaign, iv. 175, 199
Piré, Gen., ordered to Quatre Bras, iv. 179
Pirna, Vandamme at, iv. 56–58: Mortier at, 59, 63: sickness of *N.* at, 59, 147: *N.* abandons, 62: *N.* moves on, 63
Pisa, Carlo Buonaparte at, i. 14
Pitt, William, Jr., prime minister of England, i. 115, 116: takes active measures against France, 131, 132: difficulties of his administration, 278, 279: anxiety for peace after Leoben, ii. 8: declines to negotiate with *N.*, 94: delusion concerning *N.* and France, 94: denounces *N.* as the destroyer of Europe, 95: advocates restoration of the Bourbons, 95: policy toward France, 134, 210, 211, 231, 262; iv. 32: British confidence in, ii. 134: falls from power on the Catholic Emancipation question, 134: calls for defense of the kingdom, 186: raises volunteers, 186: returns to power, 210: his policy of European coalitions, 210, 211: becomes prime minister, 216: on France's designs against England, 216: success of his efforts, 228: reception of the news of Austerlitz, 254: death, 254: Fox compelled to adopt his program, 262: England returns to his policy, iv. 32

Pius VI., signs treaty of Tolentino, i. 211 : ransoms Bologna, 228, 229: prepares to recover lost territory, 245: quarrel with France, 247: *N.'s* problem concerning, 249: hostilities by, 251: campaign against, 259–261: his army dispersed, 260: expresses gratitude to *N.*, 261: *N.'s* conquest of, ii. 6: ill health, 7: persecution of, 26: withdraws to Siena, 26: stripped of his possessions, 26: death, burial, and memorial services, 26, 87, 133, 139
Pius VII., election of, ii. 133: resumes temporal power, 133: removes the ban from Talleyrand, 139: relations with *N.*, 139, 217 et seq.; iii. 57, 58, 94, 95; iv. 26: the matter of *N.'s* coronation, ii. 208 et seq., 217–221: refuses to receive Mme. Tulleyrand, 209: his demands for the Church, 209: at Fontainebleau, 218: his humiliation and return to Rome, 221, 222: refuses a divorce to Jerome Buonaparte, 256; iii. 7: neutrality in the Austerlitz campaign, ii. 256: desires unity of the German Church, 260: refuses to recognize Joseph's sovereignty, iii. 57: *N.'s* ultimatum to, 57, 58: refuses to join the French federation against England, 94: his demands on *N.*, 94: concessions to *N.'s* demands, 94: prisoner at Grenoble, 95, 187: disbandment of the Noble Guard, 95: a *fainéant* prince in the Quirinal, 95: issues bull, June 10, 1809, 95: wearing effect of *N.'s* quarrel with, 95: indemnity for, 166: deposed from the temporal power, 166, 186, 187, 192: retains his ecclesiastical position, 186: excommunicates *N.* and his adherents, 186: imprisoned at Savona, 187, 233: removed from Rome to Fontainebleau, 187: refuses to renounce the secular power, 187: in Florence, 187: does not recognize *N.'s* divorce, 199: provision of residence and revenue for, 201: the second quarrel of investitures, 201: relations with the Gallican Church, 201, 202: inflexibility of, 201, 202: De Maistre on the supineness of, 202: contrasted with Innocent II., 202: partial submission of, 233: refuses to institute *N.'s* nominees as bishops, 233: prisoner at Fontainebleau, iv. 15, 25, 26: hostility of the French ecclesiastics to, 26: the Concordat of Fontainebleau, 26: interviews with *N.* at Fontainebleau, 26: restoration of Roman domains to, 26: residence at Avignon, 26: retracts his assent, 26: release of, 87, 88: humiliation of, 227
Pizzighettone, French occupation of, i. 227
Placentia, ecclesiastical reforms and confiscations in, iii. 202: granted to Maria Louisa, iv. 148
Plagwitz, fighting near, iv. 72
"Plain," the, position in the National Convention, i. 111
Plancenoit, fighting at, iv. 199, 200
Plancy, military movements near, iv. 116
Plato, *N.'s* study of, i. 49
Platoff, Count M. I., harasses the French retreat from Moscow, iv. 2, 6
Plauen, fighting near, iv. 57 : Austrians driven into, 57
Plebiscites, of Dec. 15, 1799, ii. 86, 90: of May, 1802, 158, 159: of 1804, 207
Pleisse, River, military operations on the, iv. 35, 70, 71
Plombières, Josephine's coterie at, ii. 58
Plutarch, *N.'s* study of, i. 40; ii. 31
Plymouth Sound, the "Bellerophon" in, iv. 210
Po, River, the country of the, i. 216; ii. 116, 117: military operations on the, i. 217, 218, 233, 272; ii. 113, 114, 116, 119
Point-du-Jour, Sérurier's guard at the, ii. 74
Poischwitz, armistice of, iv. 43–45, 47, 50, 98, 194, 238
Poland, partition of, i. 131, 259, 262; ii. 227, 268; iii. 8, 25, 44: Austria's gaze on, i. 198: French schemes for the reconstruction of, ii. 28–30: Alexander I.'s designs concerning, 228; iii. 40, 235, 240; iv. 20, 99: Alexander retreats to, ii. 252: extension of the French empire in, 256: sack of, iii. 4: *N.'s* opportunity to save, 8, 9: pro-Napoleon enthusiasm in, 8, 9, 16, 251: dissensions in, 9: *N.'s* policy concerning, 10, 14, 22, 40, 48, 166, 188, 239, 252; iv. 72: French occupation of, iii. 11, 13: enlistments from, under the French eagles, 11, 157, 246: *N.* organizes government for, 14: *N.* "the liberator of," 16: horrors of the winter campaign in, 22: a new field of warfare for *N.*, 22: new levies ordered in, 23: morale of the French army in, 40: proposed transfer to the King of Saxony, 44: proposed new kingdom of, 48: Prussian provinces ceded to Warsaw, 53: possible restoration of, 55, 87, 188, 237–239, 244: iv. 245: war indemnity exacted from, iii. 65: French nobility endowed with lands in, 71: strengthening the French forces in, 93: dangers of withdrawing Russian troops from, 93: Davout recalled from, 129: reliance on *N.*, 152, 240: invaded by Archduke Ferdinand, 156: concentration of troops at Warsaw, 158: Archduke Ferdinand's vicissitudes in, 164: enlargement of, 191: second partition of, 235: schemes of Alexander and Czartoryski in regard to, 235, 240: rupture between Alexander and *N.* over, 235 et seq.: Alexander refuses to restore the integrity of, 237: the patriots of, in Warsaw, 238: movement of Russian troops toward, 241: factor in the Russian war of 1812, 249: *N.'s* mistake in not restoring, 251: Abbé de Pradt's mission from Dresden to, 251: the Diet of Warsaw begs for the reconstruction of, 251, 252: possible schemes of French annexation of, 252: Czartoryski's ambitions in, iv. 20: Kutusoff's advance through, 29: Prussia seeks to recover part of, 29–32: Bennigsen in, 52: *N.* offers to renounce, 72: the extinction of, 246
Poles, seek alliance with France, i. 259: in French service, 270; ii. 9: military service in Italy, 28: *N.'s* policy of winning, iii. 166: loyalty to *N.*, 240; iv. 76: *N.'s* waning prestige among, iii. 256
Polish Church, *N.'s* threat to liberate it from Rome, iii. 58
Politics, the art of, i. 36: *N.'s* passion for, and study of, 48, 60, 69, 86, 118
Polygamy, forbidden by the French Sanhedrim, iii. 63: *N.* upholds, iv. 216
Polytechnic School, founding of the, i. 167; ii. 145, 146: calling out the students of, iv. 131
Pomerania, Prussia recommended to seize, ii. 273: Gustavus IV. commanding in, iii. 35: Prussia retains her strongholds in, 38: *N.* promises to restore to Sweden, 205: Bernadotte's kindly treatment of, 215: Davout occupies Swedish, 244: offered to Bernadotte, iv. 32
Pomerania, Duke of, seeks representation at Congress of Rastatt, ii. 18
Pompei, member of the directory of Corsica, i. 73
Poniatowski, Prince J. A., relies on *N.'s* good will, iii. 9: Archduke Ferdinand's pursuit of, 164: reoccupies Warsaw, 165: strength of his corps, March, 1812, 246: doubts Lithuania's rising, 247: battle of Borodino, 261: battle of Wiazma, iv. 3: claims to the Polish throne, 20: fails to keep Russia out of Warsaw, 21: commanding in Galicia, 34: at Fischbach, 63: battle of Leipsic, 71, 73, 75: drowned in the Elster, 75
Ponsonby, Sir W., in battle of Waterloo, iv. 197
Pont d' Austerlitz, iii. 62
Pont des Arts, iii. 62
Pont d' Jéna, iii. 62
Pontebba Pass, battles in, i. 268
Ponte Corvo, Bernadotte created Prince of, ii. 256: iii. 71. See also BERNADOTTE
Pontécoulant, Doulcet de, uses influence on *N.'s* behalf, i 175: retired from the central committee, 177: *N.'s* relations with, ii. 2
Ponte-Nuovo, battle of, i. 10: *N.* visits the battle-ground at, 73
Pont Royal, the mêlée at the, i. 181
Popular government, the rise of, i. 57
Popular representation without eyes, ears, or power, ii. 84
Porcil, military operations near, i 239
Portalis, J. E. M., councilor of state, ii. 137: on committee to draft the Code, 142: minister of public worship, 221
Portland, Duke of, prime minister of England, iii. 41, 58
Port Mahon, i. 9
Porto Ferrajo, seized by England, i. 245: arrival of the exile at, iv. 154: *N.'s* residence at, 155: danger of *N.'s* remaining in, 162
Porto Legnago, Augereau driven into, i. 251
Port Royal, education of Josephine de la Pagerie at, i. 189
Portsmouth, Nelson sails for, ii. 230
Portugal, growth of liberal ideas in, i. 164: war with Spain, ii. 12: joins the second coalition, 62: France offers peace to, 102: alliances with England, 102, 212: *N.'s* problems in, 131 et seq.: forced contribution levied on, 132; iii. 95: abandons English alliance, ii. 132: compelled to close her harbors to English ships, 132; iii. 57: France guarantees integrity of, ii. 135: neutrality of, 184, 212; iii. 56, 57, 95: Spanish invasion of, ii. 212: proposed commercial war against England, iii. 48: *N.* calls for alliance with, 56: seizure of her fleet by England, 57: Junot's army on the borders of, 57: proposed acquisition by Spain, 57, 96: movement of English troops into, 89, 96, 97: the situation in, 94: French invasion of, 95 et seq., 118: obeys the Berlin and Milan decrees, 95: closing of the harbors, 95: rupture of diplomatic relations between France and, 95: proposed partition of, 95: dynastic troubles in, 95: democracy in, 95, 96: commerce with England, 95: Spain cooperates with France against, 96: seizure of fortresses by France, 96: flight of Don John from, 96, 97: escape of the fleet from the Tagus, 96, 97: revulsion of feeling against Junot in, 97: fraternization of the people with Junot's army, 97: appointment of a council of regency, 97: Junot's military administration in, 97: applies to England for help, 97: insurrections against French rule, 97: *N.* offers the crown to Lucien, 102: intrigues for the throne of, 102: Junot appointed governor of, 104: to be given to a Bonaparte prince, 105: France proposes an exchange for, 105: the crown offered to Murat, 115: destruction of her commerce, 118: Junot's occupation of, 122: French evacuation of, 123: Lord Wellesley enters, 123: intensity of the rebellion in, 144: sympathy with Spain, 144: supposed English scheme to abandon, 145: Wellesley expels the French from, 182: England's loss of trade with, 208: reinforcements for the English army in, 217: English failures in, 217: held by Wellington, 217: Masséna invades, 218: Junot aspires to the crown of, 219: Soult aspires to the crown of, 219, 226: Soult's invasion of (1809), 219: Wellington retreats to, 221, 222: *N.* proposes to restore, to the House of Braganza, 242: member of the Vienna Coalition, iv. 170: *N.'s* dread of capture in, 209
Posen, *N.* in, iii. 8, 251: expected scene of operations, 10: French occupation of, 17: incorporated into the grand duchy of Warsaw, 48: Eugène assumes command at, iv. 21: Murat abandons the army at, 27
Potemkin, Prince, *N.* seeks service with, i. 129
Potsdam, treaty of, ii. 243, 251: *N.* at, iii. 3
Pougy, military operations near, iv. 116
Pozzo di Borgo, Count C. A., the Corsican victory of, i. 10: associated with *N.* in Corsica, 62: member of the Directory of Corsica, 73: delegate to the National Assembly, 74: *N.'s* lifelong foe, 97; iii. 239; iv. 122: attorney-general of Corsica, i. 109: suspected of intrigue with England, 112: denounced by *N.*, 122: ordered to trial, 248: Russian envoy at Vienna, iii. 8, 138, 239: on the humiliation of Prussia, 53: influence at St. Petersburg, 129: at peace council in Paris, iv. 134
Pradt, Abbé de, mission from Dresden to Poland, iii. 251
Prague, Maria Louisa at, iii. 251: *N.* acknowledges his mistake in not making peace at, iv. 150
Prague, Congress of, iv. 45–47, 49, 50, 72, 80, 99
Prairial, the Thirtieth of, ii. 63
Pratzen, fighting on the heights of, ii. 247–250
Preameneu, Bigot de, on committee to draft the Code, ii. 142

Prefects, the system of, ii. 85
Pregel, River, military movements on the, iii. 31
Prenzlau, Hohenlohe's retreat to, ii. 283: Hohenlohe driven from, iii. 2
Presburg, treaty of, ii. 252, 262; iii. 48, 88, 151, 155: military operations near, 174, 176, 178
Press, the, freedom of, decreed, i. 57: demand for freedom of, in Corsica, 62: condition in France, 167: members of, proscribed, ii. 5: abolition of liberty of, 5, 96: *N.* and the liberty of, 15: muzzling of, 24, 162, 174: suppression of Jacobin papers, 66: *N.'s* use of, 120: iii. 27: servility to *N.*, ii. 149–151: censorship of, 150, 151, 187, 224, 225, 233, 256, 271; iii. 27, 72, 125, 227, 229; iv. 158: in modern France, ii. 162: *N.'s* reason for repression of, 162: liberty of, in England, 174: *N.* attempts to muzzle the English, 228: supervision of the, iv. 87: abolition of censorship promised, 167
Press-gang, employment of, in France, ii. 212
Pretender, the. See LOUIS XVIII.
Preussisch-Eylau. See EYLAU
Préval, Gen., refuses service on d'Enghien court-martial, ii. 196
Primary Assembly, the, i. 183
Primogeniture, *N.* on, i. 77: abolished, ii. 144; iii. 69: its advantages and decay. 69.
Primolano, capture of Wurmser's advance-guard at, i. 235
"Prince of the Peace," the, See GODOY
Pripet, River, Bagration's stand on the, iii. 254
Privilege, the overthrow of, i. 91
Privy council, creation of a, ii. 159
Probstheida, military movements near, iv. 73, 74
Property rights, *N.'s* share in codifying the law concerning, ii. 143
Prossnitz, junction of Russian and Austrian troops at, ii. 245
Protestants, demand of civil rights for the, i. 55
Provence, a tempestuous time in, i. 127: royalist rising in, ii. 105: royalist sentiment in, iv. 151: *N.'s* reception in, 151, 156: longing in, for the Emperor's return, 162: the White Terror in, 210
Provera, Gen., in Rivoli campaign, i. 250–254: called to reorganize the Roman army, ii. 26
Provins, military movements near, iv, 95, 103, 109, 113
Prowtowski, Gen., accompanies *N.* to St. Helena, iv. 214
Prud'hon, Pierre, painter, ii. 225
Prussia, relations, alliances, etc., with Austria, i. 102, 197; ii. 59, 102, 169, 251, 268; iii. 24, 174, 181, 251; iv. 80, 91, 92: captures Longwy, i. 105: expected enmity of, 110: effect of military successes of, 115: partition of Poland, 131, 262: abandons the coalition, 164, 197: defeats Austria, 197: uplifting of, and growth of the national spirit in, 197, 211, 262; ii. 27, 102, 269–271; iii. 35, 39, 53, 77, 83, 86, 108, 124, 126, 128, 150, 165, 174, 242, 243, 248; iv. 19, 21, 26–28, 30, 31, 47, 49, 64, 175, 246: makes peace with France (1795), i. 206. (1796) 210: neutrality of, 235; ii. 29, 62, 102, 103, 199, 268; iii. 40: treaty with France (1796), i. 279: attitude toward France (1797–98), ii. 27–29: favors secularization of ecclesiastical principalities, 28: supposed mistaken policy of, 29: recognizes the Cisalpine Republic, 29: the center of gravity of Europe, 102: negotiates with France for Hamburg, 102: refuses to join the second coalition, 102: France's assistance to, against Austria, 102: *N.* negotiates with, 103: supremacy in the German Diet, 126: joins the "armed neutrality," 126: territories acquired by (1802), 170: strengthening of, 170: Ney's check on, 175: *N.* dictates her attitude, 1803, 180: acquiesces in the creation of the empire, 204: protests against Rumbeld's seizure, 211: negotiates for Hanover, 228, 229: relations with Russia, negotiations and treaties between the two countries, and attitudes of their rulers, 228, 262, 271; iii. 10, 21, 22, 24, 25, 36, 38, 47, 87, 131, 138, 174, 240, 243, 250, 251; iv. 19–21, 29–31, 50, 99: Hardenberg's aim at consolidation, ii. 229: refuses alliance with England, 229: to receive Hanover for assistance to France, 232: garrisons Hanover, 232: strength compared with France, 232: violation of her neutrality, 234: resents Bernadotte's violation of Ansbach, 242: renounces her neutrality, 243: decline of her influence, 243: negotiates for peace, 246: to close her ports to England, 251: *N.* demands offensive and defensive alliance with, 251: subservience to France, 254: proposal to give Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck to, 258: alliance with France, 258: England declares war against, 258: acquires Hanover, 258, 261: humiliation of, 258, 262; iii. 7, 25, 36, 39, 40, 49, 53, 55, 126–128: neutralization of her power, ii. 259: joins England and Russia, 262: territorial aggrandizement, 268: the reigns of the Fredericks, 268: her army, 268, 272–274, 276, 278, 283; iii. 2, 179; iv. 30, 31, 45, 175: education in, ii. 269: condition in 1806, 269: feudalism in, 269, 270: influence of Queen Louisa in, 269: the reform party in, 269–271: exasperation at *N.* in, 270, 271, 273: *N.* demands the disarmament of, 272: ill effects of aristocratic pride in, 272, 273: advised by *N.* to seize Pomerania, 273: *N.'s* necessity for quick action with, 273, 274: the war party, 273, 278: hesitation about mobilization, 274: declares war, 274: state of war with England, 274: weakness of, 275: plan of the campaign, 275, 278: alliance with Saxony, 279: moral effect of Jéna upon, 283; iii. 1: advance of the French through, 1–3: total defeat of, 2, 4: plundered of works of art, 3, 4: *N.'s* treatment of, 3, 7: sack and rapine in, 4: unconscionable demands on, 6: peace negotiations, 6, 7: abandoned by Saxony, 7: enlistments from, under the French eagles, 11: retreat from Pultusk, 12: *N.'s* proffered terms to, after Eylau, 21, 22: proposed rehabilitation of, 22: *N.'s* reserve forces in central, 24: treaty with Russia at Bartenstein, 24, 25: proposal for a new coalition, 25: weakness of, 25, 34: numbers in the field, summer of 1807, 29: severity of *N.'s* terms for, 36: *N.* grants concessions at Tilsit, 38: armistice with, 38: retains strongholds

Prussia — *continued.*
in Silesia and Pomerania, 38: *N.'s* attempts to secure alliance with, 40: interest in Poland, 40: French liberal idea of France's affinity with, 40: representatives at Tilsit, 43: acquisitions of territory, 44: proposed transfer of Saxony to, 44: responsibility for her belligerency, 44: new boundaries, 48: reorganization at Tilsit, 48: retains Silesia, 48, 49: the kingdom of Westphalia carved out of, 49: treaty of Tilsit, 53 (see also TILSIT): feeling toward Frederick William in, 53: mutilation of, 53: war indemnity exacted from, 53, 65: French occupation of, 54, 80, 81, 84, 87, 93, 126, 129, 234: effect of the peace of Tilsit on, 77: fails to raise war indemnity, 81: closes and fortifies her harbors, 83: abolition of old land tenures in, 83: responsibility for the war with France, 83: the patriotic writers of, 83: reorganization of the educational system, 83: abolition of the privy council, 83: municipal autonomy, 83: freeing the serfs in, 83: the "junker" class, 83: military reforms in, 83, 84, 126: the League of Virtue, 83, 126: subserviency to France, 84: hostility to France, 86: pleads bankruptcy, 86: *N.* proposes further humiliation of, 86, 87: *N.* offers to evacuate, 87, 90, 130: encouraged to revolt, 124, 126, 138: civil reforms in, 126: death of militaryism in, 126: *N.'s* attitude toward, 138: endeavors to secure mitigation of *N.'s* demands, 138: proposes to reduce her army, 138: French evacuation of, 138, 141: effect of battle of Jéna on, 147: military centralization of, 147: warlike temper in, 151: the pursuit after Waterloo, 163: secret armament in, 174: offer of Warsaw to, 174: French occupation of the coast, 204: Mme. de Staël in, 229: pecuniary demands upon, 234: treaty with France, Feb. 24, 1812, 243, 250: *N.'s* attitude toward, 243: influence in Germany, 243: threatened dismemberment of, 243: renders military aid to France, 243: furnishes contingent to *N.'s* army, 246: *N.* belittles, 248: coalition with Austria and Russia, 251: religious aspect of the European situation in, iv. 19: *N.* hints at territorial cessions to, 27: in grand coalition against *N.*, 27, 28: forced to a decision, 29: *N.* demands more troops from, 29: advised by Metternich to join Russia, 29: aims to recover Prussian Poland, 29–32: entry of Russian troops into, 29, 31: popular detestation of *N.* in, 30: death of the Queen, 30: mobilization of the army, 30, 31: condition at opening of 1813, 30–32: declares war, 31: scheme for territorial aggrandizement of, 31: seeks subsidy from England, 31: designs on Saxony, 32: *N.* determines to dismember, 32: subsidized by England, 32, 45, 106, 170: strenuous endeavors of, 34: proposed restoration of, 38: proposed new capital for, 39: *N.'s* new schemes for, 39: proposed enlargement of, 44: proposed rectification of the western boundary, 44: secret treaty of Reichenbach, 44, 45, 48: guarantees a war loan, 45: treaty with England, June 14, 1813, 45: strength of, 54: *N.'s* personal spite against, 54, 62: *N.'s* attempts to separate Russia from, 62: heroism in, 64: losses at Dennewitz, 64: *N.* offers terms to, 65: scheme to restore her status of 1805, 66: concludes alliance of Sept. 9, 1813, 66: beginning of her military aggrandizement, 77: acquires the hegemony of Continental Europe, 77: eagerness for war in, 80: at the Congress of Frankfort, 80: proposes to invade France via Liège, 89, 91: troops on the Rhine, 90: *N.'s* implacable foe, 91: seeks the retention of her acquisitions, 99: desire for constitutional government in, 100: eager for an armistice, 101, 102, 105: treaty of Chaumont, 106: the triple alliance, 106: Metternich strives to check ambition of, 115: party to the treaty of Fontainebleau (April, 1814), 148: attitude at Congress of Vienna, 156, 157: quota of troops, 170: member of the Vienna coalition, 170: campaign of Waterloo, 174 et seq.: reaps harvest of political spoils at Waterloo, 205: claims the glory of annihilating *N.*, 205: losses at Waterloo, 205: claims the right of overseeing the imprisonment of *N.*, 213: influence in Germany, 246
Pruth, River, Russia acquires a boundary on the, iii. 244
Przasnysz, military operations near, iii. 18
Public works, *N.'s* scheme of, ii. 178
Pultusk, battle of, iii. 10–15
Puntowitz, military operations near, ii. 249
Puster Valley, military operations in the, i. 268
Pyramids, battle of the, ii. 41
Pyrenees, the, French troops in, ii. 25, 30, 32: iii. 105, 106: Louis XIV. "abolishes," 59: a boundary of the Continental system, 214: plans for the defense of, iv. 48: Soult driven over, 79: France's "natural boundary," 80

Q

Quasdanowich, Gen., *N.'s* operations against, i. 211: captures Brescia, 232: battle of Lonato, 233, 234: strength in Friuli, 236
Quatre Bras, military operations near, iv. 174, 178–180: battle of, 181–186: *N.'s* flight through, 203: Ney at, 205
Quedlinburg, apportioned to Prussia, ii. 170
Queiss, River, military operations on the, iv. 61
Quenza, Col., elected lieutenant-colonel in National Guard of Corsica, i. 97: commanding Corsican volunteers, 99: conduct at Ajaccio condemned, 101: his command under Dumouriez, 108
Quiberon, English expedition to, i. 164
Quinette, N. M., member of the new Directory, iv. 207
Quirinal, the, Pius VII. a *fainéant* prince in, iii. 95: forcible entry into, 187

R

Raab, Archduke John advances toward, iii. 175
Radetsky, Count J. J. W., military genius, iv. 54: favors invasion of France, 91: courage, 93: advises concentration of the allies at Arcis, 116

Radziwill, Princess, member of Prussian reform party, ii. 269
Ragusa, creation of hereditary duchy of, ii. 255: *N.* offers the territory to England, 261, 262: Marmont created Duke of, iii. 71. See MARMONT
"Ragusade," the word, iv. 144
Rahmaniyeh, Mameluke retreat toward, ii. 47
Raigern, military operations near, ii. 248, 249
Rambouillet, the imperial court at, iii. 229: flight of the Empress to, iv. 130–132, 150: *N.* at, 208
Rambouillet decree, the, March 23, 1810, iii. 210
Ramolini, associated with *N.* in Corsica, i. 62
Ramoline, Letizia (mother of *N.*), marriage, i. 14: character, 14–16. See also BUONAPARTE, LETIZIA
Rampon, Gen., holds Argenteau in check, i. 215, 216: his stand at Monte Legino, 216, 241
Rapinat, frauds of, ii. 62
Rapp, Count Jean, on *N.'s* desire for peace, ii. 172: in battle of Austerlitz, 250: seizes a would-be assassin of *N.*, iii. 185: recounts the horrors of the Russian campaign, 258: begs *N.* to desist at Smolensk, 258: commanding at Dantzic, iv. 34
Rastatt, Congress of, ii. 13, 14, 17, 18, 25, 28, 35, 47, 60, 61, 169: neutralization of, 14: the murders at, 61, 191
Ratisbon, Jourdan's defeat near, i. 235: selected as *N.'s* headquarters, iii. 157, 158: military movements near, 158, 159, 162, 163, 167: battle of, 163: seized by Archduke Charles, 167: *N.* wounded at, 185: given to Dalberg, 204: Saxon troops offered to Austria at, iv. 32
Raynal, Abbé G. T. F., *N.* a disciple of, i. 36, 38–40, 42, 60, 61, 70, 77; ii. 31, 91: his works and opinions, i. 38–40: the "History of Corsica" addressed to, 47, 67, 70: founds prize for essay on America, 76
Raynouard, F. J. M., "The Templars," ii. 225
Réal, P. F., urges action against Bourbon plotters, ii. 194: police-agent, 195: share in the trial of d'Enghien, 195–198
Reason, the party of, i. 148
Récamier, Mme., social life in Paris, i. 173; ii. 266, 267: instigates Moreau's letter to *N.*, 191: *N.'s* differences with, 266, 267: relations with Mme. de Staël, 266, 267: exiled, 267
Récamier, M., bankruptcy of, ii. 266
Recco, Abbé, *N.'s* early tutor, i. 20
"Redoubtable," the, at Trafalgar, ii. 241
Red Sea, its importance, ii. 31
"Reflections on the State of Nature," i. 82
Reform, the French nobility and, i. 80
Regensburg, seat of the German Diet, ii. 261. See also RATISBON
Reggio, new scheme of government for, i. 247: disposition by treaty of Leoben, 271: creation of hereditary duchy of, ii. 255: Oudinot created Duke of, iii. 71. See OUDINOT
Regnaud, M. L. E., ii. 137
Regnier, C. A., moves the appointment of *N.* as commander of the Paris garrison, ii. 70, 71: in Leon, iii. 217: strength, March, 1812, 246
Reich, Baronne de, imprisonment of, ii. 194
Reichenbach, French generals killed at, iv. 40: secret treaty of, 44, 45, 48, 49, 99
Reille, Gen., service in Spain, iii. 217: at Leers, iv. 174: in the Waterloo campaign, 174, 176: seizes Marchiennes, 176: crosses the Sambre, 176: at Thuin, 176: disperses the Prussians at Gosselies, 178, 179: battle of Quatre Bras, 182, 183, 185: battle of Waterloo, 196–197
Religion, *N.'s* attitude toward, i. 83; ii. 132, 133, 138, 139, 144, 146, 158, 163, 165; iii. 135, 136: influence on the social life of the world, ii. 31
Religious opinion, freedom of, decreed, i. 67
Rémusat, Mme. de, *N.'s* relations with, i. 39; ii. 6, 37, 81, 128, 129, 163, 274; iii. 22, 28, 66: confidences with Josephine, ii. 196: reports *N.'s* answers to Josephine's charges, iii. 28: conversations with Talleyrand, 66
Réné, exploit at Lake Garda, i. 254
Rennes, interview between *N.* and Villeneuve at, ii. 241
Republican calendar, ceases to exist, ii. 262
Restoration, the, revulsion of feeling against *N.* at the, ii. 130
Reudnitz, military operations near, iv. 70
Revolution, the, its germ, i. 38: *N.'s* views concerning, 40: first mutterings and opening of, 49, 61 et seq.: excesses of, 56–58: federation for, 79: European antagonism to, 80: in the Rhone Valley, 84–92: becomes a national movement, 142: favored in Lombardy and Tuscany, 155: propagating the ideas of, 164; ii. 25: failure to give political freedom to France, 187: effect on the French people, 204: its humanitarian mission, 223: the art of, iii. 72: treatment in French literature, 72: completion of its program to close the Continent to English commerce, 214: the work of, iv. 48: *N.* the standard-bearer of, 50, 162, 231: its principles and effect, 224–227: shorn of its horrors, 245
Rewbell, J. F., member of the Directory, i. 186, 200, 202; ii. 23: character, i. 200: dissatisfied with treaty of Leoben, 272: *N.'s* relations with, ii. 15: advocates *N.'s* resignation, 35: suspected of peculation, 62: fails of reëlection to the Directory, 62
Rey, Gen., in the battle of Rivoli, i. 254
Reynier, Gen., service in Egypt, ii. 36: battle of the Pyramids, 41: fails to keep Russia out of Warsaw, iv. 21: division commander under Eugène, 28: in campaign of 1813, 34: beleaguers Schweidnitz, 42: battle of Dennewitz, 63: battle of Leipsic, 70, 73, 75: captured at Leipsic, 75: exchanged, 94
Rheims, prison massacres in, i. 111: occupied by *N.*, iv. 106: captured by St. Priest, 109: *N.'s* low physical and moral condition at, 110: captured by the French, 110, 112, 113: *N.* at, 117, 129: captured by the allies, 119: possible advantages of a suppositious retreat by Marmont to, 123
Rhine, River, the, the boundary question and struggles for, i. 164, 198, 203, 277, 279; ii. 14, 25, 27, 28, 35, 125, 169, 228; iv. 44, 49, 73, 80: royalist plots on, i. 178: military operations on, 206, 209, 235, 268, 271, 272; ii. 32, 60, 105, 108, 109, 194, 233, 234, 261; iv. 76, 79, 89–93, 101, 174: plundering on, ii. 25; iii. 63: French supremacy on, ii. 66: *N.'s* scheme of petty states on, 170: French march to the Danube from, 242: Louis ordered to hold, 276: a French river, iii. 207: *N.'s* excursion on, iv. 48
Rhodes, Turkish naval preparations at, ii. 51: expedition to Egypt from, 51, 53, 54
Rhone, River, the, French acquisitions on, i. 260: *N.'s* reception on, iv. 151
Rhone Valley, the, the Revolution in, i. 84–92: *N.'s* influence in, 104: civil war in, 127: to be ceded to France, ii. 27
Richelieu, Cardinal, scheme of intervention in Germany, ii. 136: policy at close of the Thirty Years' War, 169
Richepanse, Gen., success on the Mettenberg, ii. 109: in battle of Hohenlinden, 125
Richmond, Duchess of, ball on the eve of Waterloo, iv. 180
Richmond, Duke of, interview between Wellington and, at the ball, iv. 180
Ricord, commissioner of the National Convention, i. 131: in siege of Toulon, 136, 137: in charge of movements against Genoa, 146, 147
Ricord, Mme., *N.'s* attentions to, i. 152
Riga, *N.* threatens to march to, iii. 232: preparations for the siege of, 253: Prussian troops at, 256: military operations near, 268
Rights of man, the, i. 198
Rippach, skirmish at, iv. 35: death of Bessières at, 35
Riviera, Austrian garrison for the, ii. 110, 111
Rivoli, the starting-point of *N.'s* public career, i. 84: battle of, 232, 236, 237, 251–256; ii. 92, 207: *N.'s* estimate of, i. 256, 259: effect of the campaign on European history, 256: Masséna created Duke of, iii. 71. See MASSÉNA
Road-work, French popular hatred of, i. 54
Roberjot, member of Congress of Rastatt, ii. 61: killed at Rastatt, 61
Roberjot, Mme., accuses Debry of murder, ii. 61
Robespierre, Augustin, commissioner of the National Convention, i. 131: in siege of Toulon, 136, 137: *N.'s* friendship with, 139, 142, 143, 146, 150, 172: leadership of, 142: describes the French campaign in Lombardy, 144: execution, 149: influence on *N.'s* life, iv. 220
Robespierre, Charlotte, *N.'s* attentions to, i. 152
Robespierre, Mme., pension for, ii. 187
Robespierre, Maximilien, member of the National Convention, i. 111: dictator of France, 115: fall and execution, 146–149, 158: religious decrees, 148: *N.'s* characterization of, 149: hatred of the Church, 200: dread of Carnot, 202: influence on *N.'s* life, iv. 220
"Robespierre, the Little," i. 140
Rochambeau, Gen., succeeds Leclerc in San Domingo, ii. 152: surrenders to an English fleet, 153
Rochefort, naval expedition from, ii. 212, 213: the fleet ordered to the English Channel from, 230: Villeneuve's mission to relieve, 231: the squadron ordered to the Mediterranean, iii. 89: *N.* journeys to Rochefort, iv. 208, 209: English cruisers at, 208, 209: immunity from the White Terror, 210
Roederer, ii. 35, 137: dreads a new Terror, 64: joins the Bonapartist ranks, 66: an opportunist, 67: on the necessity of renewing the constitution, 72: the 18th Brumaire, 73: member of the council of state, 100: on Fourcroy's educational measures, 146; advocates the Legion of Honor, 158: suggests hereditary consulship, 158: dismissed, 177: character, 177: reforms Neapolitan finance, iii. 163: interviews and conversations with *N.*, 152; iv. 221, 222: sent out of France, 231
Reger-Ducos, member of the Directory, ii. 63: scheme to make him consul, 69: proposed resignation of, 69: resigns from the Directory, 72, 78, 80: consul of France, 83
Rohan, Cardinal, retirement at Ettenheim, ii. 192
Rohan-Rochefort, Princess Charlotte of, married to Duc d'Enghien, ii. 192: the Duc d'Enghien's last message to, 198
Rohr, Archduke Charles's force at, iii. 160
Roland, J. M., forms a ministry, i. 100: leader of the Girondists, 111
Romagna, surrendered to France, i. 260: ceded to Venice at Leoben, 271: incorporated in the Cisalpine Republic, ii. 14: Austrian forces in, 111
Roman Catholic Church, *N.'s* views concerning the, i. 39: influence in Corsica, 70, 71: opposition to the French republic, 164: the Pope shorn of his temporal power, iii. 186, 187: influence on France, iv. 225
Roman Catholics, disturbances among, in Corsica, i. 97, 98
Roman Church, *N.'s* failure to Gallicize, iv. 229
Roman Empire, the, ii. 210: compared with Napoleonic France, ii. 143, 151
Roman Republic, the, organization and proclamation of ii. 26, 59: Neapolitan invasion of, 59: abandonment of, 132
Romanoff, House of, *N.* proposes matrimonial alliances with, iii. 76
Rome, maritime expedition against, i. 152, 155: difficulties of an attack on, 155: murder of French minister (Basseville) in, 155, 229, 260: *N.'s* hostility toward the central power at, 157: temporal power of the Pope, 207: plunder of, 225; ii. 26: plan to capture, i. 229: *N.'s* plans concerning, 247, 249, 261: quarrel between France and, 247, 259: influence of, 248: proposition to hand her over to Spain, 259: campaign against Pius VI., 259–261: dispersal of the Papal army, 260: Victor's military watch on, 266: *N.'s* influence in, 278: *N.'s* operations against, ii. 6: Joseph Buonaparte minister at, 18: Berthier proclaims

Rome — *continued.*
the Roman Republic in, 26 : calls Provera to reorganize her army, 26 : liberal rising in, 26 : Austria to be restrained from interference in, 28 : Neapolitan invasion of, 46, 49, 59 : recognition of the Pope's temporal power in, 133 : restrictions on residence in, 139 : remains of Pius VI. sent to, 139 : Chateaubriand French representative at, 166 : France to evacuate, 168 : Madame Mère and Lucien at, 219 : *N.* demands recognition as Emperor of, 256 : ports of, closed to enemies of France, 256 : French occupation of, iii. 94, 95 : excommunication for the invaders of, 95 : disbandment of the Noble Guard, 95 : Pius VII.'s idle state in, 95 : severing of the spiritual and temporal powers, 166, 186, 187 : the city incorporated with Italy, 186 : occupied by Gen. Miollis, 186 : the College of Cardinals and ecclesiastical courts transported to France, 198, 202 ; the department of, created, 201, 202, 214 : secularization of the convents, 202 : dispersal of foreign prelates, 202 : Paris a rival to, as capital of the Western empire, 234 : sends deputation to Paris, iv. 17 : restoration of the Pope's domains, 26 : Murat marches on, 91 : Lucien fosters revolution in, 156 : France the heir of, 225 : influence throughout Italy, 226, 227

Rome (ancient), governmental systems of, adopted in France, i. 160, 161 ; ii. 83 : influence on French art, iii. 72 : the territorial expansion of, 128 : loss of her political liberty, iv. 230 : the history of, 242

Rome, the King of, Schwarzenberg's toast to, iii. 200 : the title, 201 : birth of, 230, 249 : brilliancy of his future, 230 : address of the Paris Chamber of Commerce on the birth of, 231 : his portrait at Borodino, 260 : entrusted to care of the National Guard, iv. 88 : Joseph enjoined to preserve him from Austrian capture, 117 : likened to Astyanax, 117, 130 : chances of his succession, 129 : flight from Paris, 129–131 : an ill omen for, 131 : proposed regency for, 134 : *N.* declares for his succession, 141, 142 : territory granted to, 148 : proposed coronation of, 165 : dismissal of his French attendants, 169 : sends message to his father, 169 : failure of the attempt to crown, 171 : *N.'s* farewell message to, 218

Roncesvalles, French military movements at, iii. 105

Ronco, military operations at, i. 238, 239

Rosily, Adm., ordered to supersede Villeneuve, ii. 239

Rositten, military operations near, iii. 19

Rossbach, battle of, iv. 235

Rosslau, military operations near, iv. 65, 66

Rossomme, *N.* at, iv. 191, 200, 203 : fighting at, 203

Rostino, meeting of *N.* and Paoli at, 72, 73

Rousseau, Jean Jacques, views on Corsica, i. 2, 7 : offered asylum by Paoli, 7 : *N.'s* study of, and admiration for, 33, 36–40, 60, 82, 156 ; ii. 91, 163 ; iv. 241 : *N.'s* style compared with that of, 76 : on man in a state of nature, 82 : influence of, in France, 158, 159 : theory of natural boundaries, 198 : Chateaubriand a disciple of, ii. 166

Roussel, Gen., in battle of Waterloo, iv. 197

Roustan, reply to Rousseau, i. 39

Roverbello, battle of, iv. 91

Roveredo, battle of, i. 234, 235 : abandoned by Vaubois, 236

Rovigo, creation of hereditary duchy of, ii. 255 : Savary created Duke of, iii. 70. See SAVARY

Royal Corsican Regiment, refuses to fight against its native island, i. 10.

Royal family, imprisoned in the Temple, i. 102

Royalism, hatred of the French for, ii. 127 : its evils abolished from France, 144

Royalists, institute the "White Terror," i. 164, 165 : plots and intrigues of, 165, 178, 199 ; ii. 2, 3, 5, 24, 155, 189–191 ; iv. 109 : English subsidies for, i. 197 : banished from Sardinia, 216 : the Clichy faction, ii. 2, 3, 5 : relations and negotiations between *N.* and, ii. 2, 3, 24, 83, 88, 127, 148, 154, 165 ; iv. 229 : extended influence in 1798, ii. 3 : events of the 18th of Fructidor, 4, 5, 15 : Austria seeks their triumph in Paris, 12 : proscription of, 5, 15 : attitude of the Directory toward, 24 : claims concerning the murders at Rastatt, 61 : Moreau's tendency toward, 64 : sigh for a second Richelieu, 81 : views of the results of the 18th Brumaire, 82 : encouraged to return to France, 87 : dissensions among, 164, 155 : publish "L'Ambigu," 174 : the Cadoudal conspiracy, 189 et seq. : in Alsace, 192 : argument in their favor, 223 : growing strength of, iv. 122 : display their enthusiasm in Paris, 134 : their hour of triumph, 144 : opposition to, by the army, 147 : supported in Provence, 151 : plots against *N.'s* life, 152, 156 : commemorate the death of Louis XVI., 159 : defend the Tuileries, 166 : stirred up by Jacobin enmity to *N.*, 171.

Royal power, *N.* on, i. 48

Royal Scots Fusileers, in battle of Waterloo, iv. 196

"Royal Sovereign," the, at Trafalgar, ii. 240

Royer-Collard, P. P., Royalist intrigues of, iv. 129

Rüchel, Gen., his military command, ii. 276 : at Eisenach, 278 : ordered to concentrate at Weimar, 280 : in battle of Jéna, 280, 281

Rue de Paix, the, iii. 62

Rue Rivoli, the, iii. 62

Rully, Gen., commands expedition to Corsica, i. 69 : killed at St. Florent, 69

Rumbold, seized by French agents at Hamburg, ii. 211

Rumelia, proposed disposition of, after Tilsit, iii. 48

Rumiantzoff, Count, Russian minister, iii. 81, 91 : discusses partition of Turkey, 93 : at the Erfurt conference, 133 : foresees danger to the Franco-Russian alliance, 188 : adviser to Alexander I., 266 : leads the peace party of Russia, 266

Russbach, River, military operations on the, iii. 170, 175–177

Russia, aggrandizement of, i. 9 : *N.'s* ambition to serve, 129, 192 ; ii. 10 ; iv. 226 : share in the partition of, and relations with,

Russia — *continued.*
Poland, i. 131, 262 ; iii. 40, 240, 241 : relations and alliances with Austria, i. 198, 262 ; ii. 30, 42, 49, 95, 102, 134, 199, 228–231, 233, 246 ; iii. 132, 138, 237–240, 249, 251, 259 ; iv. 21, 46, 47, 105, 106 : death of Catherine II., i. 262 : foreign policy (1797), 262 : *N.* intercepts despatches from the Czar to Malta, 262 : weakness of revolutionary sentiment in, ii. 30 : alliances and relations with, schemes of conquest of, and wars with Turkey, 45, 49, 271 ; iii. 23, 44, 45, 48, 54, 81, 86–91, 127, 137, 182, 191, 235, 236, 244, 266 : plans military operations in Italy, ii. 49 : the second coalition, 59, 62, 90, 93 : military operations in Switzerland and Italy, 62, 63 : military operations in Holland, 62, 63, 93 : defeated at Zürich by Masséna, 63 : successes on the Trebbia, 63 : defeats Joubert at Novi, 63 : withdraws from the second coalition, 93 : interest in, and activity concerning Malta, 93, 102, 126, 135, 182 : alliances and general friendly relations with France, 102, 131, 134–136, 168, 170, 222, 254, 259 : iii. 35, 36, 39–41, 43, 56, 61, 86, 92, 129, 137, 138, 188, 195, 250 : organizes the "armed neutrality," ii. 126, 134, 135 : schemes of Oriental extension and conquest, 126, 134, 168, 211, 222, 223, 259 : iii. 44, 48, 54, 87, 130, 182 ; iv. 80, 99 : intercedes for Naples, ii. 131 : *N.'s* relations with and attitudes toward, 131, 186, 228, 232 ; iii. 4–6, 40, 84, 92, 214, 232, 233, 238–241 ; iv. 27 : relations with, subsidies from, and wars with England, ii. 134, 135, 168, 229, 259, 262, 273 ; iii, 43, 48, 54, 80, 81, 83, 85, 93, 203, 204, 220, 240, 244, 267 ; iv. 31, 45, 80, 106, 170 : assassination of Paul I. and accession of Alexander I., ii. 135 : abandons the "armed neutrality," 168 : hostile and general unfriendly relations with France, 186, 199, 211, 222, 223, 223, 228, 232 ; iii. 220, 232, 235–241, 250 ; iv. 27, 38–40 : mourns the death of the Duc d'Enghien, ii. 199 : stains on reigning houses of, 203 : protests against seizure of Enghien, 211 : occupies Ionian Islands, 211, 226, 229, 262 : demands indemnity for the king of Sardinia, 211, 223, 271 : attitude in 1805, 225 : relations (friendly and hostile) with Prussia, 228, 242, 243, 271 ; iii. 10, 21, 22, 24, 25, 47, 174, 240, 243, 261 ; iv. 19, 21, 30, 31, 60 : her troops in Galicia, ii. 233 : Bernadotte and Davout watch her army, 235 : military position on the Inn, 236 : defeat of Mortier at Durrenstein, 236 : military position on the Enns, 236 : outgeneraled by *N.*, 243 : the battle of Austerlitz, 246 et seq. : Czartoryski's view of her policy in 1805, 246 : occupies Naples, 256 : excluded from councils of Western Europe, 259 : occupies Bocche di Cattaro, 262 : strengthens Corfu, 262 : pretensions in Germany, 272 ; military operations on the Danube, iii. 5 : military operations against, 10 : concentrates troops at Pultusk, 10 : driven from Warsaw, 10 : character of the population, 11 : a new seat of war for *N.*, 11 : battle of Pultusk, 12 : retreat to Ostrolenka, 12 : *N.'s* new experience in campaigning in, 12 : defects in the army, 14 : devotion of the army to the Czar, 14, 15 : the Cossacks, 14, 15 : defeat at Mohrungen, 15 : condition of troops at Eylau, 19 : financial difficulties, 23, 34, 232 : Turko-Persian alliance against, 23 : successes on the lower Danube, 23 : weakness of, 25 : requests Francis's adherence to convention of Bartenstein, 25 : proposal for a new coalition, 26 : bravery of her soldiers, 28 : dissensions in the court, 29 : forces engaged at Friedland, 32 : military sacrifices, 34 : peace party in, 34 : fighting the battles of others, 34 : destitution in the army, 34 : schemes of territorial aggrandizement, 36 : *N.* demands pledges from, 35 : proposed Baltic boundary line, 35 : ambition to be regarded as a European power, 40 : *N.* a foil to her ambition, 40 : representatives at Tilsit, 43 : schemes for the partition or acquisition of the Danubian principalities, 44, 48, 80, 81, 85, 236, 239 : to mediate between England and France, 48 : acquires Bielostok, 48, 49, 63 : refuses to seize Memel, 53 : dislike of Savary in, 54 : court and social manners and customs, 64 : discontent with the Czar, 64, 87, 94 : intrigues to acquire, and the invasion and acquisition of Finland, 64, 80, 91–93, 182, 191, 205, 216, 236, 240 : attempts to bring Spain into the coalition, 69 : effect of the treaty of Tilsit, 60 : diplomatic intrigues in, 79 : her good offices sought with Denmark, 80 : frontier menaced by France, 80 : Alexander seeks to abolish serfdom in, 80 : commerce of, 80 : effects of the peace of Tilsit on, 80, 85 : *N.* intervenes between Turkey and, 81 : terms of the agreement at Slobozia, 85 : Tolstoi defends, 87 : diplomatic crisis in, 87, 88 : sends a fresh mission to *N.*, 88 : proposed invasion of Sweden, 91 : court intrigue in, 92 : Caulaincourt conducts negotiations with, 93 : blockade of the fleet by England, 93 : outwitted by *N.*, 102 : the Spanish question discussed with, 124 : *N.'s* proposed naval coöperation with, 130 : the anti-French party in, 130, 151 : urged to occupy Warsaw, and parts of Prussia and Austria, 138 : *N.* makes technical call for the aid of, 153 : invades Galicia, 182 : acquires part of Galicia, 184 : menaced by the treaty of Schönbrunn, 188 : news of the Austrian marriage in, 196 : treaty with Sweden, Sept. 17, 1809, 206 : evades the Continental System, 214 : Mme. de Staël in, 229 : rivalry of France, 236 : effects of the Continental System on, 236 : an incident that changed the course of history, 238, 239 : advances an army to the Danube, 239 : prepares for war, 239 : opens negotiations with England and Sweden, 240 : war with France inevitable, 241 : acquires a boundary on the Pruth, 244 : treaty with Sweden, April 12, 1812, 244 : withdraws troops from the Danube, 244 : thoroughness of *N.'s* preparations for war with, 246, 247 : Caulaincourt's knowledge of, 247 : agricultural distress in, 249 : concentration of troops in, 249 : intrigues leading to the war of 1812, 249–252 : ukase of Dec., 1810, 250 : the neutral trade of, 250 : Narbonne's mission from Dresden to, 251 : *N.'s* scheme to expel her from Europe, 252 : *N.'s* military knowledge of, 253, 258 : menacing outlook for, 253 : *N.'s* plan of campaign in, 253, 256 : disposition of her army, 254 : *N.* strikes the first blow at, 254 : military enthusiasm in 265 : military weakness, 256 : sufferings of both armies in, 255 ; iv. 1 et seq. : "the Ney of,"

Russia — *continued.*
iii. 257: battle of Smolensk, 257: despotic character of her government, 257: lack of centralization in, 257, 258; iv. 13: horrors of the campaign in, iii. 258: the lessons of Eylau and Austerlitz, 259: *N.'s* ignorance of the strength of feeling in, 259: speculation on the Czar's military policy, 259: *N.* fails to pass counterfeit money in, 259: battle of Borodino, 260, 261, 263: the Kremlin, 262, 264: claims the honor of burning Moscow, 265: temper of the peasantry, 266: the Old-Russian party for peace, 266, 267: Alexander's advisers, 266, 267: founding of the Russian Bible Society, 267: English military mission to reorganize the army, 267: causes of the French disasters in, 268: *N.'s* retreat from Moscow, 268–270: partizan warfare in, iv. 2: adopting the tactics of Egypt in, 2: the terror of *N.'s* name in, 3, 5, 7: her allies, Want and Winter, 3, 12: massacre of French stragglers in, 4, 5: *N.'s* contempt for, 5: treatment of French prisoners in, 8: hopes in, of capturing *N.*, 8: *N.'s* excuse for defeat in, 12: compared with Spain, 13: poor generalship in, 13: diminishing strength of, 19: invades the grand duchy of Warsaw, 21: treaty with Spain, July, 1812, 26: Metternich seeks to embroil Sweden and, 29: possession of Warsaw, 32: apathy of, 34: Nesselrode's appearance in, 39: secret treaty of Reichenbach, 44, 45, 48: issues paper money, 45: treaty with England, 45: to maintain a standing army, 45: guarantees a war loan, 45: inaugurates the coalition of 1813, 50: strength, 54: *N.* attempts to separate Prussia from, 62: concludes alliance of Sept. 9, 1813, 66: the campaign of 1813, 78: at the Congress of Frankfort, 80: anxiety for peace, 80: troops on the Rhine, 90: *N.* endeavors to separate Austria from, 105: the triple alliance, 106: treaty of Chaumont, 106: suspicious of Schwarzenberg's attitude, 115, 116: barbarity of her troops, 124: party to the treaty of Fontainebleau (April, 1814), 148: Alexander proposes a home for *N.* in, 148: attitude at Congress of Vienna, 156, 157: quota of troops, 170: member of the Vienna Coalition, 170: the campaign of the Hundred Days, 174 et seq.: claims the glory of annihilating *N.* 205: claims the right of overseeing the imprisonment of *N.*, 213: *N.'s* horror of being sent to, 214: expansion of, 246. See also ALEXANDER I.; PAUL I.; ST. PETERSBURG

Rustan, *N.'s* body-servant, 277; iii. 62; iv. 40, 149: Queen Louisa's allusion to, at Tilsit, iii. 52

Rustchuk, Pasha of, appointed grand vizir, iii. 127: attempts to restore Selim III., 127

S

Saalburg, military operations at, ii. 278

Saale, River, military operations on the, ii. 279–282; iv. 64, 67, 69

Saar, River, military operations on the, iv. 92

Sachsen, Gen., leads Neapolitan army against Rome, ii. 49

Sacken, Gen., in battle of Eylau, iii. 19: checks Schwarzenberg, iv. 9: reinforces Blücher at Montmirail, 96: held by Mortier, 104: battle of Craonne, 107

St. Aignan, French envoy to Saxon duchies, iv. 80: imprisoned at Gotha, 80: conducts negotiations with *N.*, 80, 82, 83

St. Amand, d'Erlon ordered to move on, iv. 185

St. André, mayor of Mainz, anecdote concerning *N.* and, iv. 48

St. Bartholomew's Day, fears of a repetition of the massacre of, iv. 158

"St. Bartholomew of privilege," the, i. 57

St. Bernard range, Austrian watch on the, ii. 111. See also GREAT ST. BERNARD; LITTLE ST. BERNARD

Saint-Cannat, *N.* at, iv. 152

St. Cloud, proposed councils at, ii. 69, 70, 72, 74 et seq.: Bernadotte plans to head a force at, 74: Murat commanding guard at, 74: the 18th and 19th Brumaire at, 76 et seq.; iv. 228: *N.* declines a gift of, ii. 157: promulgation of the decree creating the empire from, 205: return of *N.* from Tilsit to, iii. 61: social vices at, 75: important levee at, Aug. 15, 1808, 131, 132: *N.* and Maria Louisa at, 198: the imperial court at, 229: *N.* returns to, iv. 79, 84

Saint-Cyr, Elisa Buonaparte educated at, i. 28, 103, 107: the Academy at, 103, 107

Saint-Cyr, Carra, in battle of Aspern, iii. 170, 171

Saint-Cyr, Gen., military successes of, i. 163: at battle of Biberach, ii. 109: engagement on the Mettenberg, 109: fails to come up at Messkirch, 109: reinforces Moreau at Engen, 109: enters Naples, 183: ordered to occupy Naples, 232: Villeneuve ordered to cooperate with, 239: at La Junquera, iii. 142

Saint-Cyr, Gouvion, strength of his corps, March, 1812, iii. 246: losses of his Bavarian corps in Russia, 255: Wittgenstein resumes offensive against, iv. 2: junction with Victor, 2, 3: checks Wittgenstein, 3: holds Dresden, 55, 56, 68, 70: battle of Dresden, 56, 57: sent to support Vandamme at Kulm, 61: guarding roads from Bohemia, 63

St. Denis, tumults at, i. 44: restoration of the cathedral at, iii. 62: defense of, iv. 131

St. Dizier, military movements near, iv. 92, 94, 120: *N.* at, 120, 121, 124: military council at, 125, 126

St. Florent, *N.* prepares plans for its defense, i. 46: French fleet at, 69: disorders at, 69, 113: expedition against Ajaccio from, 120–123: French power in, 123: English capture of, 154

St. George, Provera at, i. 254

St. Gotthard Pass, Suvaroff's disasters in, ii. 93: French passage of, 110, 113, 114: Austrian watch on, 111

St. Helena, *N.'s* will made at, i. 70: *N.'s* reminiscent statements made at, 82, 137, 173, 184; ii. 32, 51, 54, 56, 81, 96, 133, 186, 199: iii. 70, 95, 163, 212; iv. 61, 95, 162, 165, 179, 188: *N.'s* death at, ii. 57; iv. 219: *N.'s* ambition concerning, ii. 184: early proposition to deport *N.* to, iv. 157: chosen as the place of exile, 212–215: *N.'s* objections to the rock, 213: special form of government for, 213, 215: the voyage to, 214, 238: landing of *N.* at, 215: topography, climate, etc., 215, 217: *N.'s* life on, 215–219: violent storm in, 219: the exile's court at, 238

Saint-Hilaire, Gen., in battle of Austerlitz, ii. 249, 250: in Eylau campaign, iii. 19, 20

St. Ildefonso, the treaties of, ii. 131, 132, 184

St. Jean d'Acre. See ACRE

"St. Jerome," Correggio's, i. 228

St. Julien, Count, blundering negotiations by, ii. 121, 122: imprisonment of, 122

St. Lambert, Grouchy ordered to, iv. 188: Bulow at, 190

St. Leu, proposal that Louis withdraw to, iii. 212

St. Mark, actions at, i. 251, 253

St. Maximin, Lucien Buonaparte in, i. 140

St. Michael, seizure of, by Masséna, i. 269

St. Michel, battle of, i. 251

St. Napoleon, i. 19

St. Peter, island of, capture, ii. 8

St. Peter's, Rome, *N.* claims coronation in, ii. 256

St. Petersburg, the French envoy dismissed from, ii. 223: return of the Czar from Tilsit to, iii. 54: the peace of Europe in, 55: the French ambassador at, 71: diplomatic intrigues at, 79: Alexander fears for, 80: diplomatic crisis in, 87, 88: court intrigue in, 92: terror of the British fleet in, 93: situation at, 94: social and diplomatic life in, 129: Caulaincourt's mission to, 129, 131: Frederick William III. at, 151: news of the Austrian marriage at, 196: *N.* threatens to march to, 232: Lauriston sent to replace Caulaincourt at, 241: defense of, 254: demoralization at, 255: military enthusiasm in, 255: founding of the Russian Bible Society in, 267: England's diplomacy in, iv. 45. See also ALEXANDER I.; PAUL I.; RUSSIA

St. Pierre, arrest of the Prince of Monaco at, iv. 163

Saint-Pierre, Bernardin de, rewards to, for literary work, iii. 227

St. Priest, Gen., captures Rheims, iv. 109: killed at Rheims, 110

St. Quentin, the canal of, ii. 224

St. Roch, the mêlée at the church of, i. 180, 181

Saint-Ruff, Abbé de, *N.'s* social relations with, i. 35, 42: death of, 85

St. Stephen, attack on, i. 114

St. Sulpice, banquet to *N.* in church of, ii. 68, 69

St. Tropez, *N.'s* embarkation from, iv. 149, 151, 153: place of *N.'s* embarkation changed to Fréjus, 152, 153

Saladin, founds the military organization of Mamelukes, ii. 39, 40

Salamanca, Sir John Moore at, iii. 144: battle of, 222; iv. 15: defeat of Marmont at, iii. 260

Salicetti, Christopher, represents Corsica in the National Assembly, i. 62–66: succeeds Buttafuoco, 73: influence in Corsica, 109, 117, 121: plans invasion of Sardinia, 110, 111: adheres to France, 119: arrives in Corsica, 119: relations with *N.* and influence on his career, 119, 122–124, 131, 134, 135, 149–152: defends the Corsican commission, 122: arrives in Paris, 123: heads a commission to Corsica, 131: in siege of Toulon, 136, 137: influence in France, 138: plans expedition to Corsica, 138: ambition, 140: influence among the Thermidorians, 151: blamed for insurrection in Corsica, 151: seeks his own safety, 151: friendship with Mme. Permon, 168: concealed by Mme. Permon, 169, 170: *N.'s* address to, 170: levies forced contributions in Genoa, 208: plans of the Directory concerning, 221: rapacity, 230: duplicity, ii. 74: gives Genoa a consular constitution, 149

Salm, member of the Confederation of the Rhine, ii. 260

Salo, the revolutionary movement in, i. 269: engagement at, 270, 272

Salzburg, apportioned to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, ii. 170: ceded to Austria, 252: Lefebvre at, iii. 164: embodied in the Confederation of the Rhine, 184

Sambre, River, military movements on the, iv. 174, 176–178, 181

Sampiero, i. 4: resemblance to *N.*, 12: *N.'s* sketch of, 47

Sand, George, in Madrid during the war, iii. 223

San Domingo, influence of Louverture in, ii. 152: declares its independence, 152: unsuccessful attempt to conquer, 152: failure of *N.'s* ambition concerning, 184: plan for French recovery of, 213

Sandoz-Rollin, Prussian minister in Paris, ii. 21

San Giuliano, military operations at, ii. 117, 118

San Miniato, the Buonaparte family in, i. 14

Sansculottes, the, i. 147, 165

Sansculottides, the, i. 147

San Sebastian, captured by the French, iii. 105

Santa Lucia, French plans to strengthen, ii. 213

Santander, besieged by Bessières, iii. 122

Santarem, Masséna withdraws toward, iii. 219: "Marshal Stockpot's" deserters at, 223

Santerre, A. J., leader of the mob of Aug. 10, 1792, i. 105: favored by *N.*, 105: *N.'s* threat against, ii. 73

"Santissima Trinidad," the, at Trafalgar, ii. 241

Santon, Mount (Austerlitz), ii, 249, 250

Saorgio, *N.* at taking of, i. 151

Saragossa, siege of, iii. 121–124, 143–145

Sardinia, weakness of, i. 9: compared with Corsica, 12: hostilities between France and, 110–114, 116, 122, 128, 143, 146, 155: goes to defense of Toulon, 132: operations in Piedmont, in 1794, 206: revolutionary spirit in, 207: signs armistice, 211, 215, 216: Victor Amadeus, king of, 213: conclusion of peace with France (1796), 221, 222, 245: *N.* opens negotiations with, ii. 7: provoked by France into Italian quarrels, 59: *N.'s* bad faith with, 95: Russia demands indemnity for the king of, 211, 271: Prussia bound to secure indemnity for king of, 243

Sardinia, island of, Charles Emmanuel king of, i. 216: Charles Emmanuel retires to, 26, 93: Nelson seeks shelter at, 38
Sart-à-Walhain, Grouchy's movements via, iv. 186, 190
Sarzana, the Buonaparte family in, i. 12
Satschan Lake, Russian disasters at, ii. 250
Saumarez, Sir James, blockades the Russian fleet, iii. 93
Sauvinières, military movements near, iv. 184
Savary, Gen., aide-de-camp to *N.*, ii. 195: share in Duc d'Enghien's trial and execution, 195, 197, 198: mission to Alexander I. at Austerlitz, 246, 247: reports interview of Alexander I. with *N.*, 251: unsavory career, 267: marries Mlle. de Coigny, 267: in Eylau campaign, iii. 18: on *N.'s* mental and personal vigor, 22: expels the Russians from the Narew and Ostrolenka, 23: in battle of Heilsberg, 30: report of the meeting at Tilsit, 38: accompanies the Czar to St. Petersburg, 54: French ambassador to Russia, 80, 85: influence over the Czar, 54: disliked in Russia, 54: created Duke of Rovigo, 70: mission to Madrid, 111, 112: recognizes Ferdinand as king, 112: reproached by Ferdinand, 112: encourages Ferdinand to rely on *N.*, 112, 113: accompanies Ferdinand toward Bayonne, 112, 113: notifies Ferdinand of his deposition, 113, 114: hatred of, in Paris, 211: minister of police, 211; iv. 15: episode of the Malet conspiracy, 15: provides for time of danger, 87: records *N.'s* correspondence, 121: alarm for the safety of Paris, 122: member of the Empress-Regent's council, 128: character, 128: reproved by *N.*, 129: Talleyrand, to, on the flight of the Empress, 130: surprises Talleyrand and De Pradt together, 130: accompanies *N.* to Rochefort, 208: negotiations with Capt. Maitland, 211
Save, River, territory on, ceded to France, iii. 184
Savigny, F. K. von, characterization of the Code, ii. 143
Savona, military operations at, i. 150, 213, 215; ii. 105: imprisonment of Pius VII. at, iii. 187, 233
Savoy, military operations against, in Piedmont, i. 128: captured by France, 133: France's ambition to conquer, 164: France's claims to, 198: lost to Sardinia, 213: Kellermann in, 222: Chabran's forces in, ii. 110: proposal that France should keep, iv. 80
Savoy, House of, the, French schemes against, i. 110: importance of France gaining over, 206: its system of government, 207: vicissitudes, 213: Francis I.'s hostility to, ii. 93: loses the support of Paul I., 149: lineage, 202, 203: *N.'s* enmity to, iv. 247
Saxe-Gotha, accepts French terms after Jéna, iii. 7: spread of liberal ideas in, 7
Saxe-Weimar, accepts French terms after Jéna, iii. 7: spread of liberal ideas in, 7
Saxony, withdraws from the Coalition, i. 235: neutrality of, 1796, 235: seizure of the English minister to, ii. 211: excluded from the Confederation of the Rhine, 260: proposal to include her in North German Confederation, 272: reported French advance on, 273: proposed independence for, 273: military movements in, 276: alliance with Prussia, 279: takes part in the Jéna campaign, iii. 7: spread of liberal ideas in, 7: abandons Prussia and adopts neutrality, 7: proposed exchange of territories, 44: united with the Rhine Confederation, 48: acquires Kottbus, 53: independence, 61: the Archduke Charles proposes to march into, 154: furnishes troops to France, 157: troops in Dresden, 158, 246: defeated at Nossen by the Black Legion, 180: in vassalage to France, 214; supports *N.*, 244: the levies in, iv. 23: peculiar relations toward *N.*, 28, 29: turns to Austria, 28, 29: threatened war in, 29: secret agreement with Austria, 32: Prussian designs on, 32: the campaign of 1813 in, 33 et seq., 51: strategy of the campaign in, 35: abandons Austria, 37: declares in favor of France, 37: proposed allotment of territory to, 39: Prussia promises to cede part of, to Hanover, 45: invaded by Austro-Russian troops, 56: national spirit in, 64: revulsion of feeling against France, 64, 66: refuge of the allies in, 67: defection of troops at Leipsic, 74: character of the campaigns in, 78
Say, J. B., member of the tribunate, ii. 100
Scandinavia, effort to bring her into the Coalition, iii. 25
Schaffhausen, *N.* plans operations at, ii. 106
Scharnhorst, Gen., plan of the Prussian campaign, ii. 278, 279: in battle of Eylau, iii. 20: institutes military reforms in Prussia, 83, 126: mission to Vienna, 243: hostility to *N.*, iv. 30: limits to his means, 34: killed at Lützen, 37
Scheldt, River, the, reopening of, i. 115: closing the navigation of, 279: a French river, iii. 207: scheme of Hanoverian extension on, iv. 32
Schérer, Gen., commanding the Army of Italy, i. 208: ordered to upper Italy, ii. 60: driven behind the Mincio and Oglio, 60: defeated at Magnano, 60: succeeded by Moreau, 60: incompetency, 60, 62
Schill, F. von, *N.'s* abuse of, iii. 165: final stand and death at Stralsund, 165, 180: attempts to rouse the German spirit, 165: helps insurrection in Westphalia, 174: denounced by Frederick William, 180
Schimmelpenninck, R. J., Grand Pensionary of the Batavian Republic, ii. 150: represents the Batavian Republic at Amiens, 168: intrigues to make Louis Buonaparte king of Holland, 256
Schlapanitz, military operations near, ii. 248, 249
Schleiermacher, F. E. D., member of the reform party in Prussia, ii. 270: influence on Prussian regeneration, iii. 83
Schleiz, engagement at, ii. 279
Schleswig, Denmark's loss of, iii. 59
Schlodítten, military operations near, iii. 19
Schönbrunn, *N.* establishes headquarters in palace at (1805), ii. 237, 244; (1809) iii. 165: interview between *N.* and Hangwitz at, ii. 258: treaties of, 271; iii. 186, 188, 193: *N.'s* proclamations from, 166: *N.* leaves for the Lobau, 175: Prince Liechtenstein at, 181: accident to *N.* near, 185: attempt to assassinate *N.* at, 185: *N.* returns to Paris from, 189: virtual imprisonment of Maria Louisa at, iv. 155
Schrattenthal, Kutusoff at, ii. 244
Schwarzenberg, Prince, reliance on Peccadeuc, i. 33: Austrian minister to France, iii. 194: suggests the marriage of *N.* and Maria Louisa, 194: toasts the King of Rome, 200: commands Austrian contingent in Russian campaign of 1812, 246: in Volhynia, 256: holds back Tormassoff, 259: opposed by Tormassoff and Tchitchagoff, 266: retreats behind the Bug, iv. 2: expected to cover the crossing of the Beresina, 5: driven back, 7: checked by Sacken, 9: lukewarmness, 19: retreats across the Vistula, 21: evacuates Warsaw, 21: seeks shelter in Cracow, 27: held back by Metternich, 29: commanding the Army of the South, 62: hampered by presence of the allied sovereigns, 52: military incapacity, cowardice, and reputation, iv. 54, 96, 100, 115, 117–119: *N.* moves against, 56: battle of Dresden, 57: Vandamme's pursuit of, 61: Murat fails to check, 62: protects Austria from invasion, 63: moves on Dresden, 53: southern movement by, 65: gets to southward of Leipsic, 66: Murat ordered to hold, 66, 67: contemplated attack on, 67: proposed junction of Blucher and Bernadotte with, 69: battle of Wachau, 70, 71: battle of Leipsic, 70–73: suggests compromise plan of invasion of France, 91, 92: at Langres, 92: crosses the Rhine at Basel, 92: movement toward Auxerre, 94: junction with Blücher, 94: strength, Feb. 9, 1814, 95: *N.'s* contemplated movement against, 95–97: steady advance of, 97: crosses Switzerland, 98: danger of his advancing to Fontainebleau, 103: sends flag of truce to Berthier, 103: retreats to Troyes, 103: quails before *N.'s* advance, 103: strength at Troyes, 104: withdraws behind the Aube, 104: justifies his course, 104: at Bar-sur-Aube, 104: *N.* prepares to attack, 104: Macdonald and Oudinot in pursuit of, 105: checks Oudinot, 105; at Congress of Châtillon, 106: Blücher cut off from, 106, 107: *N.* plans to attack him at Châlons, 107: regains communication with Blücher, 109: moves against Macdonald, 112: dismayed at the capture of Rheims, 112, 113: supposed retreat to the Vosges, 113: engagements at Arcis and Torcy, 114: sickness, 115, 116: on the European policy of 1814, 115: retreats to Troyes, 116: *N.* misled by his actions, 116: apprehensions of *N.'s* strength, 118: strength, 118: battle of Arcis-sur-Aube, 118, 119: Blücher seeks a junction with, 119: his communications threatened, 120, 121: junction with Blücher, 120, 122: favors movement on Paris, 122: determines to seek a battle, 122: proposes to pursue *N.*, 123: at peace council in Paris, 134: enters Paris with the allies, 134: seduces Marmont, 138: sows treason in the French army, 138: Marmont reveals his plot to, 142: plan for the campaign of the Hundred Days, 173, 174
Schweidnitz, the allied forces near, iv. 42: *N.'s* strategy at, 42
Science, *N.* advises encouragement of, ii. 222
Scrivia, River, the, Ott driven back to, ii. 116: the country of, 116, 117
Sebastiani, Gen. F. H. B., mission to Persia and the Levant, ii. 174–176: obtains thorough knowledge of the East, iii. 4: strategy and diplomacy at Constantinople, 23: end of his influence in Turkey, 33: defeats a Spanish division, 183: moves up the Aube, iv. 117: battle of Arcis-sur-Aube, 118
Secret police, license vice, iii. 75
Segovia, French success at, iii. 122
Ségur, Count, minister to Russia, ii. 207: appointed master of ceremonies at the Tuileries, 207, 209: foresees France's discontent, iii. 247: transfers his allegiance to Louis XVIII., iv. 147: plans the ratification of the Additional Act, 172
Seine, River, the, the quays of, iii. 62: military movements on the, iv. 97, 100, 102, 104, 113, 117, 126, 133, 135
Selim III., dismisses viceroys of Moldavia and Wallachia, iii. 5: moves against Russia, 6: declares war against England, 23: overthrow of, 33, 44, 85, 127: held prisoner in the Seraglio, 127: murdered by Mustapha IV, 127
Semaphore, use of, in warfare, iii. 169
Semlino, disposition of the spoils of Moscow at, iv. 2
Semonville, Huguet de, envoy to Constantinople, i. 117: dreads a new Terror, ii. 64
Sénancour, S. P. de, "Obermann," ii. 225
Senarmont, Gen., in battle of Friedland, iii. 32
Senate, the, in 1799, ii. 85, 99-101: orders deportation of suspects, 155: subservience to *N.*, 156, 157: new methods of electing to, 159: enlargement of its powers, 159: the tool of the First Consul, 204: steps toward creating the empire, 204, 205: changes in, under the constitution of 1804, 206: announces the result of the plebiscite, 218: substitution of a hereditary house for the elective, iii. 67: its members ennobled, 71: confirms the divorce, 190: decrees the annexation of the Papal States, 201: decadence of constitutional forms in, 225: speech of Maria Louisa before the, iv. 128: ordered to draft a new constitution, 134: absolves the army from allegiance to *N.*, 138: proclaims Louis XVIII., 145, 147
Sens, military movements near, iv. 95, 100: proposal to continue the war from a center at, 126: *N.* at, 128: the French garrison at, 137
"Sentimental Journey to Nuits," *N.'s*, i. 82
September 22, celebration of, ii. 127
Serfdom, at outbreak of the Revolution, i. 63: abolished in Warsaw, iii. 56
Serpalten, military operations near, iii. 19
Sérurier, Gen., general of division, Army of Italy, i. 208: at siege of Mantua, 254, 256, 257: storms Gradisca, 267: delivers Venice to Austria, ii. 16: action on the 18th Brumaire, 71: commanding at the Point-du-Jour, 74: excites the soldiery at St. Cloud, 79: recreated marshal, iv. 172

Serves, *N.* visits, i. 79
Servia, the rise of, iv. 247
Seurre, disorders in, i. 49
Seventh Regiment of the Line, supports *N.* on his return from Elba, iv. 164
Seven Years' War, the, i. 6, 9; iv. 230, 245
Sextuple Alliance, the, iv. 243
Seychelles, deportation of suspects to the, ii. 155
Sézanne, *N.* at, iv. 95: Marmont at, 104: *N.*'s plan of movement via, 113
Shebreket, Mameluke attack on the French at, ii. 40: action at, 41
Shipping, harassing regulations by France, ii. 173
Shuvaloff, Count, Russian commissioner at Poischwitz, iv. 43, 45
Sicily, Ferdinand IV. king of, i. 260; iii. 242: Nelson seeks the Egyptian expedition at, ii. 38: Nelson returns to, 42: Joseph made king of, 255, 259: proposal that the Bourbons retain power in, 259: *N.* offers England territory as substitute for, 261, 262: England demands the surrender of, 262: withdrawal of English troops from, iii. 89: proposed French seizure of, 89, 90: English troops sent to Portugal from, 97: England threatened with loss of trade with, 208: English expedition to, 217, 224: French expedition against, 234
Siena, Pius VI. withdraws to, ii. 26: position in the French empire, iii. 214.
Sierra Morena, defeat of Dupont in, iii. 122
Sieyès, Abbé, pamphlet on the Third Estate, i. 56, 200: character, 200; ii. 63: declines service in the Directory, i. 200, 201: relations with *N.*, 200; ii. 23, 33, 64, 68, 69: president of the Ancients, 23: venality, 23: mission to Berlin, 28: checkmates Prussia, 29: charged with tampering with Bernadotte, 29: theories of government, constitution-building, etc., 33, 66, 68, 69, 80, 81, 84, 85, 99, 205: member of the Directory, 57, 63: relations with Joubert, 63: schemes for a dictatorship, 64, 65: suspected of plotting with the House of Brunswick, 65: brought into the Bonapartist ranks, 66, 67: surrenders his leadership, 68: proposed resignation of, 69; scheme to make him consul, 69: difficulty of holding him in the traces, 69, 70: resigns from the Directory, 72, 78: at St. Cloud, 19th Brumaire, 76: consul of France, 83: proceedings for election of First Consul, 86: accepts the estate of Crôsne, 86: chief of the Senate, 86: keeper of the Directory's secret funds, 86: negotiations and intrigues in Prussia, 103: relations with the Directory, 103: monarchical schemes for France, 103
Siguenza, Castaños collects his troops at, iii. 144
Silesia, wrested from Austria by Prussia, i. 197: Austria seeks compensation for, 197, 198: Austria's ambition concerning, ii. 230: offer of part of, to Austria, iii. 8: military operations in, 23; iv. 62: *N.* offers it to Austria, iii. 24: *N.*'s reserve forces in, 24: Prussia retains her strongholds in, 38: position in Europe, 48: remains Prussian, 48, 49: *N.* offers to offset the Danubian principalities against, 86, 87, 90: French occupation, 93: Alexander demands relinquishment of designs on, 93: Davout ordered to, 129: Austria stipulates for acquisition of, 243: to be connected with Old Prussia, iv. 31: Austria rejects *N.*'s offer of, 32: the Army of the East in, 52: contemplated operations in, 55: military operations in, 62: strength of her forces under Blücher, 95: army of, moves on Paris, 122
Silk culture, introduced into Corsica, i. 41
Simplon, creation of the department of the, iii. 213
Simplon Pass, to pass under French control, ii. 27: the crossing of the, 110, 113: military road through, 149, 223; iii. 62
Sisteron, *N.*'s welcome at, on return from Elba, iv. 163
Slave-trade, revival of the, ii. 151, 152, 158, 173: England protests against, 173
Slobozia, armistice concluded at, iii. 85: treaty of, 127
Smith, Adam, *N.*'s study of, i. 40
Smith, Sir Sidney, captures French transports, ii. 48: at the siege of Acre, 48, 50: occupies Jaffa, 51: watching *N.* at Alexandria, 55: allows *N.* to slip through his fingers, 66: puts into Cyprus, 66: concludes treaty at El Arish, 122: commanding British fleet at Lisbon, iii. 96: urges Don John to embark for Brazil, 96
Smohain, the farms of, iv. 191: fighting at, 199
Smolensk, *N.*'s plan to seize, iii. 253: military movements near, 253, 255–257, 266, 269, 270; iv. 4–6: enthusiasm among the Russians at, iii. 256: strategical position, 256, 257: battle of, 256–258: *N.*'s military blunder at, 257–260: the shrine at, 257, 260: compared with Acre, 258: French garrison in, 259; iv. 2: concentration of French troops at, iii. 264: guerrilla warfare around, 266: arrival of the French army at, in its retreat, iv. 4: abandonment of wounded at, 5: the march to Lithuania from, 6: reorganization of the army at, 5: massacre of French stragglers in, 6: shameful scenes in, 5: destruction of the fortifications of, 5: Ney's perilous retreat from, 6
Smorgoni, *N.*'s desertion of his army at, iv. 12, 14
Social contract, *N.*'s views concerning the, i. 39, 169
Social customs, privileges, etc., i. 52, 53: *N.*'s study of, 77, 82, 86
Södermannland, Duke of, attempts the siege of Hameln, ii. 270
Soignes, fears of Wellington's withdrawal behind, iv. 187: Wellington's position in front of, 189, 193
Soissons, Maria Louisa's progress through, iii. 197, 198: Mortier at, iv. 104, 113: Blücher recruits his forces at, 106: surrenders to the allies, 106, 111: French retreat to, 108: *N.* at, 109: the French army leaves, 110
Sokolnitz, fighting at, ii. 248–250
Solano, Gen., makes ineffectual movement against the French, iii. 116
Solothurn, the plundering of, ii. 27
Solre, Gen. d'Erlon at, iv. 174
Sombreffe, military movements near, iv. 174, 178–181
Somerset, Gen. F. J. H., in battle of Waterloo, iv. 197
Sommepuis, military movements near, iv. 117
Sommesous, military movements near, iv. 117
Somosierra, crossing the pass of, iii. 145
Sophia Dorothea, wife of Jerome, iii. 245
Sortiack, Forest of, military movements in the, iii. 31
Souham, Gen., in battle of Leipsic, iv. 73: at Nogent, 125: left in command at Essonnes, 142: seduced by Marmont, 142: summoned to Fontainebleau, 143: delivers his army prisoners to the Austrians, 143, 144
Soult, Marshal, commanding force at Tarentum, ii. 131: service in the Army of England, 185: created marshal, 207: character, 234; iii. 219: seizes Memmingen, ii. 235: reaches Hollabrunn, 244: battle of Austerlitz, 248–250: at Munchberg, 278: battle of Jéna, 280, 281: invests Magdeburg, iii. 2: battle of Pultusk, 12: strength in Poland, 13: campaign of Eylau, 19, 20: at Osterode, 22: battle of Heilsberg, 29: pursues Lestocq from Friedland, 32: created Duke of Dalmatia, 70: yearly income, 71, 226: movement against Blake, 143, 144: lack of vigor of movement, 144: ordered to Mansilla, 146: entrusted with the pursuit of Moore, 146: battle of Corunna, 146: crosses the Esla, 146: defeated by Wellesley in Portugal, 182: causes Wellesley to withdraw, 183: service in Spain, 217: ordered to Andalusia, 219: ordered to join Masséna in Portugal, 219: jealousy of Masséna, 219: before Cadiz, 219: fails to relieve Masséna, 219: captures Badajoz, 219: defeated in attack on Sir John Moore, 219: invasion of Portugal (1809), 219: occupies Oporto, 219: expelled from Portugal, 219: battle of Talavera, 219: made commander-in-chief, 219: battle of Ocaña, 219, 221: bickerings with Joseph, 219: aims to win the crown of Portugal, 219, 226: failure in Spain, 220: retreats toward the south coast, 221: returns to Cadiz, 221: defeated at Albuera, 221: marches to relief of Badajoz, 221: joins Masséna, 221: marches to Joseph's aid, 222: abandons Cadiz, 222: despatched on Pyrenean campaign, iv. 48: shut up in Bayonne, 79: thrown back on Toulouse, 109: strength, March, 1814, 125: available forces of, 137: defeat at Toulouse, 159: appointed minister of war, 159: revival of imperial sentiment in his army, 165: opposed to Murat, 165: recreated marshal, 172: chief of staff in the Waterloo campaign, 175, 188: blunder before Charlerol, 176, 177: cognizant of Blucher's movement to Wavre, 189: orders to Grouchy, 190, 205: battle of Waterloo, 199: on inspiration, 221
Sound, the, threats to close it to English commerce, iii. 58
South America, Spanish concessions to France in, ii. 132: England's commerce with, iii. 43: England threatens to make Spanish colonies independent, 59
Spain, affinity with Corsica, i. 3: Bourbon influence in, 9; iii. 98: expected enmity of, i. 110: goes to defense of Toulon, 132: blockades Mediterranean ports, 141: *N.*'s relations with, and attitude toward, 146; ii. 12, 131 et seq., 184, 212, 262; iii. 47, 60, 100, 101, 103, 104, 109, 110, 116, 118, 123, 132, 138, 147, 148, 214, 216 et seq., 224, 234, 242; iv. 27, 38, 47, 72, 88: growth of liberal ideas in, i. 164: withdraws from the Coalition (1795), 197: relations and alliances with France, 206, 260; ii. 131, 132, 184, 212, 224, 230, 238; iii. 65, 95, 96, 104, 105, 147: *N.* proposes to hand Rome over to, i. 259: drives Admiral Mann from the Mediterranean, 260: destruction of fleet off Cape St. Vincent, 283: diplomatic offset of Naples against, ii. 12: war with Portugal, 12: preparations for action in, 25: schemes of revolutionary propaganda for, 30: naval inaction, 46: low intrigues in, 131: effect of Marengo in, 131: Godoy prime minister, 131, 132: proposed incorporation of Portugal with, 135: recovers colonies under the peace of Amiens, 168: exchanges Louisiana for Etruria, 174: England attacks her commerce, 184: exasperated over sale of Louisiana, 184: treaties with France, 184, 212: loses Trinidad and Louisiana, 212: war with England, Dec., 1804, 212: her maritime forces controlled by France, 212: humiliates Portugal, 212: naval power shattered at Trafalgar, 241: *N.* offers part of her territory to England, 262: called on for troops by France, iii. 24: proposal that she acquire Portugal, 57: attempt to bring her into the Coalition, 59: incapacity of the Bourbons in, 59: *N.* encourages dissensions in, 59: decay and humiliation, 59, 98, 100, 106, 117: revolt against Godoy, 59: embargo on English commerce, 60: the fleet ordered to Toulon, 60: necessity for the "regulation" of her affairs, 89: the situation in, 94: secret compact with France for partition of Portugal, 95, 96: new title for the king, 96: plans for invasion of, 96: scheme to acquire Portugal, 96: depletion of the army, 98: depopulation, 98: corruption, 98: social life, 98: degradation of the Church in, 98: primogeniture and land tenure, 98: factions of the crown prince and of the prime minister, 99, 100: *N.* tempted by her colonies, 100, 105: arrest of the crown prince, 100: fortifying the French frontier, 100: announcement of the crown prince's conspiracy, 100: the "secret hand" in, 101: expected regeneration by France, 101: Dupont ordered to invade, 101, 102: benefits accruing to England from troubles in, 103: *N.* on the intestinal troubles in, 103: the crown given to Joseph, 103, 104, 117, 132, 214, 242: French invasion and occupation of, 104–106, 116, 118: deposition of Godoy from office, 106: Murat assumes command in, 106: popular outbreaks, 106, 107, 110: abdication of Charles IV., 107: patriotic and national spirit in, 108–110, 118–122, 217, 220, 222, 224; iv. 47, 240: enthusiasm for Ferdinand VII, iii. 109: political intrigues in, 109–111: Murat Protector of, 110: attitude of the people toward Murat, 111: deposition of the Bourbons, 113, 114: Murat appointed dictator, 114: *N.* assumes the royal and hereditary rights of the throne of, 115, 116: Louis refuses

Spain — *continued.*
the crown of, 116: military movements in western Spain and on the Baltic, 116: character of the people, 116–118, 120, 121 147, 220: convocation of notables at Bayonne, 117: adoption of a new constitution, 117, 119: destruction of her commerce, 118: lack of centralization in, 118, 119; iv. 13: guerrilla warfare, 119–121, 147, 222: influence of the clergy in the rebellion, 121: French disasters in, 121, 222, 223: French movement against southern, 122: fate of French soldiers in, 122: French pillage in, 123: national uprising against France, 123, 149: difficulties of the French campaign in, 123: offer of the throne to Archduke Charles, 130: *N.* returns to, 141: caliber of the French army in, 142: *N.'s* strength in, Nov. 3, 1808, 142, 143: regular and irregular forces, 143: *N.* assumes command in, 143: lack of military genius in, 143, 144: Sir John Moore enters, 144: sympathy between Portugal and, 144: abolition of the Inquisition and of the feudal system, 147: *N.* institutes reforms in, 147: formation of a liberal constitution for, 148: *N.* threatens to assume the crown, 148: question of annihilating its nationality, 148: statements as to *N.'s* leaving, 152: reinforcements for, 157: Wellesley prepares for invasion of, 182: need of prompt action in, 184: the war in, 192: the crown offered to Louis and rejected, 207: England's loss of trade with, 208: Fouché's offer to restore the Bourbons to, 208: seizures of American ships in, 211: annexation of part of, to France, 213: open warfare in, 216: seizure of northern provinces of, 216: "the natural continuation of France," 216: policy of total annexation, 216: French rapine in, 216: policy of military administration for, 216: quality and strength of the French armies in, 217: Masséna in command in, 217: Wellington's provisions for French victories in, 218: blunders by the insurrectionary leaders, 221: Wellington enters, 221: French occupation, close of 1812, 222: Soult abandons the south of, 222: discipline of the French army in, 223: England's expeditions to, 224: confiscation in, 226: troops withdrawn from Germany for service in, 234: *N.'s* offer of peace in, refused by England, 242: England to be driven from, 249: compared with Russia, iv. 13: French disasters in, 15: exhaustion of, 19: recall of commanders from, 22: treaty with Russia, July, 1812, 26: in grand coalition against *N.*, 27: *N.* offers peace to England in, 27: Wellington's reverses in, 27: proposal to restore Bourbon rule, 44: *N.* abandons, 47: Wellington's successes in, 49: French defeats in, 60: *N.* offers to restore the independence of, 72: rises in support of Wellington, 79: proposed independence of, 80: prolongation of the war in, 87: restoration of the king to, 87, 88: relapses into absolutism and ecclesiasticism, 88: adoption of a new constitution, 88: member of the Vienna Coalition, 170: *N.'s* dread of capture in, 209

Spandau, capitulation of, iii. 2; proposed siege of, iv. 61

Spartel, Cape, Nelson's fleet off, ii. 240

Specialist, the work of the, iv. 223

Speculation, mania for, in France, i. 172; ii. 140

Spirding, Lake, military movements near, iii. 15

Splügen Pass, proposed movement of the reserve army via, ii. 110: crossed by Macdonald, 125

Spree, River, military movements on the, iv. 37, 39, 60

Stadion, Count, Austrian diplomatic agent, ii. 246: Austrian minister of State, iii. 24, 84, 150, 154: letter from Metternich, July 26, 1807, 84: urges prompt action, 154: resigns, 194, 195: mission to the allies' camp, iv. 38

Staël, Mme. de, relations with, enmity toward, and criticisms of *N.*, ii. 15, 81, 91, 129, 130, 165; iii. 76, 227–229: procures revocation of Talleyrand's exile, ii. 22: *N.'s* study of her writings, 36: "Influence of the Passions," 36: on liberty in France, 81: her salon, 130: her character, 165; iii. 227–229: banishments of, ii. 266; iii. 27, 227–229: relations with Mme. Récamier, ii. 266, 267: returns to Paris, iii. 27: ordered back to Geneva, 27: at Coppet, 227: difficulties with the Directory, 227: criticizes Josephine Beauharnais, 227: difficulties with the Committee of Public Safety, 227: poverty, 228: her book on Germany, 229

Stage, censorship of the, ii. 224

Standing armies, i. 34

Staps, attempts to assassinate *N.*, iii. 185

Starhemberg, Count, Austrian ambassador to London, iii. 84: leaves London, 84

Starsiedel, fighting at, iv. 36

State, *N.'s* conceptions of the, i. 40

State system, the, iv. 245

States of the Church, Pius VII. strives to augment the, ii. 222

Steffens, Prof., summons German students into the ranks, iv. 31

Stein, Baron H. F. C., Prussian statesman, ii. 269; iii. 83: frees the serfs, 83: introduces military reforms in Prussia, 126: resigns his ministry, 126: *N.* demands his dismissal, 126, 138: seeks refuge in Vienna, 138: exile from Prussia, 150: effect of his reforms, 243: adviser to Alexander I., 266: reorganizes Prussian provinces, iv. 21: formulates the treaty of Kalish, 21: relations with Alexander, 21, 30: hostility to *N.*, 30, 91, 99: joins Frederick William at Breslau, 30: on the unification of Germany, 30: character, 30: leading part in Prussia's awakening, 31: prepares to govern the conquered territories, 75

Sterling, Adm., naval operations of, ii. 231

Stettin, capitulation of, iii. 2: Davout's force in, 167: proposed French movement on, iv. 28: held by the French, 33: relief of the French in, 51

Stewart, Sir Charles, English minister at Berlin, iv. 45: influences the armistice of Poischwitz, 45

Steyer, armistice signed at, ii. 125

Stockach, battle of, ii. 60: captured by Lecourbe, 109

Stockholm, installation of Bernadotte at, iii. 216

"Stockpot, Marshal," iii. 223

Stötteritz, fighting at, iv. 74

Strabo, *N.'s* study of, i. 40

Stradella, Desaix commanding corps at, ii. 116: fortified camp at, 116: military operations near, 119

Stralsund, threatened by Mortier, iii. 23: Schill's final stand at, 165, 180: capture of, 180

Strasburg, Moreau's army at, i. 209: Morean and Desaix cross the Rhine near, 272: retirement of Cardinal Rohan from, ii. 192: imprisonment of Duc d'Enghien at, 194: French expeditions to, 194; iii. 158: Caulaincourt's mission to, 86: Maria Louisa's progress through, 197: Schwarzenberg's communications with, threatened, iv. 120, 121: sends troops to relief of Paris, 125

Strebersdorf, military operations near, iii. 168, 169

Street of Peace, the, iii. 62

Street of Rivoli, the, iii. 62

Strehla, fighting near, iv. 57

Striefen, fighting near, iv. 57

Striegau, Blucher at, iv. 52, 55

Stuart, British envoy to Vienna, ii. 192

"Study in Politics, A," projected by *N.*, i. 172

Studjenka, the passage of the Beresina at, iv. 9–11

Stura, River, the, Masséna's advance through valley of, i. 143: Austrian force on, ii. 111

Stuttgart, Bourrienne in diplomacy at, i. 102: machinations of Méhée de la Touche in, ii. 189: expulsion of the English envoy at, 211

Styria, junction of Austrian troops in, ii. 236: Prince Engène in, iii. 174: Archduke John banished to, 178

Suchet, Marshal Louis-Gabriel, retreats before Melas, ii. 108: expected to attack Melas, 110: military operations on the Var, 114: pursues the Russians, 244: battle of Austerlitz, 250: service in Spain, iii. 217: annihilates Blake's Spanish army, 221: captures Aragon and Valencia, 221: captures Tarragona, iv. 15: contrasted with Augereau, 120: strength, March, 1814, 126: available forces of, 137

Sucy, *N.'s* letters to, i. 96: prophesies as to *N.'s* future, ii. 18, 19

Suez, Isthmus of, importance of, ii. 31

Suez Canal, suggested by D'Argenson, ii. 31

Suicide, *N.'s* views concerning, and his attempts to commit, i. 41, 42; ii. 61; iv. 146, 147, 207, 217, 238

Sunday, resumption of its observance, ii. 165

"Supper of Beaucaire," the, i. 127–132, 170

Survilliers, Comte de. See BUONAPARTE, JOSEPH

Suvaroff, Gen. A. V., defeats Macdonald on the Trebbia, ii. 63: holds Piedmont, 93: driven by Masséna to Bavaria, 93: disasters in the Alps, 93

Swabia, treaty with France (1796), i. 279: demonstrations of emigrants in, ii. 196: withdrawal of Austrian troops from, 199: French occupation of, 262

Sweden, excluded from Congress of Rastatt, ii. 18: joins the "armed neutrality," 126: *N.'s* hatred for the royal house of, 270: Joachim I.'s aspirations to the crown of, 270: Prussia recommended to go to war with, 273: member of the Coalition, iii. 23: held back by Mortier, 23: internal dissensions, 34: neutrality of, 41: failure of commercial negotiations with England, 43: proposed commercial war against England, 48: virtual dependence on France, 56: English regulations concerning American trade with, 81, 82: supposed assistance from England to, 91: *N.* hints at rectification of her boundaries, 91: proposed Russian invasion of, 91: makes obstinate resistance in Finland, 93: failure of the demonstration against, 124: Alexander's uncertain position in regard to, 129: *N.* promises to restore Pomerania to, 205: promises to exclude British commerce, 205: treaty with Russia, Sept. 17, 1809, 205: cedes Finland to Russia, 205, 215: Frederick VI. hopes to acquire, 214: *N.'s* ambitions concerning, 214, 215: accession of Charles XIII., 215: selection of Bernadotte as heir to the throne, 215: abdication of Gustavus IV., 215: Mme. de Staël in, 229: Alexander offers Norway to, 239, 243, 266: Russia opens negotiations with, 240: demands and acquires a liberal constitution, 241: eagerness to escape from French protection, 241, 242: *N.* offers Finland to, 243: bids for her alliance by France and Russia, 243, 244: Davout occupies Pomerania, 244: treaty with Russia, April 12, 1812, 244: Alexander demands better terms for, 250: in grand coalition against *N.* (1813), iv. 27: Metternich seeks to embroil Russia and, 29: subsidized by England, 32: ambition to secure Norway, 32: *N.* attempts to win over, 32: evacuates Hamburg, 37: commercial agreement with England, 50: inaugurates the coalition of 1813, 50: Bernadotte seeks to annex Norway to, 90: struggle with Norway, 170: member of the Vienna Coalition, 170

Swiss Guard, at the Tuileries, i. 179

Switzerland, republican schemes and revolutionary movements in, i. 200; ii. 17, 27: *N.'s* schemes and influence in, i. 278; ii. 7, 8, 95, 150: French plundering of, 27: organization of the Helvetian Republic, 69: Masséna ordered to command in, 60: Russian military operations in, 62, 63: Berthier commanding in, 92: Masséna's successes in, 92: Masséna makes a forced levy in, 101, 102: falls into French hands, 108, 160, 179: Kray's retreat via, cut off, 109: jealousy of Piedmont, 149: factions in, 150: adoption of the name, 150: neutrality of, 150: the Act of Mediation, 150: furnishes contingents to *N.'s* armies, 150; iii. 11, 23, 245, 246: occupied by Ney, ii. 175: lends aid to France in 1803, 184: independence of, 227: *N.'s* claim to, 227: Prussia bound to secure the liberties of, 243: Mme. de Staël banished to, 266: relations of France with, iii. 47, 61: Valais separated from, 213: violation of her neutrality by the allies, iv. 91, 92, 98, 99: fails to support the Emperor, 91, 93: reported rising in, 115: Jerome and Joseph take refuge in, 149

Syria, Nelson seeks the Egyptian expedition off the coast of, ii. 38: *N.'s* schemes of conquest in, 42: Turkish movements in, 46, 47: the French advance into, 46, 47
Szuczyn, Russian retreat to, iii. 14.

T

Tabor, Mount, battle near, ii. 49
Tabor Bridge, Murat crosses the, ii. 236, 237
Tacitus, *N.'s* references to, ii. 151
Tactics and strategy, the lessons of Austerlitz, ii. 252, 253
Tafalla, Moncey at, iii. 142
Tagliamento, River, military operations on the, i. 266, 267
Tagus, River, the, British fleet in, iii. 96: French attempt to capture the fleet in, 96, 97: Dupont holds, 122: the lines of Torres Vedras, 218: military operations on, 219
Taine, H. A., on the Napoleonic régime, iv. 243
Talavera, battle of, iii. 182, 217, 219
Talleyrand, Prince, minister of foreign affairs, ii. 11, 12, 23, 87, 101, 206: relations with and views on *N.*, ii. 12, 16, 20, 22, 23, 66, 67; iii. 67, 76–78, 105, 118, 131, 135, 136, 139, 229; iv. 170, 218: attempts to force *N.'s* hand, ii. 16: relations with Mme. du Barry, 22: expelled from England, 22: Mirabeau's opinion of, 22: relations with the Directory, 22, 23: career, 22, 23: system of national education, 22, 145, 146: charged with tampering with Bernadotte, 29: member of the Institute, 32: advocates seizure of Egypt, 32: intrigue with *N.*, Barras, and Sieyès for a new constitution, 33: ascribes the Egyptian expedition to *N.*, 35: proposed mission to Constantinople, 45: dreads a new Terror, 64: critical moment in his house, before the 18th Brumaire, 70: influence on Barras, 73: Bourbon sympathies of, 82: *N.* proposes a constitution to, 84: offers peace to Portugal, 102: monarchical views of, 104: discusses possibility of *N.'s* death, 120: negotiations with Count St. Julien, 121, 122: negotiations with Cobenzl, 122: demands bribes from American envoys, 136: the Pope's ban removed from, 139: carves up German principalities, 170: demands to know England's intentions concerning Malta, 175: Lord Whitworth's utterances to, 177: his explanation of the scene of March 13, 1803, 182: urges action against Bourbon plotters, 194: notifies Baden of the seizure of Duc d'Enghien, 194: charged with suppressing despatches, 195: Josephine's dread of, 196: blamed by *N.* for the murder of the Duc d'Enghien, 199; iii. 153: murder of the Duc d'Enghien sits lightly on, ii. 200: Grand Chamberlain, 207: attitude of Pius VII. toward, 209: excommunication taken off from, 209: replies to Russia's demands, 211: diplomatic replies to Pius VII., 222: at Vienna, 246: created Prince of Benevento, 256; iii. 77, 214: negotiations with Lord Yarmouth, ii. 259: bribed by German princes, 260: on the proposed North German Confederation, 273: at Tilsit, iii. 43, 46: warns *N.* against Queen Louisa's fascinations, 51: author of treaty of Tilsit, 51: Queen Louisa's sarcasm to, 52: showy character of his diplomacy, 55: responsibility for the treaty of Tilsit, 60: advocates support of the Emperor, 66: conversations with Mme. de Rémusat, 66: on the discords in the imperial court, 76: resigns from the ministry, 76, 78: salary, 77: his influence on the wane, 77, 78: Vice-Grand Elector, 78: iv. 128: policy after Austerlitz, iii. 99: favors Ferdinand VII., 99, 100: resumes active diplomacy, 105: negotiations with Izquierdo, 105: at Bayonne, 114: estimate of Ferdinand VII., 114: constituted custodian of Ferdinand VII., 115, 116, 131: stinging rebuke addressed to *N.* by, 118: prepares to return to public life, 131: acts in the interests of Austria, 133, 138: at the Erfurt conference, 133, 138–140: ordered to ventilate the divorce question, 140: his treachery read by *N.*, 152: blamed by *N.* for the Spanish failure, 152: member of extraordinary council on *N.'s* second marriage, 195: on the natural extensions of France, 216: meeting of *N.* and Mme. de Staël at house of, 227, 228: pecuniary losses, 229: on the aims of the coalition of 1813, iv. 32: spreads alarming reports, 87: on the Spanish situation, 87, 88: royalist intrigues of, 87, 129, 130, 133, 134: member of the Empress-Regent's council, 128: Murat's and Lannes's characterizations of, 129: desires a violent death for the Emperor, 129: opposes the departure of the Empress from Paris, 129: *N.'s* knowledge of his duplicity, 129, 130: on the Empress's flight from Paris, 130: Dalberg's characterization of, 130: simulated flight from Paris, 133: interview with Prince Orloff, 133: sends a "blank check" to Alexander, 133: at peace council in Paris, 134: gives adherence to Louis XVIII., 134: negotiates with Nesselrode, 134: member of the executive commission, 134, 135: learns of Marmont's defection, 142: remonstrates with Alexander against the regency, 142: suspected complicity in plots to assassinate *N.*, 152: negotiates secret treaty between France, England and Austria, 156, 157: influence at the Congress of Vienna, 156, 157: double intrigues of, 159, 160, 162: ignores Russian and English protests, 162: attainted, 165: *N.* appeals to, 170: at Carlsbad, 212: returns to Paris, 212: reception by Louis XVIII., 212: resumes active functions 212: on the secret of empire, 222: his value in European politics, 223: correspondence with — French ambassador at London, ii. 182: Grenville, Lord, 94: Napoleon, 23, 33, 232; iii. 22, 93: Nesselrode, Count, iv. 129: *character:* ambition, iii. 78; iv. 129: brilliancy, ii. 21; iii. 55: capacity for intrigue, ii. 33, 87; iv. 87, 129, 130, 133, 134, 159, 160, 162: diplomatic and political ability, ii. 22, 87, 222; iii. 55, 77, 105: duplicity, ii. 22, 23, 87; iv. 129, 130: gaming passion, ii. 22: greed, 87: learning, 22: licentiousness, 22, 87: self-interest, iii. 149, 152, 195; iv. 18: treachery, iii. 149, 152; iv. 128: unscrupulousness, ii. 21, 23, 136; iv. 129, 152: venality, ii. 23, 87, 170, 251, 252, 260; iii. 67, 77, 99, 100; iv. 223: versatility, ii. 22
Talleyrand, Mme., Pius VII. refuses to receive, ii. 209
Tallien, J. L., opposes Robespierre, i. 148: social life in Paris, 173: influence for *N.*, 177: favors appointment of *N.* as Convention general, 179: marriage, 190
Tallien, Mme., "the goddess of Thermidor," i. 173: *N.'s* social intercourse with, 174: matrimonial experiences, 190
Talma, F. J., i. 193: accompanies *N.* to Erfurt, iii. 135: *N.'s* intimacy with, iv. 222
Tanaro, *N.* at taking of, i. 151
Tanaro, River, the country of the, ii. 117
Taranto, embargo on, ii. 183: creation of hereditary duchy of, 255: Macdonald created Duke of, iii. 71. See MACDONALD
Tarentum, Soult's force at, ii. 131
Tarragona, captured by Suchet, iv. 15
Tarutino, Kutusoff takes position at, iii. 266
Tarvis, capture of, i. 268
Tatars, characteristics of the, iii. 15
Tatary, *N.* studies the history of, i. 49
Tauenzien, Gen., battle of Dennewitz, iv. 63: during the Waterloo campaign, 175
Tauroggen, Convention of, iv. 21, 29
Taxation, Necker's problems of, i. 50: exemption of privileged classes from, 50, 52, 54: conditions of, at outbreak of the Revolution, 53–55: the stamp-tax, 54: the land-tax, 54: outbreak against, at Auxonne, 58: demand for equality of, in Corsica, 62: reform of the system of, ii. 89, 141
Tchitchagoff, Adm., joins Tormassoff, iii. 266: pursuit of the French army by, iv. 2, 7, 20: hopes of capturing *N.*, 8: description of *N.*, 8: captures Borrissoff, 8, 9: driven out of Borrissoff, 9: at the crossing of the Beresina, 10: blamed by Kutusoff and Wittgenstein, 13, 14: bad generalship of, 13, 20
Tchernicheff, Gen., commanding Army of the North, iv. 52
Telnitz, fighting at, ii. 248, 249
"Templars, The," by Raynouard, ii. 225
Temple, the, the royal family imprisoned in the, i. 102
Tenda Pass, captured by the French, i. 145, 152: *N.'s* entertainment for Mme. Turreau at, 152
Teplitz, Louis's flight to, ii. 212: Bennigsen reaches, iv. 66
Terror, the, i. 148, 149, 158, 162, 190, 202; iv. 231: fears of a revival of, ii. 63
Terrorists, the, growing influence of, ii. 64: assassination schemes among, 154
Testamentary rights, under the Code, ii. 144
Tettenborn, Gen., relieves Hamburg, iv. 33
Texel, the, Marmont ordered to Mainz from, ii. 232
Thann, battle of, iii. 163
Tharandt, Klenau's march to Dresden from, iv. 57
Themistocles, his refuge with the Persians, iv. 214: *N.* draws parallel between his case and that of, 214
Thermidorians, the, i. 149: prominent members of, 151: adopt Roman systems, 160, 161: establish the Directory, 161: anger the people of Paris, 163
Thielemann, Gen., in Waterloo campaign, iv. 175: at Wavre, 191
Third Coalition, the, ii. 227 et seq.: Prussia induced to join, 242, 243: rout of the allies at Austerlitz, 251: destruction of its strength and morale, 251
Third Estate, the, at outbreak of the Revolution, i. 53: constitution of, 56: assumes to represent the nation, 56: forces a junction with the two upper Estates, 56: Sieyès's pamphlet on the, 66: *N.'s* care for, iv. 228, 231
Third Republic, the constitution of the, i. 158
Thirty Years' War, Richelieu's policy at close of the, ii. 169
Thomé, alleges attempt to stab *N.*, ii. 79
Thonberg, *N.* at, iv. 73
Thorn, siege of, iii. 10: French occupation of, 17: military movements near, 18: *N.* in, 251: French military stores in, 253
Thought, influence on the social life of the world, ii. 31
Thouvenot, Gen., service in Spain, iii. 217
Three Emperors, Fight of the, ii. 252
Thugut, Count, greed for territorial aggrandizement, i. 198: determines on Italian conquest, 262, 263: opens negotiations at Leoben, 269: warns Gen. Clarke to keep away from Vienna, 280; ii. 28: not deceived by treaty of Campo Formio, 14: Paul I. demands his dismissal, 93: repudiates St. Julien's negotiations, 122: overthrow of, 122
Thuin, military operations at, iv. 176
Thuméry, Marquis of, suspected of plotting against *N.*, ii. 193
Thuringia, military movements in, ii. 278
Tiber, River, military operations on the, i. 260
Ticino, River, military operations on the, i. 217; ii. 113
Tierney, G., on England's attitude toward France, ii. 95
Tilly, Count, *N.'s* letter to, Aug. 7, 1794, i. 150
Tilsit, Bennigsen crosses the Niemen at, iii. 32: meeting of the Emperors at, 34–55, 76: treaty of, 34, 35, 47, 51, 53–56, 58, 60, 77, 79, 80, 84–88, 93–95, 104, 129–131, 138, 189, 191, 196, 203, 225, 232, 236, 238, 239, 249: neutralization of, 38: reasons leading to the peace of, 40 et seq.: Queen Louisa at, 40, 49–53: French representatives at, 43: fraternizing of Russia and France at, 43–46: decoration of the Russian grenadier at, 54: *N.'s* position at, 139: Macdonald reaches, iv. 20
"Times," the (London), on the allies' capture of Paris, iv. 130
Tissot, Dr., *N.'s* letter to, i. 44
Tobacco, establishment of state monopoly in, iii. 232
Toledo, Dupont's forces near, iii. 122
Tolentino, treaty of, i. 211, 260; ii. 208
Toll, Gen., meets Alexander I. after Austerlitz, ii. 251: proposes concentration of the allied forces, iv. 116: advises movement on Paris, 122
Tolosa, French forces at, iii. 142

Tolstoi, Gen. See OSTERMANN-TOLSTOI
Torbay, the "Bellerophon" at, iv. 210, 213
Torcy battle at, iv. 114: military operations at, 116
Torgau, Saxon troops withdrawn from, iv. 37: French occupation of, 51: Ney driven into, 64: battle of, 235
Tormassoff, Gen., confronted by Schwarzenberg, iii. 259: joined by Tchitchagoff, 266
Torres Vedras, the lines of, iii. 218, 219
Tortona, surrendered to France, i. 215: *N.* at, 281: scheme to relieve Masséna via, ii. 110: the key of Genoa, 113: topography of the country, 116, 117: the Consular Guard at, 117
Tortugas, the, death of Leclerc in, ii. 153
Touche, Méhée de la, contrives Moreau's ruin, ii. 189: English plots with, 211
Toulon, the recovery of, for the Convention, i. 84: military and naval preparations at, 110, 131, 132, 155: ii. 27, 32, 38, 212: return of the Sardinian expedition to, i. 117: anarchy in, 123, 128: the Buonapartes in, 127: the Buonapartes driven from, 129: siege of, 131–137, 173: Marseilles refugees at, 132: Lord Hood's seizure at, 132: the "treason" of, 132, 133: *N.* at, 134, 142, 161, 153, 173, 184: *N.'s* plans for capture of, 136: *N.* seeks mercy for rebels at, 137: the National Convention's vengeance on, 137, 138: massacres in, 138: British occupation of, 141: recapture of, 148: news of the Terror in, 149: English fleet driven from, 154: the Corsican expedition leaves, 155: *N.* at siege of, 173: forced military loans in, 208: departure of Egyptian expedition from, ii. 35–37: Nelson seeks the Egyptian expedition at, 38: *N.* sails from Alexandria for, 56: failure of Villeneuve's expedition from, 213: *N.* orders the Spanish fleet to, iii. 60
Toulouse, Soult thrown back on, iv. 109: defeat of Soult at, 159
Tournon, the Chamberlain de, mission to Spain, iii. 101
Tours, the French garrison at, iv. 137
Trachenberg, military council at, iv. 55
Trade, condition at outbreak of the Revolution, i. 53
Trafalgar, *N.'s* reception of the news of, ii. 214: battle of, 240–242: iii. 42: effect in France, ii. 255: *N.'s* reply to, iii. 6: the lesson of, 202, 203
Trannes, military movements near, iv. 94, 116
Transpadane Republic, the, i. 224, 246, 247, 265: question of a constitution for the, ii. 6
Trasimenus, creation of the department of, iii. 201, 202
Traun, River, military movements on the, iii. 164
Treaties, the value of, iv. 232. For specific treaties see the names of parties signatory (countries or rulers) and of the places at which signed
Trebbia, River, French disasters on the, ii. 57, 63
Treilhard, M., member of the Directory, ii. 62
Trent, military operations near, i. 234, 235, 250, 254: abandoned by Vaubois, 236: Brune advances to, ii. 125: apportioned to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, 170: ceded to Bavaria, 252
Treuenbrietzen, Prussian pursuit of Oudinot to, iv. 60
Treviso, creation of hereditary duchy of, ii. 255: Mortier created Duke of, iii. 70 (see MORTIER): the Buonaparte family princes of, iv. 82
Trianon, *N.* retires to, after the divorce, iii. 197: the imperial court at, 230
Trianon Decree, the, iii. 214
Tribunate, the, ii. 85, 99–101: constitution of, 165: opposition to *N.* in, 155, 156: secret sessions of, 159: new method of electing to, 159: form of addressing the First Consul in, 187: Carnot remonstrates in, against adulation of *N.*, 188: independence of, 204: initiates the imperial movement, 205: condition under the imperial constitution of 1804, 206: destruction of, iii. 67, 68: compared with the English Parliament, 68: its functions, 68
Tricolor, Louis XVI. adopts the, i. 57: *N.'s* scheme to unfurl, in Corsica, 66: insult to, in Naples, 113
Triest, *N.* threatens to seize, i. 248: seized by *N.*, 268: reoccupied by Austria, 268: rise of, 277: importations of English goods at, iii. 128: ceded to France, 184: England's loss of trade with, 208: basis of possible Oriental operations, 252: French occupation of, iv. 49: *N.* offers the city to Austria, 50
Trinidad, retained by England, ii. 135, 168: ceded to England, 212
Triple Alliance, the, iv. 66, 106, 243
Triumphal Arch, Paris, erection of the, iii. 62
Tronchet, on committee to draft the Code, ii. 142
Troyes, recall of the Parliament to Paris from, i. 66: battle of, iv. 94: military movements near, 94, 100, 103–105, 113, 115–117, 120, 126, 128
Truchsess-Waldburg, Count, Prussian commissioner at Fontainebleau, iv. 148: *N.'s* attitude toward, 148: allegations concerning *N.'s* physical ailments, 152, 173
Tudela, French success at, iii. 122: scheme of operations at, 124: Spanish forces near, 143, 144
Tuileries, the, the mob at, i. 103: the carnage at, 104: Robespierre orders the destruction of, 149: storming of, Aug. 10, 1792, 163: defense of, 179–182: *N.* at, on the 18th Brumaire, ii. 71, 72: Lannes's guard at, 74: decoration of, 97: rechristened "the palace of the government," 97: *N.* takes possession of, 98: residence of the Buonapartes at, 128: social functions at, 162, 163, 178, 209, 263: consular levee of March 13, 1803, 179: *N.'s* interview with Lord Whitworth at, Feb. 17, 1803, 179, 180: scene between Whitworth and *N.*, March 13, 1803, 180: the imperial court at, 207, 209: refurnishing the, iii. 27: social vices at, 75: *N.* at, 88: the divorce scandal in, 140: the divorce decree pronounced in, 190: Imperial family life at, 245; iv. 18: depository of the Emperor's funds, 8, 25, 86, 154: the officers of the National Guard summoned to, 88: flight of the Empress from, 131: changes in the court at, 159: *N.* reenters, 166: struggle between royalists and imperialists at, 166: loneliness of, 167
Turas, military operations near, ii. 248, 249
Turenne, Marshal, military genius, i. 210: *N.* compared with, 210: *N.'s* analysis of the wars of, iv. 217, 234
Turin, military operations around, i. 213, 215: *N.'s* influence in, 278: Gen. Clarke's mission to, 280: *N.* in, ii. 17: revolutionary movements in, 26: Bonapartist agency in, 61: Charles Emmanuel IV. invited to return to, 93: Melas hastens to, 110, 111, 114: topography of country near, 117: sends deputation to Paris, iv. 17
Turkey, *N.* studies the history of, i. 49: seeks to organize its armies, 175: France seeks alliance with, 175: *N.'s* plans for service in, 175, 177, 178: Austria's gaze on, 198: *N.'s* eye on, 262: France's influence on, 262: disaffection in, ii. 11: schemes for the dismemberment of, 11, 12, 21, 28–30, 246, 261; iii. 35, 44, 45, 48, 81, 85–91, 93, 129, 131, 137, 188, 237, 238, 240: France's justification of Egyptian schemes to, ii. 32: *N.* seeks alliance with, 32: refuses alliance with France, 45: negotiations and alliances with Russia, 45, 49; iii. 44, 45, 48, 81, 85, 244, 266: alliance with Russia and Austria, 49: military activity, 1799, 62: joins the second coalition, 62, 90, 93: checked by Franco-Russian treaty of peace (1800), 102: defeat of, at Heliopolis, 123: Egypt restored to, 135: treaty between France and (1801), 136: integrity of her boundaries: 168: suzerainty over Ionia and Egypt, 168: *N.* on her policy, 222: source of discord between France and Russia, 271: Ouhril undertakes to guarantee her integrity, 272: *N.* resolves to assert supremacy over, iii. 4, 5: military operations on the Dniester, 5: *N.'s* scheme of protectorate over, 5: hostilities with Russia, 10, 127, 182, 191, 236: declares war against England, 23: *N.* arranges a treaty between Persia and, 23, 24: Austria espouses the cause of, 25: overthrow of Selim III., 33, 44, 85, 127: revolt of the Janizaries, 33: alliance with France, 33: end of Sebastiani's influence in, 33: Russian acquisitions in, 54: French influence in, 81: *N.* intervenes between Russia and, 81: terms of the agreement at Slobozia, 85: Russia's ambition to acquire territory of, 87: usurpation of Mustapha IV, 127: threatened anarchy in, 127: reform in, 127: threatened loss of French prestige in, 127: accession of Mahmud II., 127: Alexander's uncertain position in regard to, 129: *N.* fears her alliance with Russia or England, 137; England's trade under the flag of, 214: Russian designs against, 235: Austria seeks territorial aggrandizement at expense of, 240: pivotal in European politics, 242: *N.* endeavors to form alliance with, 244: in grand coalition against *N.* (1813), iv. 27: European support of, 243: *N.'s* influence on modern, 247
Turreau, Gen., at Mont Cenis Pass, ii. 110: crosses Mont Cenis, 113
Turreau, Mme., *N.'s* ghastly entertainment for, i. 152
Tuscany, the Buonaparte family in, i. 12, 13: favors the French Revolution, 155: peace between France and, 155: withdraws from the coalition (1795), 197: military operations against, 217, 260: French proposition to revolutionize, 227: treaty with France, Jan. 11, 1797, 251: plunder of, ii. 11: involved in Italian quarrels, 59: France acquires temporary possession of, 60: *N.'s* bad faith with, 95: Austrian occupation of, 105, 111, 119: reinforcements for Melas from, 111: creation of kingdom of, 132: British ships driven from harbors of, 183: the situation in, iii. 94: ecclesiastical reforms and confiscations in, 202: Elisa created Grand Duchess of, 213. See BUONAPARTE, MARIE-ANNE-ELISA
Tuscany, the Grand Duke of, i. 207: flees to Vienna, ii. 59, 60: loses his territory, 125: territories acquired by, 170
Tutschkoff, Gen., in battle of Eylau, iii. 19
Twelfth Light Dragoons, at the battle of Waterloo, iv. 203
Two-Cent Revolt, the, i. 41
Two Sicilies, the, i. 260
Tyrol, the, the road to Vienna through, i. 206: military operations in, 226, 227, 234–236, 240, 254, 266, 268, 269; ii. 236, 245; iii. 155, 164, 165, 181: *N.'s* unsuccessful attempt to conciliate its people, i. 235: loyalty to Austria, 250: the insurrection in, 269: Kray's retreat to, cut off, ii. 109: Iller commanding in the, 122: Soult cuts off the Austrian retreat to, 235: Ney sweeps the Austrians from, 245: *N.* threatens to seize, 251: ceded by Austria to Bavaria, 252: insurrection ripe in, iii. 151: Archduke John to excite revolt in, 154: repression of priestly tyranny in, 155: revolution against bondage in, 155: characteristics of its people, 155: Maximilian's reforms in, 155: guerrilla warfare in, 155, 181: rising against Bavarian rule, 156: abandoned by Archduke John, 163: its people abused by *N.*, 165: French evacuation of, 174: rising in, 181: French invasion of, 186: effects of the armistice of Znaim, 186: reduced to submission, 186: amnesty offered by Prince Eugène, 186: opened to the allies, iv. 91

U

Ucciani, *N.'s* escape to, i. 120
Udine, congress at, ii. 13
Ulm, Austrian retreat to, ii. 109: Austrian troops in sight of, 233; the French at, 233, 234: the capitulation at, 235, 236: concentration of troops in, iii. 158
"Undaunted," the, *N.* sails for Elba on, iv. 153, 154
United Irishmen, misunderstanding between the Directory and the, ii. 46
United States, the, constitutional government in, i. 87: the French idea of the system of government in, 160: Talleyrand's residence in, ii. 22: Talleyrand's views on, 22: mission concerning protection of commerce, 23: treaty of commerce with England, 1794, 136: arrogance of the Directory toward, 136: imbroglio with France, 136: suspension of diplomatic relations with France, 136: commercial convention with France, 136: neu-

United States, the — *continued.*
trality declaration, 1793, 136: Jerome Buonaparte's residence in, 164: events leading to the war of 1812, 184; iii. 210: purchases Louisiana, ii. 184, 212; iv. 247, 248: *N.'s* relations with, and influence on, ii. 184; iii. 82, 211; iv. 247, 248: Carnot's comparison of France with, ii. 206: Moreau's banishment to, 191: commercial rivalry with England, iii. 41: British claim of right of search, 42: effect of British 'orders in council' upon, 42: ocean commerce, 42: authorizes reprisals, 42: French attacks on commerce of, seizures of vessels, etc., 43, 209, 210, 226, 244: rising naval power, 43: liberty of testamentary disposition in, 69: English provisions concerning the carrying trade of, 81, 82: permitted to trade direct with Sweden, 81, 82: *N.* attempts to force them into the French system, 82: decline of trade with England, 82: Jefferson's administration, 82, 83: agricultural policy of the Democrats, 82, 83: the embargo, 82, 83, 210, 211: the war of 1812, 83, 244: policy of the Federalists, 83: the Non-Intervention Act, 83: indispensability of cotton in Europe, 204: "neutralized" commerce of, 205: proposal that Louis XVIII. acquire a kingdom in, 208: alleged seizure of French vessels by, 210: the Non-Intercourse Act of March 1, 1809, 210: prohibition of commercial intercourse with England and France, 210: seizure of ships by England, 211: Lucien attempts to escape to, 212: chafing under restrictions of commerce, 242: crippled commerce of, 244: declares war against England, iv. 16: naval successes of, 16: Moreau summoned from, 37, 52: *N.* plans escape to, 208, 209: Hamilton's treasury system, 229: the independence of, 230: the war for independence, 245: wars with England, 247: popular interest in *N.* in, 247, 248: expansion of constitutional law, 248: growth of, 248: *N.'s* influence in, 248: the slavery question in, 248. See also AMERICA

University of Berlin, iii. 83

University of France, ii. 147; iii. 73

Ural Mountains, proposed Indian expeditions via, ii. 134

Urbino, annexed to Italy, iii. 58, 94

Uscha, River, military operations on the, iii. 257

Ussher, Capt., conveys *N.* to Elba in the "Undaunted," iv. 153, 154

Usury, the curse and its cure in France, ii. 140; iii. 63, 64

Utizy, military movements near, iii. 261

V

Valais, declared an independent commonwealth, ii. 149: Chateaubriand French representative in, 166: scheme to incorporate it with France, iii. 204: separated from Switzerland, 213: independence of, 213: annexed to the French empire, 213

Valeggio, *N.'s* narrow escape at, i. 241

Valençay, the Spanish captives at, iii. 115, 116, 131, 200

Valence, *N.* joins his regiment at, i. 34: *N.'s* life at, and visits to, i. 34–42, 68, 74, 79, 82, 85, 89–91, 108, 134: the garrison at, and people of, 81: obsequies of Mirabeau at, 88: Friends of the Constitution in, 89: reception of *N.* and Elisa at, 108: occupied by Carteaux, 128: death of Pius VI. at, ii. 26, 27: burial of Pius VI. at, 139: meeting of *N.* and Augereau near, iv. 152

Valencia, massacre of the French at, iii. 121: Moncey advances on, 122: French defeat before, 124: captured by Suchet, 221: temporary French government at, iv. 15

Valenciennes, evacuation of, i. 133

Valenza, military operations near, i. 217

Valetta, French plot to seize, ii. 12: the sword of, given to Paul I., 102

Valjouan, Victor drives the Austrians from, iv. 102

Valladolid, captured by the French, iii. 105: French success near, 122: French communications at, 123: *N.* at, Jan. 6, 1809, 146

Valmaseda, Blake driven back to, iii. 143

Valmy, defeat of the allies at, i. 116

Valtellina, the, quarrel between the Grisons and, ii. 7: incorporated in the Cisalpine Republic, 27

Vandamme, Gen., in battle of Austerlitz, ii. 249, 250: dread of *N.*, iii. 75: in battle of Eckmühl, 162: at Linz, 167, 174: relieved by Lefebvre, 174: strength of his corps, March, 1812, 246: commanding division in Eugène's army, iv. 28: junction of Danish troops with, 37: captures Hamburg, 37: goes to Davout's assistance, 42: in battle of Dresden, 56–58: at Pirna, 56–58: pursues the allies, 58: battle of Kulm, 61: captured at Kulm, 61: character, 61: in the Waterloo campaign, 174–176: advances toward Fleurus, 181: battle of Ligny, 182

Vandeleur, Gen., in battle of Waterloo, iv. 202

Vanne, River, iv. 128

Var, River, military operations on the, ii. 105, 108, 110, 111, 114

Vatican, relations of Paoli with the, i. 5

Vauban, disgrace of, i. 202: eulogized by Carnot, 202

Vaubois, Gen., service in the Alps, i. 209: defeated by Davidowich, 236, 237, 240: service in Egypt, ii. 36

Vauchamps, battle of, iv. 97

Vaud, revolutionary outbreak in, ii. 17, 27: French intervention in, 27: Alexander forbids the restoration of, iv. 99, 100

Vaux, submission of Carlo Buonaparte to, i. 16

Venaissin, the, annexed to France, i. 260

Vendée, la, civil war, massacres, and royalist plots in, i. 122, 127, 133, 138, 148, 164, 182, 197, 278; ii. 62, 94, 96, 155; iv. 125, 171, 207: reinforcements for the Army of Italy from, i. 236: *N.* conciliates, ii. 96: revulsion of feeling against the Bourbons in, iv. 158: *N.* seeks to rouse imperial feeling in, 209

Vendémiaire, the Thirteenth of, i. 180–182; ii. 15

Vendetta, the, i. 3, 4

Vendôme, Column of, erection of the, iii. 62: placard on the, iv. 166

Venetia, neutrality violated by Beaulieu, i. 219: jealousy between Venice and other towns of, 264: coveted by Austria, 265: the revolutionary movement in, 269: the mainland ceded to Austria, 270–273: the oligarchy of, 275: French military operations in, ii. 8: France's acquisitions in, 14: incorporated in the Cisalpine Republic, 14: plunder of, 26: surrender to Austria, 26: *N.* threatens to seize, 251: incorporated with Italy, 255, 262: admitted to the Concordat, iii. 94. See also VENICE

Venetian Alps, road to Vienna through the, i. 266

Venetian Republic, political status in 1796, i. 207

Venice, *N.* studies the history of, i. 49: Austria's ambitions in, 198, 262; ii. 229, 233: military operations against (1796), i. 217: Beaulieu violates neutrality of, 226, 227: treaty with Austria, 226: decadence and downfall of, 226, 280: at *N.'s* mercy, 228: resents violations of territory, 247: *N.'s* violation of neutrality of, 264: the humiliation of, 264, 265: the Golden Book of, 264, 265, 269: pillage in, 264, 276; ii. 11: Kilmaine's military watch on, i. 266: revolution in, 268, 276, 277: concludes negotiations with *N.*, 269, 270: acquires Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna, 271: *N.* forbidden to interfere with, 272: loss of independence, 272–276: fires on French ship, 273: *N.* "an Attila to," 273, 274: *N.* declares war against, 274: the oligarchy of, 275: attempts to bribe *N.*, 275: treaty between France and (1797), 276: the new republic of, 276: loses independence, 276, 277: French occupation of, 276, 277: letter from *N.* to the provisional government, 277: *N.'s* characterization of the Venetians, 277: *N.* offers the republic to Austria, 277: *N.* reproached for the overthrow of, ii. 3: Lallemant's propaganda in, 7: Junot's demands on the senate, 7: dismemberment of, 11: the Directory's ambition for the conquest of, 11: ceded to Austria, 14: the last doge of, 16: destruction of the "Bucentaur" at, 16: destruction of naval stores at, 16: seeks to continue war with Austria, 16: dragged into war by *N.*, 95: election of Pius VII. at, 133: *N.* threatens to seize, 232: surrendered to France, 252: Pius VII. refuses to extend the Concordat to, iii. 57: ceded to France, 88: appropriations for the harbor, 88: *N.* at, Nov., 1808, 102: interview between Joseph and *N.* at, 102–104: basis of possible Oriental operations, 252. See also VENETIA; VENETIAN REPUBLIC

Ventimiglia, seized by Masséna, 143

Vercelli, Melas proposes to attack *N.* via, ii. 114

Verdier, success at Logroño, iii. 122: occupies Aragon, 122

Verdun, abandoned by the enemy, i. 110: imperial troops at, iv. 125

Verhuel, Dutch commissioner to Paris, ii. 256

Verona, *N.* at, i. 246: French occupation of, 227: military operations near, 232, 237–240, 251 et seq.: insurrection in, 269, 273: disarmament of, 273

Veronese Vespers, the, i. 269, 273

Versailles, meetings of the Estates at, i. 49, 56: luxury in, 86: the Parisian mob at, 86: prison massacres in, 111: Macdonald's guard at, ii. 74: *N.* retires to, after his divorce, iii. 197: Soubam delivers his army prisoners at, iv. 143, 144

Vicenza, military operations before, i. 236: creation of hereditary duchy of, ii. 255

Victor, Gen. C. P., attacks Provera at La Favorita, i. 254: watches Rome, 266: reinforces Lannes at Castelgio, ii. 116: commanding corps at Marengo, 116–119: service in the Army of England, 185: battle of Heilsberg, iii. 29: battle of Friedland, 31, 32: created Duke of Belluno, 71: yearly income, 71: character, 75: *N.'s* opinion of, 75: at Amurrio, 142: defeated by Wellesley at Talavera, 182: strength of his corps, March, 1812, 246: ordered to advance east from the Niemen, 264: in retreat from Moscow, iv. 2 et seq.: effects junction with Saint-Cyr, 2, 3: checks Wittgenstein, 3: abandons Vitebsk, 4: driven back, 7: at the crossing of the Beresina, 8–11: ordered to hold back Wittgenstein, 9: defeated by Wittgenstein at Borrissoff, 10: division commander under Eugène, 28: in campaign of 1813, 34: relieves Glogau, 42: battle of Dresden, 66, 57: guarding roads from Bohemia, 63: battle of Leipsic, 71, 73, 74: assigned to defense of the Rhine, 89: ordered to Nogent, 95: junction with Macdonald at Montereau, 97: abandons Nogent, 97: driven back to Nangis, 97: drives the Austrians from Valjouan, 102: fails to capture Montereau, 102, 103: moral exhaustion of, 102, 103: degraded, but restored to favor, 103: commanding portion of the Young Guard, 103: battle of Craonne, 107

Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, i. 144, 213: guards Lombardy, 206: checkmated by *N.*, 216: death of, 216: relationship to Louis XVIII., 216

"Victory," the, at Trafalgar, ii. 240, 241

Vienna, plans for French advance on, i. 235: Austria opposes *N.'s* advance to, 263: combined movements on, 266 et seq.: the peace party in, 270: rejoicing in, at treaty of Leoben, 271: Geo. Clarke's mission to, 280: rejoicings in, over treaty of Campo Formio, ii. 14: Gen. Clarke forbidden to enter, 28: dread of revolutionary sentiment in, 28: attack on the French embassy (1798), 29: flight of Ferdinand III. to, 59, 60: *N.'s* plans to subdue, 106: *N.* sends peace commissioner to, 120: court intrigues at, 122: Moreau advances toward, 125: Stuart British envoy to, 192: *N.* threatens, 232, 243: French treachery at, 237: the French enter, 236, 237, 244: Talleyrand at, 246: Pozzo di Borgo's mission at, iii. 8: Andréossy's mission at, 8: French influence in, 25: decree of, May 17, 1809, 94: belligerent tone at, 128, 138, 150, 151: effect of *N.'s* and Alexander's remonstrances at, 130, 131: Metternich goes to, 150: defensive measures for, 158: *N.'s* march on, after Eckmühl, 164: capitulation of, 164: *N.'s* characterization of its inhabitants, 165: Charles's plan to free, 167: proposed French retreat toward, 172: *N.'s* army around, 174: consternation at rumored Franco-Russian marriage, 193: French soldiers nursed in, 195: marriage of Maria Louisa at, 196–197: pro-Russian party in, 238, 239:

Vienna—*continued.*
characterization of *N.* in, iv. 43: England's diplomacy in, 45: Francis fears a French invasion of, 53: Congress of, 156, 157, 169, 170: news of *N.'s* escape in, 169
Vienna Coalition, the, iv. 170, 223
Vigo, Villeneuve at, ii. 230
Villach, *N.* enters Germany at, i. 268: Eugène and Macdonald at, iii. 168
Villanova, military operations at, i. 238
Villefranche, expedition against Corsica from, i. 111
Villeneuve, *N.* at, iv. 128
Villeneuve, Adm., in the battle of the Nile, ii. 43: commanding at Toulon, 212: proposed naval expedition for, 213: escapes from Toulon, and returns, 213: ordered to the West Indies, 213: character, 213, 230, 239–241: returns to European waters, 230: his combined fleet at Ferrol and Corunna, 230: at Vigo, 230: dishartened, 230: dissatisfied with his fleet, 230, 238, 239: encounter with Calder, 230, 239: ordered to relieve Rochefort and Brest, 231: retreats to Cadiz, 231, 238, 239: fails to appear in the Channel, 233: chased by Nelson to the West Indies and back, 238: retreat to Ferrol, 239: orders for Mediterranean cruise, 239: remonstrates against his orders, 239: *N.* prepares to supersede, 239; tries to evade disgrace, 239: battle of Trafalgar, 240, 241: interview with *N.*, 241: his suicide, 241
Villetard, French republican agent in Venice, i. 276
Vilna, *N.* in, iii. 252–254: Barclay de Tolly's army confronting, 254: the French retreat through, iv. 10, 12: *N.'s* incognito journey through, 14: Kutusoff enters, 20: Alexander goes to, 20
Vimeiro, defeat of Junot at, iii. 123, 124
Vincennes, the trial and execution of the Duc d'Enghien at, ii. 195, 197, 198; iii. 152
Vincent, Gen., Austrian representative at Erfurt, iii. 138, 150
Visconti, "Greek Iconography," iv. 208
Vistula, River, the, *N.'s* conquests west of, iii. 2: plan of campaign on, 5: bridging of, 10, 11: French positions on, 13: attempt to drive the French across, 29: proposed boundary line on, 35: military operations on, 93; iv. 28, 30: Alexander promises assistance to Prussia on, iii. 243: the French army reaches, 250: French advance to the Niemen from, 255: Murat's position on, untenable, iv. 21: Schwarzenberg retreats across, 21: threatened expulsion of the French from, 44: French garrisons on, 76: *N.* entertains hopes of returning to, 96, 98, 100
Vitebsk, its strategical position, iii. 256: *N.* at, 256: military movements near, 256; iv. 6: French garrison in, 259: the French abandon, iv. 4
Vitoria, Dupont ordered to, iii. 102: Ferdinand VII. at, 112: French forces at, 142: battle of, iv. 47
Vitrolles, royalist intrigues of, iv. 122, 129, 130: captured with Weissenberg at St. Dizier, 126
Vitry, military movements near, iv. 92, 117, 119, 120: Prussian occupation of, 120: French troops at, 125
Vives, Gen., besieges Barcelona, iii. 143
Vivian, Gen., in battle of Waterloo, iv. 202
Volga, River, the, proposed Indian expeditions via, ii. 134: Cossacks of, iii. 14
Volhynia, Austrian troops in, iii. 252, 256: Bagration's position in, 254
Völkermarkt, Archduke John at, iii. 168
Volney, Constantin F. C., espouses the Corsican cause, i. 64, 65: *N.'s* friendship with, 95; ii. 67, 214: member of the senate, 100
Voltaire, on the character of Paoli, i. 6: *N.'s* study of, 40; ii. 163; iv. 216, 217: his "Essay on Manners," i. 85: on the Hohenzollern territories, iii. 6: performance of his "Œdipe" at Erfurt, 134
Voltri, military operations at, i. 216
Vorarlberg, Kray's retreat via, cut off, ii. 109: ceded to Bavaria, 252
Vosges Mountains, the, proposed boundary for Germany, iii. 243: the allies turn the line of, iv. 91, 92: supposed retreat of Schwarzenberg to, 113: reported rising in, 115: *N.* urges guerrilla risings in, 116
Voss, Countess, attendant on Queen Louisa, iii. 51

W

Wachau, battle of, iv. 70–72
Wagram, Charles's advance toward, iii. 169: battle of, 174–179; iv. 176: French demoralization after, iii. 178: doubtful honors of, 178, 179: *N.'s* position after, 179: position of Francis after, 179: Berthier created Prince of, 197. See BERTHIER
Walcheren, the English expedition to, iii. 183, 195, 207, 208, 217, 224
Walewska, Countess, *N.'s* amours with, iii. 16: visits *N.* at Elba, 155
Walhain, Gérard at, iv. 189: Gronchy at, 189, 205
Wallachia, dismissal of the Turkish viceroy of, iii. 6: alleged concession of, to Russia, 48: Russian evacuation of, 64: Russian ambition to possess, 80, 92, 93, 137, 236: Russian occupation of, 81, 85: Alexander demands possession of, 85: *N.* offers to offset Moldavia and, against Silesia, 86, 87, 90: proposed evacuation of Prussia for that of, 87: Alexander's fear of losing, 191: Russia threatened with the loss of, 239
Wallenstein, scene of his overthrow by Gustavus Adolphus, iv. 35
War, *N.'s* aphorisms, theories and plans of, i. 209, 210; ii. 172; iii. 157: barbarity in, ii. 48: thirst for, in France, 64: the art of, 119
Warens, Mme. de, memoirs of, i. 39
Warfare, progress in methods of, i. 242: in Napoleonic times, ii. 117, 118
Warsaw (city), Louis XVIII. living in, ii. 154: Polish national movement in, iii. 8: the Russians driven from, 10: French occupation of, 13–16: frivolity in, 16: *N.'s* amours in, 16: *N.* offers to evacuate, 130: proposition that Russia occupy, 138: Archduke Ferdinand to march against, 154: captured by Archduke Ferdinand, 156: Polish troops at, 158: reoccupied by Poniatowski, 165: offered to Prussia, 174: attitude of the Poles in, 238: Jesuit influence in, 240: proposition to make it capital of a Saxon province, 249: *N.* in, 251: the Diet begs the restoration of Poland, 251, 252: Schwarzenberg evacuates, iv. 21: Russian occupation of, 21: proposed new capital for Prussia, 39
Warsaw, Grand Duchy of, creation of, iii. 48, 54, 61: acquires Prussian territory, 53: new constitution for, 56: *N.* seeks to add Silesia to, 86, 87, 90: Alexander's jealousy of, 87: *N.* promises to evacuate, 90: fortification of, 93, 129: acquires New Galicia, 184: territorial acquisitions, 188, 236: pro-Russian party in, 237: Alexander proposes to accept the crown of, 237: military operations in, 244: open to invasion, 250: *N.'s* incognito journey through, iv. 14: interview between *N.* and De Pradt at, 14, 19: Russian invasion of, 21: *N.* refuses to give up, 27: reft from Saxony, 28: in Russian possession, 32: threatened dismemberment of, 38, 39, 49: proposed extinction of, 43: *N.'s* scheme in, 246
Washington, George, comparison of Paoli with, i. 6: death of, ii. 97: admiration of France for, 97: statue at the Tuileries, 97: festival in honor of, 97, 98: compared with *N.*, 98: declares the neutrality of the United States (1793), 136
Waterloo, the advantage of position at, ii. 117: the Prussian pursuit after, iii. 163: *N.'s* attempt at suicide after, iv. 147: *N.'s* reminiscences of, 178: Wellington indicates the battle-ground, 180: the controversial literature of, 185: the battle-field, 187 et seq.: character of the French troops at, 193: Wellington's headquarters at, 193: the plans of battle, 194: the battle, 195 et seq.: application of the name to the battle, 204: review of the battle, 204 et seq.: political spoils, 205: moral effect on the Emperor, 206: the news in Paris, 206: *N.'s* monograph on, 217: *N.'s* delay at, 235: epic character of, 259: effect on the world, 239
Waterloo Campaign, parallel between campaign in Piedmont and, iv. 174
Wavre, military operations at, iv. 183, 184, 186, 189–191, 193, 205
Wealth, *N.* on, i. 77
Weapons of war in 1796, i. 210
Wehlau, military movements near, iii. 31
Weimar, dissension in the Prussian camp at, ii. 280: fighting at, 281: meetings of *N.* with Goethe and Wieland at, iii. 134–136
Weimar, Grand Duchess of, entertains *N.*, iii. 135
Weirother, Col., at Austerlitz, ii. 246
Weissenberg, Gen., captured near St. Dizier, iv. 126
Weissenburg, battle of, i. 163: the French position at, ii. 234
Weissenfels, taken by Bertrand, iv. 75
Weissensee, narrow escape of Frederick William III. at, iii. 2
Wellenburg, acquired by Würtemberg, ii. 252
Wellesley, Sir Arthur, takes command of operations in Portugal, iii. 97: enters Portugal, 123: defeats Junot at Vimeiro, 123: recalled to England and vindicated, 144: expels the French from Portugal, 182: prepares for invasion of Spain, 182: battle of Talavera, 182: withdraws before Soult, 183: created Duke of Wellington, 203. See WELLINGTON, DUKE OF
Wellesley, Lord, succeeds Canning as prime minister, iii. 208: Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 217: reinforces the army in Portugal, 217: succeeded by Castlereagh, iv. 16
Wellington, Duke of (see also WELLESLEY, SIR ARTHUR), effect of Moore's spirit on, 147: holds Portugal, 217: reinforced by Lord Hill, 217: battle of Talavera, 217, 219: battle of Busaco, 218: retreat down the Mondego, 218: constructs the lines of Torres Vedras, 218, 219: battle of Ocaña, 219, 221: difficult position at Lisbon, 220: character, 220, 221: summons famine to his aid, 221: advances into Spain, 221: battles of Albuera and Fuentes de Onoro, 221: retreats to Portugal, 221: recaptures Almeida, 221: attacked by Lord Liverpool, 221: on Masséna's stand, 221: battle of Salamanca, 222: storming of Badajoz, 222, 242: captures Cindad Rodrigo, 222, 242: advances on the Duero, 222: period of inactivity, 222: returns to Portugal, 222: resumes the offensive, 222: between two fires, 222: demoralization of his army, 222: moves against Madrid, 222: defeats Marmont at Salamanca, iv. 15: withdraws to the Portuguese frontier, 15: hampered by English political situation, 16, 16: reverses in the Peninsula, 27: battle of Vitoria, 47: threatens France, 47: successes in Spain, 47, 49: Spain rises to support, 79: on the war in Spain, 87: signs conditions with *N.*, 87: succeeds Castlereagh at Congress of Vienna, 157, 173: proposes to deport *N.* to St. Helena, 157: recalled by Lord Liverpool, 159: desires to take the field, 173: military genius, 173: plan of campaign of the Hundred Days, 174: dissatisfaction with his troops, 174: *N.'s* position with regard to Blücher and, 175: influence over troops, 175: relative strength in Waterloo campaign, 176: awaits developments, 176: reminiscences of Waterloo, 176, 180: relations with Blücher, 179: interview between the Duke of Richmond and, at the ball, 180: indicates the battle-ground at Waterloo, 180: concentration of his troops, 180, 181: criticizes Blücher's tactics, 182: meeting with Blücher at Bry, 182: battle of Quatre-Bras, 182–186: conversation with Col. Bowles, 184: retreat to Mont St. Jean, 184, 187: *N.* determines to attack, 185: apprehended junction of Blücher and, 186, 187: his choice of position, 187 et seq. 191, 193, 204: proposes to fall back to Brussels, 188:

Wellington, Duke of — *continued.*
strength at Waterloo, 188: Blücher promises support, 188: Grouchy aims to prevent union between Blücher and, 189: his resolution to give battle in front of Soignes, 189: his center at Mont St. Jean, 191: Gneisenau's doubt of his standing at Waterloo, 191: lack of confidence in the Dutch-Belgian troops, 193: headquarters at Waterloo, 193: lines of retreat, 193, 205: the plan of Waterloo, 194: battle of Waterloo, 195 et seq.: repeated calls for Blücher, 198: stories of his anxiety, 200: his conduct of the Waterloo campaign, 204: faint-hearted cooperation with Blücher, 204: restores Louis XVIII., 209: danger of *N.*'s surrender to, 211: share in the reconstruction of France, 212: alleged attempt to assassinate, 219
Wels, Russian troops at, ii. 236
Wereja, capture of the French garrison of, iii. 266
Werneck, Gen., capture of his division at Nordlingen, ii. 235
Werther, *N.* compared to, i. 42
Wesel, ceded to France, ii. 251: French garrison at, 261, 270, 273, 276: demand for its restoration to Prussia, 274
Weser, River, French occupation of the coast near, iii. 204: territory on, offered to Sweden, iv. 32
Western Empire, accomplishment of *N.*'s dream of, iii. 61: an end to the dreams of, iv. 48
West Indies, the, scheme for populating, ii. 152: English blockade of the French fleet in, 164: Jerome Buonaparte in, 164: England watches French policy concerning, 171: France looks to her power in, 179: *N.*'s ambitions in, 184: French squadrons ordered to, 213: Nelson enticed to, 230: *N.*'s ambitions in, iii. 235
Westphalia, military movements in, ii. 276: organization of the kingdom of, iii. 49, 53: Jerome king of, 61, 213, 214: war indemnity exacted from, 65: levy of troops in, 105, 244–246: sequestration of Frederick William's estates in, 126: insurrection in, 174: Schill's failure in, 180: scheme to incorporate part with France, 204: French occupation of, 234: French influence in, iv. 49: flight of Jerome to France, 79
West Prussia, Lestocq's retreat through, iii. 1
Whitbread, Samuel, on the French Revolution, ii. 94, 95
"White Terror," the, i. 165; iv. 210
Whitworth, Lord, character, i. 171: ambassador to Paris, 171, 177: evades declaration of England's Maltese policy, 175: summoned to the Tuileries, Feb. 17, 1803, 179, 180: at consular levee of March 13, 1803, 179, 180: his attitude, 182: on *N.*'s reception of April 4, 182: reports on France's naval preparations, 182: publication of his despatches in England, 182: *N.*'s declarations to, on subject of invading England, 185: a diplomatic method of, iv. 46
Wiazma, battle of, iv. 3
Wieland, C. M., interview with *N.* at Wiemar, iii. 135: decorated at Erfurt, 137: estimate of *N.*'s influence, 245
Wilberforce, William, deprecates war with France, ii. 182
Willach (Carinthia), ceded to France, iii. 184
Willenberg, military movements near, iii. 17, 18
William, Prince (of Prussia), mission to Paris, iii. 138: in battle of Waterloo, iv. 199
"William the Conqueror," by Duval, ii. 225
Willot, Gen., proposes to destroy the Directory, ii. 5: suspected of plotting against *N.*, 193
Wilson, Sir Robert, endeavors to reorganize the Russian army, iii. 267
Wintzengerode, captures Soissons, iv. 106: defeated near St. Dizier, 120
Wischau, junction of Austrian and Russian troops at, ii. 245
Wittau, military operations near, iii. 175
Wittenberg, captured by Davout, iii. 2: French forces at, iv. 28: French occupation of, 51: military movements near, 60
Wittgenstein, Gen., in the Russian campaign, iii. 259: menaces the French left, 266: resumes offensive against Saint-Cyr, iv. 2; checked by Victor and Saint-Cyr, 3: pursuit of the French army, 7, 20: Victor ordered to hold back, 9: at the passage of the Beresina, 10: defeats Victor at Borrissoff, 10: bad generalship of, 13, 20, 21: losses in the Russian campaign, 20: fails to cut off Macdonald's retreat, 21: commanding the allied army, 34: the battle of Lützen, 36: loses his command, 40: commanding Army of the East, 52: battle of Leipsic, 71: driven from Nangis, 103
Wkra, River, bridging of the, iii. 10, 11
Wolkonsky, Prince P. M., in military council with Alexander I., iv. 122
Women, *N.*'s attitude toward, and ideas concerning, i. 77, 81, 152, 187, 192, 278; ii. 129, 163; iii. 248: education of, ii. 145: demands of German social custom on, iii. 199
Wrede, Gen., in campaign of Eckmühl, iii. 160: movements before Ratisbon, 162: defeated by Hiller at Erding, 164: battle of Wagram, 177: reaches Vilna, iv. 12: commanding Bavarian troops, 76
Wright, Capt., lands the Cadoudal conspirators in France, ii. 189, 190: Savary suspected of complicity in death of, 267
Wurmser, Gen., *N.*'s operations against, i. 211: sent to reinforce Beaulieu, 217: military genius, 231: marches to relief of Mantua, 231 et seq.: operations on Lake Garda, 233, 234: operations on the Brenta, 234, 235: attempts to succor Mantua, 234, 235: advance-guard captured at Primolano, 235: defeated at Bassano, 235: demoralization of his army, 235: makes ineffectual sally from Mantua, 240: besieged in Mantua, his defense and surrender, 250–258: *N.*'s generosity to, 257, 258
Würtemberg, makes peace with France (1796), i. 235, 279: grants to the Grand Duke of, ii. 170: relations with Russia, 170: French march through, 233: friendly relations with and subservience to France, 243, 260; iii. 214: created an independent kingdom, ii. 252, 257: acquires territory after Austerlitz, 252: member of the Confederation of the Rhine, 260, 261: supplies contingents to *N.*'s armies, ii. 261; iii. 11, 244, 246; iv. 28: Maria Louisa's progress through, iii. 197: allotment of Austrian lands to, 204: turns from *N.* to the allies, iv. 79: position in Germany, 246
Würtemberg, Princess Catherine of, marries Jerome Napoleon, iii. 75, 76
Würzburg, seized by Jourdan, i. 235: reported French occupation of, ii. 273: *N.*'s base, 275, 276: French forces at, iv. 28

Y

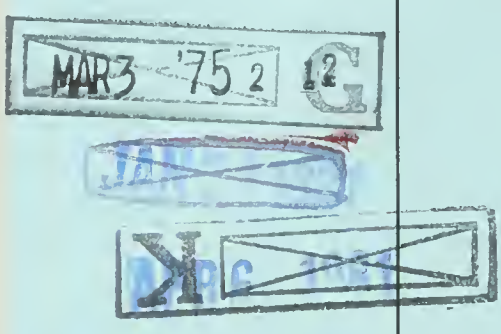
"Yamacks," the, iii. 127
Yarmouth, Lord, negotiates for peace, ii. 259, 261
Yelin, author of "Germany in her Deepest Humiliation," ii. 271
Yermoloff, Gen., pursuit of the French army by, iv. 20
Yonne, River, military operations on the, iv. 136, 166
York, Duke of, besieges Dunkirk, i. 133: defeated by Brune at Bergen, ii. 63, 207: capitulates at Alkmaar, 63
York, Gen., in correspondence with Alexander I., iv. 21; concludes convention of Tauroggen, 21, 26, 29: nominally degraded, 21: desertion of the French cause, 27: his action approved by the Estates of Eastern Prussia, 30: battle of Bautzen, 39: battle of Leipsic, 72: reinforces Blücher at Montmirail, 96: held by Mortier, 104: routs Marmont at Athies, 108: quits Blücher's army, but returns, 108, 109
"Young Guard," the, iii. 172: battle of Lutzen, iv. 36: battle of Dresden, 56, 57: ordered to Bautzen, 63: at Dresden, 65: under command of Ney, 103: Victor commanding portion of, 103: "melts like snow," 107: *N.* reviews, 136, 137: battle of Waterloo, 199

Z

Zaborowski, *N.* seeks service with, i. 129
Zach, Gen., in battle of Marengo, ii. 118
Zacharias, Pope, on kingly power, ii. 208
Zamosc, held by the French, iv. 33
Zampaglini, Corsican patriot brigand, i. 78
Zante, France's jealous care of, ii. 21
Zealand, French occupation of, iii. 207: *N.*'s offer to exchange it for Hanseatic towns, 207
Zembin, the Emperor's retreat through, iv. 10
Ziethen, Gen. J. J., in Waterloo campaign, iv. 175: at Charleroi, 176: at Fleurus, 176, 177: battle of Waterloo, 198, 199
Zittau, French advance from Dresden to, iv. 55: Blücher's road to, blocked by Lauriston, 56
Znaim, military operations near, ii. 236: Kutusoff's retreat to, 244: Charles withdraws toward, iii. 177: fighting at, 178: French repulse at, 181: the armistice of, 186, 193
Zorndorf, battle of, iv. 235
Zurich, the plundering of, ii. 27: battles of, 63, 93: Army of the Reserve ordered to, 108, 110: Masséna's victory at, 207

THE LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
Santa Barbara

THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE
STAMPED BELOW.



NOTIS DEC 5 1990
RET'D NOV 20 1990 36
CHECKED IN NOV 20 '90 2
NOTIS JUN 0 1 1995
RET'D MAY 30 1995 2 7.

Series 9482

3 1205 00367 4445

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
D 000 761 300 3